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TO
**LABOUR
MAGAZINE**

Vol. VII.

May, 1928—————April, 1929

Published by the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party,
Transport House (South Block), Smith Square, London, S.W.1

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Incorporating The British Trades Union Review and the Labour Party Bulletin

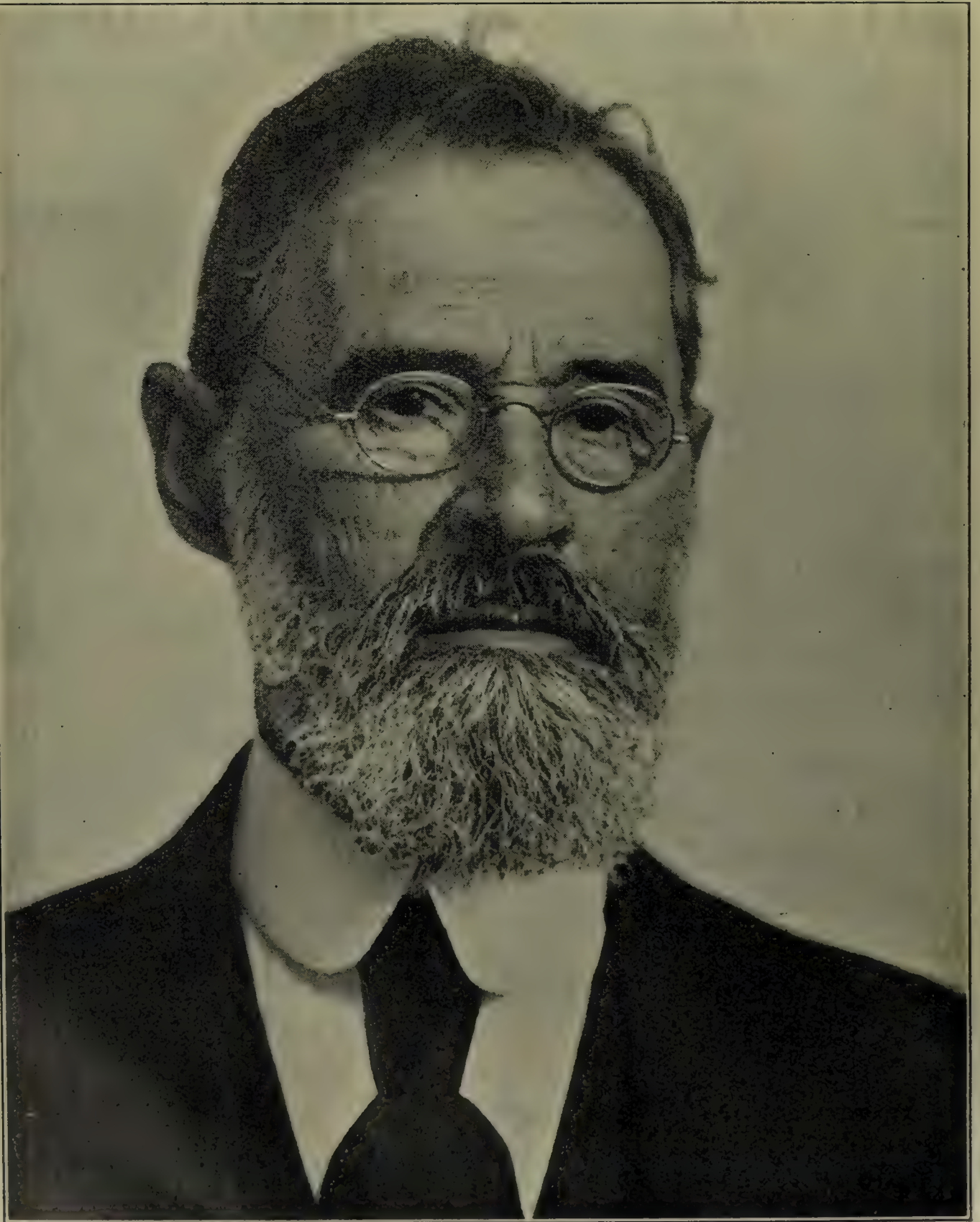
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PAUL AXELROD

Paul Axelrod

1849—1928

A PIONEER OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

DURING the night of 16th-17th April, after months of severe illness, Paul Axelrod died in Berlin in his 79th year. In him not only does the Russian Social-Democratic Party lose its founder and leader, but the whole International loses one of its chief pioneers. From the time of his first awakening to Socialist convictions until his last breath, Axelrod's whole life was devoted to the struggle for the emancipation of the working class.

Paul Axelrod hailed from the poorest, most defenceless, and oppressed section of the population; he was the son of a poor Jewish innkeeper in a remote hamlet of the Tchernigov Government in Russia. Born in 1850, he had in childhood to endure all the sufferings and privations of the pariah, universally persecuted and despised. Young Axelrod's career was identical with that of many Russian intellectuals of that time who sprang from the working class or the lower middle class; that is to say, it implied an existence of starvation at the high school and university, passionate championship of the oppressed masses, and participation in the revolutionary movement which in the '60's and '70's had numerous supporters, especially in the world of students. As a youth of 18 Axelrod was already throwing himself eagerly into the revolutionary campaign, being particularly influenced in his intellectual development by the speeches of Lassalle regarding the workers as a social unit. "This idea, to me an altogether new one," writes Axelrod in his memoirs, "put an end to all my previous hesitations about my future activity." The individual stages in his revolutionary activity are as varied and many sided as the history of Russian Socialism itself. First of all, in the beginning of the '70's he was a member of the illegal propagandist groups which carried on Socialist agitation amongst the peasant population in the countryside or amongst the workers in the towns. In 1874 Axelrod fled from his country and took up the study of the German Labour Movement in Berlin, which strongly influenced him. In 1875 came his return to Russia, followed by intensive work in the ranks of the revolutionary body "Semlya i Volya" (Land and Liberty), whose left wing passed more and more under his leadership.

At 24 Axelrod had come across the writings of Bakunin, which influenced him so strongly that he was a Bakunist for the first decade of his revolutionary activity. The great and supreme turning point of his life came when recognition of Marxism supplanted in his mind the doctrines of Bakunin. In 1883, in association with George Plechanov, Vera Sassulitsch, and Leo Deutsch, he founded the *Society for the Emancipation of Labour*. This was the first Russian Party organisation with Marxist ideas, and, in fact, marks the foundation of Russian Socialism, although the organisation did not call itself Socialist until much later (1898). For 20 years Axelrod was the unquestioned and acknowledged head of the whole Russian Social-Democratic Labour Movement. When in 1903 the split between Mensheviks and Bolsheviks took place at the London Congress, he remained leader of the former group. Notwithstanding all the acute antagonisms and vehement conflicts during the quarter of a century which has elapsed since then, not even his adversaries among the Bolsheviks have ever dared to impugn the purity of his faith, and they were often very sensible of the loss to themselves involved in the fact that his great moral authority was not ranged on their side.

As early as the seventies Axelrod had frequently to take refuge abroad on account of persecution by the Czarist police, but he succeeded repeatedly in pursuing activities in Russia for longer or shorter periods. After the break-up of the movement at the beginning of the eighties by the Czarist police the possibility of working in Russia came to an end, and he had thus to live in exile, chiefly in Geneva and Zurich, until the first Russian revolution in 1905. When the counter-revolution had once more swept away all the ground won by democracy, he had to return to Switzerland again. After the revolution of March, 1917, he was again active in Russia; but the renewal of exile thrust upon him by the Bolshevik dictatorship affected him much more painfully than all the persecutions suffered under Czarism. For he saw in Bolshevism a *relapse into Bakunism*, that is to say, a revival of those fallacies the conquest of which he viewed as his life's work. He felt it to be profoundly humiliating to the

Labour Movement that, under the guise of working class control in Russia, a system should appear which proved so far from capable of acting along the lines of a true Socialist outlook.

Axelrod's principal achievement lay in his activity as a *tactician*. The intricacy of conditions in Russia, where open organisation was impossible and the most contradictory currents met, repeatedly imposed the necessity of tracing a clear Marxist line of action and of defending it against all misinterpretations and all attacks. The contribution made by him in this respect in the form of articles, pamphlets, and speeches, but above all in letters and private conversation, is only now becoming clear to the European working class, since the fateful consequences of those antagonisms, then to all appearance only theoretical, have begun to show themselves. But not less important than the achievement performed by his unwearying intellectual work was his influence as a moral example. His qualities of self-sacrifice and self-abnegation, the fusion of his personal life with that of the Party, had not only an educational influence on whole generations of Russian Socialists, but

indeed made him, as it were, the *conscience of the Party*.

His whole life-work was concerned with the problems of the Labour Movement of Russia. But he performed them as one of the real apostles of the international ideal. His connections with the whole international movement not only enabled him truly to gauge developments in Russia, but also determined his conduct as a faithful internationalist in the great crisis of the Labour Movement during the war.

His autobiography, the first volume of which is complete, and his correspondence with Plechanov, Martov and other leaders of the Social-Democratic Movement in Russia are, unfortunately, published in Russian only. They are to the reader a penetrating and often affecting insight into the difficulties of the first stages of development in the Russian movement. But in addition to this they give life to the figure of a great personality who compelled the affection and respect of all who knew him.

As an example of Socialist fidelity and of international thought, the memory of Paul Axelrod will live on in the history of the Labour Movement.

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**LABOUR PUBLICATIONS DEPARTMENT, TRANSPORT HOUSE (SOUTH BLOCK),
SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W. 1.**

Labour's £100,000 Fighting Fund

WHY IT IS WANTED AND HOW IT IS BEING RAISED

By

RT. HON. ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P.

IN a year's time we shall be in the midst of the next General Election. That election will be the most momentous in history. And as Labour is the only serious alternative to the present discredited administration, the only issue will be as to whether a Labour Government is to be returned or whether the Tories are to be given another lease of power. The by-elections, with their continual reminder of the present Government's decline and of Labour's progress, with their constant story of lower Tory votes on the one hand and increased Labour votes on the other, and with their repeated demonstrations of the ineffectiveness of the Liberal Party, fill us with hope. It is a hope, moreover, which is not founded on fanciful flights of the imagination; it is based on a solid foundation of facts which cannot be disputed. The wonderful Labour victories at Linlithgow and Hanley—which are only typical of many others that we have won since the Red Letter Election of 1924—show unmistakably that the flowing tide is with Labour.

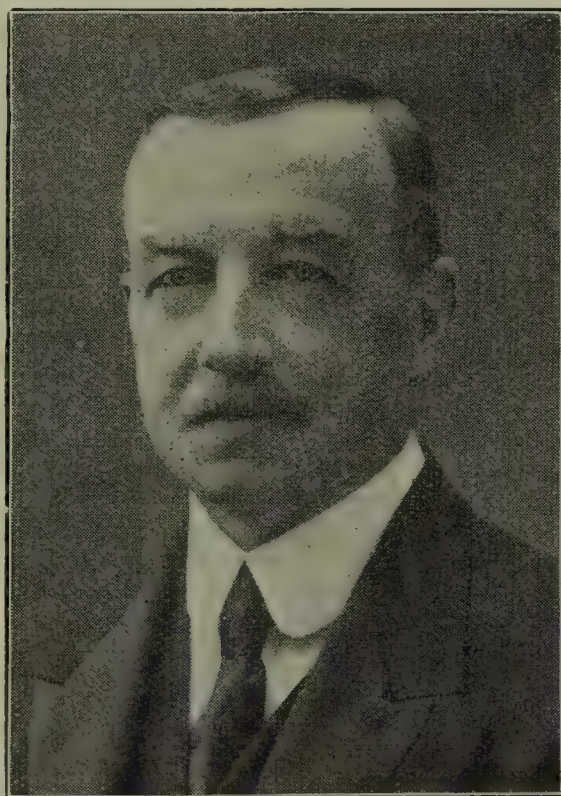
Our opponents appreciate, no less than we do, the unprecedented importance of this coming General Election. They know that for them it is a matter of life and death, and they are preparing to fight accordingly. From their well-filled coffers—which they packed to overflowing by the sale of peerages and other titles when they jointly held office a few years ago—they are pouring out money like water, waging an incessant and well-subsidised propaganda, flooding the country with literature, engaging hordes of well-paid speakers, appointing new organisers, setting up all sorts of societies and associations—ostensibly non-party

but actually in close contact with their party machine—and, in fact, doing everything that money can possibly do in the hope that it will save them from the coming catastrophe that has already cast its warning shadow over their fortunes.

Their ill-gotten gold must not save them from the fate that they deserve. It will not, if the

Labour Party now makes the big effort that the circumstances require. If the five and a half million electors who voted Labour at the last election will help us to mobilise their sixpences we can beat the millionaires, frustrate their political manoeuvres, and ensure that retribution shall overtake our discredited opponents. What we want is one strong, determined effort—a little sacrifice by a lot of people—and we shall then have resources enough to meet the Liberals and the Tories at the next election, armed effectively though they are, and thus fortified we have no apprehension as to what the result will be.

Why do we find ourselves in need of money? That is easily explained. In the first place, we have grown up. It costs more to maintain an adult than a child. Ten years ago, the Labour Party was, comparatively speaking, a child—so far as its numbers were concerned—in the affairs of Parliament and the nation. It was a lusty child, admittedly—but out of the 615 members of the House of Commons we had only 57, and the possibilities of forming a Labour Government belonged to a distant future that none of us ventured very confidently to visualise. To-day, what a difference there is! We are the second largest political party, with nearly four times as many



RT. HON. ARTHUR HENDERSON

Parliamentary representatives as the other opposition party. We are the Official Opposition in Parliament. We have already formed one Government—under very difficult circumstances, it is true—but we are now on the threshold of constituting another, under far more favourable conditions. Ten years ago, in the General Election of 1918, we only contested 361 constituencies. At the next General Election we shall have more than 500 candidates in the field.

This extension of our activities, this waging of war on a wider front, has necessarily called for the broadening of our organisation, and a development of our propaganda. And all this costs money.

In the years 1922, 1923, and 1924, we were called upon to fight three General Elections in three years. Each fight we entered on a larger scale, with a larger number of candidates. From each fight we emerged with a larger and a still larger Labour vote. Our Labour poll, which had been 2,244,945 in 1918 and 4,236,733 in 1922, grew to 4,348,379 in 1923, and then leapt up again to 5,487,620 in 1924. But the fighting of three elections in such quick succession imposed a very severe strain on our resources. We had no reserve millions like the other parties. Our funds were based largely on humble and hard-earned pennies. We had to live from hand to mouth. And when the last election of the series was over—despite the wonderful response of our comrades to the repeated calls that had been made upon them—we were suffering from a measure of financial embarrassment that was causing us no small amount of worry.

We had before us, however, the prospect of four or five years without another general election, and it seemed as though in that period we might be able to replenish our resources in readiness for the fight when it came.

The Government, however, thought otherwise. They abandoned all their claims to be regarded as a "gentlemanly party," they forgot all their protestations about "sportsmanship" and "fair play," and they saw that if, on the one hand, they could retain their enormous accumulated funds and, on the other hand, prevent us from gathering the pennies on which we had regularly depended for a large proportion of our income, they might manage to strengthen their defences at the next general election and undermine the vigour of our attack through lack of funds.

How they put their mean and cowardly scheme into operation is now a matter of history. A clause was carefully inserted into the Trade Union Act preventing the Labour Party from collecting, through the machinery

of the 1912 Trade Union Act, the contributions of the workpeople on which it had previously depended for the major part of its income.

The Tories knew what they were doing when they threw sand in the Labour Party's financial machinery in this way. As Mr. Ramsay MacDonald said in his speech at the Kingsway Hall last month, when he inaugurated our appeal for a £100,000 fighting fund:—

"The Government knew perfectly well that if every penny of the millions of pence that have been contributed to maintain a political party of Labour has to be collected separately, the machinery will be so cumbersome, so uncertain, and so expensive that it will be a miracle if it does not break down."

"The signatures of the contracting-in forms have numbered more than the most optimistic of our friends expected, but there must be an interregnum between the old method of collecting money and the new."

"The new machine has to be created, new ways have to be tested, and, in the meantime, this great fight must be carried on."

"Until this new machinery of collection is put in order our organisation must be maintained, and within a little over a year from now we have to find large sums for an election which will have to be fought when an unusual number of our district parties will be more hard pressed for money than ever in the whole of their existence."

"At least £100,000 will be required for this purpose. We appeal not only for a generous but for a self-sacrificing response."

I am proud to say that at that inaugural meeting there was a wonderful response to the appeal. More than £5,550 was subscribed by the audience in money and signed promises before the meeting ended, and since then further subscriptions and promises have been coming in from Labour organisations and sympathisers all over the country, many of them being accompanied by impressive and encouraging messages from the senders. For instance:—

A Miner's "Flapper" Daughter sent 2s. 6d., and said: "At my house my father and brothers are miners, and have therefore tasted the fruits of what the other side has done for them."

An Old Miner, enclosing 10s., said: "I enclose my week's pension towards the Labour Party's Political Fund. This is all the weekly income I have to live on after 63 years' work in the mines. . . . I hope that every miner who has any desire to protect his offspring from the cruel hands of our present day mine employers will give of his best. Wishing the fund every success."

Trade Unionists' Gift.—The London District Committee of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers, in sending £100, said that they "desired to emphasise that this is definitely a gift from the London District Committee . . . and not to be confused with anything which may or has been done by our National Executive."

An Unemployed Man wrote: "I have been out of work since 1923, but I am sending 1s. to the fighting fund."

A Curate, in sending £1, wrote: "I wish I could send more, but I am only a curate, and, although I am accustomed to the 'tightening of my belt,' I shall have to tighten it a little more to send this small sum."

Clerks' Collection.—The Accounts Staff of the Nine Elms Station, signing themselves "The Enthusiastic Thirteen," sent ten guineas, which they say "is the result of a fortnightly subscription of 3d., dating from November, 1924."

Telegraphists' £10.—Twenty members of the Telegraph Staff at Cardiff also send £10, which they say "is the result of a collection of 1d. a week since the last General Election." They promise that a further subscription will follow.

A Seventy-eight Year Old Miner sent £1, and added "I hope to send again later on. Trusting you will soon have more than the £100,000 asked for."

Just contrast these human documents with the way the Liberals and Tories have obtained their money. I might mention hundreds of cases, authenticated by the testimony of distinguished members both of the House of Commons and the House of Lords, and many editors of leading newspapers, to show how the other parties by the discreditable process of selling titles have raised the big funds with which they are now fighting Labour. Four examples, however, may suffice.

The first is the admission made by a much respected Tory lawyer and M.P., Mr. Rawlinson, who, in the House of Commons on July 17, 1922, when the question of the Sale of Honours was under discussion, said:—

"I have had to advise upon matters, and I will not give names for professional reasons; but I know that 20 years ago, when the Conservative Party were in power, people were requested to take honours, provided that a certain sum was paid to the Party Funds. . . . I did not know until to-night that there was any doubt that that system existed up to the present time."

The second is the admission of no less a personage than the Duke of Northumberland, who, also on July 17, 1922, gave an account of a case where a gentleman was approached by a tout, who spoke somewhat as follows:—

"I am authorised to offer you a Knighthood or a Baronetcy—not an O.B.E., no nonsense of that kind, but the real thing. A Knighthood will cost you £12,000 and a Baronetcy £35,000. . . . It is unfortunate that the Governments must have money, but the Party now in power will have to fight Labour and Socialism, which will be an expensive matter."

The third is the admission of one of the leading Liberal newspapers, the *Daily News*, which, on February 17, 1927, during a newspaper controversy on the question, said:—

"Lord Rosebery, in a letter to the *Times* yesterday, raises the question whether Mr. Lloyd George's fund was derived in whole or in part from the sale of honours. The answer—using the word 'sale,' of course, in a broad sense—is in the affirmative."

And then the *Daily News* went on to say:—

"For the last 100 years at least both the Liberal and Conservative Parties have drawn a large part of the vast sums which are required to run a political party from this source."

The fourth example is contained in an interview which Mr. Ramsay Muir, one of the Liberal leaders, gave to *Forward* in its issue of April 21, 1928. He said:—

"I suppose that Lloyd George got his fund in the same filthy way that the Tories got theirs."

These examples might be multiplied almost indefinitely, but the few that I have mentioned are sufficient to show that when we accuse the Liberals and Tories of having raised their funds by the sale of honours, we are speaking not in terms of extravagant hyperbole, but of sober, responsibly-substantiated fact.

Well, I have shown how well supplied our opponents are with their tainted money. I have shown how essential it will be for us to have money for the next election if we are to give the best possible account of ourselves on that occasion. And I have shown how financially embarrassed we are at the moment, partly because of the excessive strain of the last three elections, and partly because of the mean and despicable action of the Tories in cutting off our supplies while they and the Liberals retained their own.

What are we going to do about it?

There can only be one answer. We must throw ourselves whole-heartedly into the successful prosecution of the campaign that has been launched for the raising of the £100,000 Fighting Fund.

How can we do it?

There are many ways, and the National Executive of the Labour Party is planning the campaign in such a way that everybody will be able to help.

In order to secure the greatest possible effectiveness and to enable all sections of the movement to make the fullest possible contribution the organisation of the appeal has been divided into four sections as follow:—

1. An appeal to individuals.
2. An appeal through Trade Unions.
3. An appeal through Women's Sections of the Labour Party.
4. An appeal through Labour Parties, Trades Councils, etc.

The appeal to individuals is already in full swing, and the donations and promises of help that I have already referred to show that it is going well. Schemes for the appeals through the Trade Unions and through the Women's

Sections are at present in course of preparation, whilst the appeal through the Labour Parties and Trades Councils will commence at an early date.

The appeal through the Trade Unions is being directed by the eleven representatives of the Trade Unions on the National Executive of the Labour Party, namely, Messrs. George Lathan (R.C.A.), J. R. Clynes (National Union of General and Municipal Workers), Joseph Compton (National Union of Vehicle Builders), C. T. Cramp (N.U.R.), Robert Dennison (British Iron, Steel, and Kindred Trades Association), James Hindle (United Textile Factory Workers' Association), Arthur Jenkins (Miners' Federation of Great Britain), F. O. Roberts (Typographical Society), W. A. Robinson (N.U.D.A.W.), Walter R. Smith (National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives), and Stanley Hirst (Transport and General Workers' Union).

These Trade Union representatives have drawn up a number of suggested alternative schemes through the medium of which the Trade Unions may help the fund, and these are being transmitted to the executive authorities of the various unions for their guidance.

Meanwhile there are, no doubt, numbers of readers of the LABOUR MAGAZINE who will wish to send in their personal subscriptions or their promises to collect without waiting to be approached by one of the several agencies that will operate under the scheme. In order that they may do so, a subscription form is appended. This should be cut out, filled in, and sent to the Secretary, the Labour Party, Transport House (South Block), Smith Square, London, S.W.1.

*The Secretary,
The Labour Party,
Transport House (South Block),
Smith Square, London, S.W.1.*

*I promise to pay or collect £.....
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Fuel, Power and Transport

By

J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

II.—Capitalism's Flight from Coal as Coal

WAYS and means to better the working and living conditions of the miners have across the whole history of the industry inevitably loomed so large in the thoughts of members of the Labour Party as to tend ever to obscure that vision of an industry rationalised into conformity with modern scientific and technical development which is the very essence of Socialism. Sympathetic with suffering and, at the same time, immoderately alarmed at any prospect of abandoning or compromising a position once formulated in a policy and proclaimed on a platform, our rank and file and its more timid following amongst the leaders discourage any thinking aloud in any way critical of the time-honoured demand for nationalisation of the mines. Nothing that has happened since they began to enunciate this demand must be allowed to cloud an issue which they have succeeded in getting clearly into phrases and programmes.

Yet, at the gravest hazard of provoking a heresy hunt, it is necessary now to draw attention to the ever more apparent fact that things are happening which make extremely difficult of achievement the traditional policy of taking over into public ownership the coal mining industry and around that, as a core, re-organising the power and transport services of the country.

Capitalism has not, in ignoring the misery of the miners and seeming to allow the mining industry to drift to destruction, been anything like so indifferent and so inactive as is often assumed. Quite the reverse.

Two years ago, Sir Herbert Samuel and his colleagues said very significantly:—

“We believe that in the future coal mining will be found to have become an integral part of a great industrial complex, which will comprise also electricity, smokeless fuel, gas, oil, chemical products, blast furnaces and possibly other activities.”
(*Coal Industry Commission Report*, p. 66.)

Ten years before, the appointment by the Reconstruction Committee of a sub-committee to inquire into the possibilities of coal conservation and electric power supply may be said to have initiated in an authoritative manner the whole sequence of developments

which have taken shape in the Electricity (Supply) Acts of 1919 and 1926, and the activities of the Electricity Commissioners and the Central Electricity Board.

Twelve years have witnessed the slow but sure resettlement of the capitalist economy on a plan conforming at once to the technique of modern power generation and distribution, and to the vested interests of a system of private property that has had time to accommodate its forms to the exigencies of the new epoch. That which possesses the future has been put upon a firm foundation of an extended legal tenure which, whilst in form it perpetuates not only private but also public ownership, effectually deprives the latter of opportunity indefinitely to expand. Whilst yet the capitalists are in control of the State, that which can guarantee the continuing yield of a substantial profit is being rapidly assured to private exploitation. That which can no longer guarantee any profit is being allowed to become derelict, an eventual case for the application of State purchase and State subsidy under conditions which will make it a costly case of public succour and State salvage.

Electricity, smokeless fuel, gas, oil, chemical products, and blast furnace coke—these will embody whatever of value there is in the substance called coal. Electric power plants, low temperature carbonisation plants, gas works, oil distillation plants, by-product plants, coke ovens contributory to blast furnaces will be withdrawn from the proximity or the properties of the coal-mining industry. They will alone show profit. The coal-mining industry will show loss.

The coal mining industry, divorced effectually from the coal-treatment industries, can only go from bad to worse. Changes in ownership, changes in management, can make no real difference, save to discredit “Socialism in our time.”

The extraction of oil from coal, the economies of pulverised fuel, the opening up of the brown coal beds of the world, the enormous reserves of petroleum that improved methods of drilling make available, the harnessing of untold resources of water power—all these substitute raw materials of electricity, smokeless fuel, gas, oil, or chemical products, spell ruination to the already semi-derelict coal industry.

How acutely aware of all this are the capitalists is made conspicuously apparent in

the limited, but altogether significant, use which has, so far, been made of the Mining Industry Act, 1926.

Two considerable consolidations alone have, so far, been brought about under it, and one other is now being effected.

The first of these was the merger in the anthracite coal industry of the Amalgamated Anthracite Collieries Limited and the United Anthracite Collieries Limited into a new company with the same name as the former.

The second of these was the amalgamation of the Denaby and Cadeby Main Collieries Limited with the already associated trio of firms, the Rossington, Dinnington, and Maltby Main Colliery Companies, whereby these four huge concerns were united under one management as the Yorkshire Amalgamated Collieries Limited.

The third, now being arranged, is the absorption by the Powell Duffryn Steam Coal Company Limited of the Lewis Merthyr, the Great Western, and the Cardiff Colliery Companies.

This latter absorption is being effected with the backing of the great international banking house of J. H. Schroeder and Company, which is said to have ear-marked for this purpose a sum of £5,000,000. J. H. Schroeder and Company has also put its immense capital resources at the back of the Harton Coal Company Limited.

Agents of the Powell Duffryn Steam Coal Company Limited, associated with directors of John Bowes and Sons Limited and the Harton Coal Company Limited, both of the Tyne, and managers of the collier fleet of the Gas Light and Coke Company, of London, is the gas coal merchanting firm of Stephenson, Clarke, and Company.

This firm, acting on behalf of the Powell Duffryn Company, some years ago, at the time of the Ruhr occupation, secured, with the financial collaboration of J. H. Schroeder and Company, an enormous contract for coal from the German State Railways. It handles huge contracts for coal for gas works all over Europe, in many of which its partners or shareholders in colliery and gas companies with which it is associated have extensive holdings of stock.

Thus, first, in the consolidation of the two leading syndicates of collieries producing that anthracite coal which conforms to the modern ideal of a smokeless fuel, we see the active initiative of Sir Alfred Mond, Lord Ashfield, Higginson and Company, F. A. Szarvasy and the Hoares.

In the second amalgamation which, along with the closely allied Doncaster Collieries Association Limited, virtually dominates the new giant colliery area of South Yorkshire and North Nottinghamshire, we find effective control to ramify back to the heavy engineering

interests of Sheffield and to the great bunker coal supply and demand of the Atlantic and Eastern steamship lines which run out of London, Liverpool and Southampton.

In the third reorganisation, the participation of J. H. Schroeder and Company, a banking house with connexions, financial, commercial, and industrial, in Central Europe and South America that assume proportions ever more colossal, in the affairs of a couple of concerns amongst the most influential in Durham and in South Wales, and with long established business bonds with gas and railway undertakings in England, in Europe, and in South America, not only lends colour to the view expressed on the coal market that a European coal syndicate is aimed at, but also points to its specialisation on coal for gasworks and for railways.

The negotiations going quietly forward to the end of achieving in this country some co-ordination of the iron and steel manufacturers, more nearly a match for the gigantic reorganisations in Germany, will, no doubt, disclose in no very distant future the general plan for the grouping of the coking coal and coke oven interests. In this connection the great combine known as Imperial Chemical Industries Limited, which has already, along with Vickers Limited, interested itself in the pulverised coal processes of the International Combustion Engineering Company, will have either a corner all its own or else a share conceded to itself.

The appearance in this country of Samuel Insull, of Chicago, financed as he is by the Chase Bank group, now associated with Sir Alfred Mond, as the man in at the back of the Greater London and Counties Trust Limited, taken in conjunction not only with his intimacy with Mr. Baldwin but also with the reorganisation now in hand of Baldwins Limited, suggests here, as in the 730 mile zone of Insull's "transmission inter-connexion" in the Middle West, a great field for the economic development of the electricity supply business in co-operation with the gas, coke, iron and steel industries of South Wales, South-Western and South-Eastern England.

Something very big is being planned. Some scheme of super-power which, in bringing to the countryside easy transit and cheap current, will cause both the farmer and the suburban resident to yield their proportion of profit to a vast system of electricity supply, "a great industrial complex" of power generation, coke and gas distillation, oil and chemical base production, iron and steel manufacture, into which will be effectively connected a limited number of giant colliery units.

(To be continued.)

The E.C.C.I.'s Latest

WHY THE LIFE OF BRITISH COMMUNIST LEADERS IS NOT WORTH LIVING

By

HERBERT MORRISON, J.P., L.C.C.

Vice-Chairman of the Labour Party

MOSCOW has published a further set of what, in Trade Union language, we may call working rules for the conduct of the Communist Party of Great Britain, and the Editor of the LABOUR MAGAZINE has asked me to contribute to these pages some observations on the new policy. I do so, not as one who is now greatly concerned about Communist trouble in the Labour Party, but as a student of politics.

Whilst Communism and the Minority Movement are still activities requiring some attention by the Trade Union Movement, I think it is true to say that the earlier counter-offensive against Communism by the Labour Party has met with substantial success, and that the political movement is substantially freed from internal trouble with the Communists.

THE IMPOSSIBILISTS.

This is certainly true of London, where we had the earliest and heaviest fights, and where the London Labour Party carried out the decisions of the National Executive and the National Conference with energy and determination.

Before the war there were a number of groups who were known as the Impossibilists. There was the Socialist Labour Party, a small organisation enjoying more following in Scotland than in England, the Socialist Party of Great Britain, another very limited sect which still exists, and others.

The Communist Party absorbed the greater part of the British Socialist Party, practically the whole of the Socialist Labour Party, and certain other groups.

At the beginning it was almost equally divided on the question of applying for affiliation to the Labour Party, but ultimately a compromise was reached on the basis that it would apply for membership of the Labour Party, not for the purpose of doing it any good, but with the object of giving it "one in the eye" when it wasn't looking, or, as the gentleman said who moved in favour of affiliation, "we will support the Labour Party as the hangman's rope supports the executed person."

Thus they effected in their own sweet and

kindly way what the philosophers call the reconciliation of the irreconcilable. Ever since that decision the Communists have had the devil's own time trying to pursue tactics of contradiction and to make a success of a policy which, as the Marxists say of the capitalist system, contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction.

CONFERENCE HUMOURS.

It was not without seeing the joke that one of the Labour Party Conferences heard Mr. William Paul, who had previously said some very spiteful and clearly antagonistic things about the Labour Party, posing as a loyal Labour candidate of ours; and there was a distinctly funny side to the efforts of the Communists in endeavouring to reconcile their own Constitution (which bound them down to implicit ultimate obedience to the decisions of their International seated at Moscow) with the constitution of the Labour Party, which affirmed the ultimate authority of its annual conference. In short, the Communists had the thankless job of having to be very pleasant and decidedly unpleasant at one and the same time.

Such a difficulty might have been solved to the mutual satisfaction of everybody and with complete joyfulness in Russia, where national temperament in these respects is, I do not say worse than, but different from ours. The Russians delight in this sort of thing. And when I say the Russians I do not merely mean the Bolsheviks, for my impression is that Russians of all classes and all parties at nearly all times have thoroughly enjoyed the past-time of reconciling the irreconcilable; and, bless their hearts, they are a joy to behold when engaged on the job! All I say is that the British are relatively deficient in this peculiar quality or that our way of exercising it is different from the Russian way.

And this has been, perhaps, the greatest difficulty of the British Communists. They had to try to carry out the Russian policy without possessing the Russian ability to do so. The result is that, despite apparently generous

subsidies of external money and service, notwithstanding a period of industrial depression peculiarly conducive to the politics and industrialism of despair, and even with the advantage given by the brutal and ignorant reaction pursued by employers and anti-Labour Governments—the Communist Party here has been an almost absolute washout, judged by any reasonable standard of success.

So conspicuous has been the failure that even the patient holders of the purse-strings at Moscow have wearied and have decided to require the British Communists to strike out a new “political line,” which is almost a complete reversion to the tactics of the Socialist Labour Party of years ago.

Thus once again we see that instead of Communism being a theory of progress and advancement it is a body that tends to go backward in political movement and outlook.

THE NEW DECLARATION.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International at its meeting of February 18, 1928, adopted its new policy. The resolution incorporating the policy is officially published in the Communist Party's monthly review for April. It is a long rigmarole in characteristic language. In one paragraph it asserts that the policy of the dominant class in Great Britain is to bring the Labour Party and the unions within the orbit of their influence; it claims that the Labour leaders helped to carry through the Anti-Trade Union Bill against the workers' resistance.

One can only observe that the dominant class had a curious way of showing their love for the Labour Party and the Trade Unions when they passed that Anti-Trade Union Act, which had the purpose of damaging Labour industrially and politically. People who are capable of thinking that, despite their very strenuous efforts against the Bill, the leaders of Labour welcomed it are capable of believing anything. To put it at its lowest, would anybody outside Moscow or Colney Hatch think that the Labour politicians are going to welcome an Act designed to make difficulties in the gathering together of their own party funds?

It is similar nonsense to assert, as the resolution does, that the Labour leaders are favouring an improper industrial peace and active collaboration with the capitalists against the revolutionary proletariat. Again, one can only say that they are indeed simple souls who imagine that the British proletariat is bursting for a revolution. The charges of cynical class collaboration are about as well founded as would be similar charges against Mr. Wal Hannington because at the recent L.C.C.

election at South Hackney some of the presumably revolutionary proletariat gave one vote to him, the Communist, and one for the Lady Amherst of Hackney, the Tory! I hope Moscow will not notice this, otherwise poor Wal may be seriously hauled up on a charge of cynical class collaboration with the noble lady!

This is followed by an accusation that the Labour leaders—or twisters or fakirs, if you so prefer—are “organisationally” (may heaven forgive the Communists for this favourite corruption of the English language) endeavouring to convert Labour organisations into an auxiliary apparatus of the bourgeoisie by merging their upper strata with capitalist organisations. It sounds lovely, doesn't it? And then, in that spasm of the resolution which is numbered 4, the Labour Party is accused of becoming an ordinary Social Democratic Party. Well, well, there is really no pleasing some people. It seems only yesterday that those present-day Communist leaders, who were then members of the Social Democratic Party or the British Socialist Party, were denouncing the Labour Party for *not* being a Social Democratic Party of the Continental model. Now that the Labour Party, according to the Communists, is becoming a Social Democratic Party it is denounced for losing its old-time loose, tolerant, federal organisation. This is an ungrateful world!

TWO KINDS OF REVOLUTION.

If the Communists would only say for three years consecutively what they would wish the Labour Party to be it might be possible to oblige them; but what is the use of trying when the Communists find it so much more easy to carry out revolutions in policy than they do revolutions in the social system?

Despite the growing anti-Communist feeling of the British working-class movement the resolution comforts the faithful with this sort of stuff: “The working-class continues on the whole to move leftwards, although this movement is not proceeding in a straight line but in a zig-zag fashion.” This reference to “zig-zag” must be a concession to British psychology, for it is certainly not consistent with theoretical Communist declarations in favour of the straight fighting policy; in fact, a zig-zag movement to the left sounds dangerously like an apology for the antics of the “Parliamentary humbugs.”

After a “united front” reference to capitalism and its lackeys, we come to burst number seven in the resolution, which contains the kernel of the new policy. It is pointed out that the Communists have really been getting the worst of both worlds in that they were denied full rights in the Labour Party, and yet by their

own declarations for solidarity they had come to expect themselves to abide by Labour Party decisions as to Parliamentary candidates.

Having seen the error of their ways, they have decided to begin a strenuous fight against this discipline by inducing local Labour Parties to call new selection conferences on the basis of full rights for all, including the Communists, but not, apparently, the workingmen's Tory and Liberal clubs. It is conceived, however, that the local Labour Parties, not being financially dependent upon Moscow, may not be as quick in carrying out its orders as the C.P.G.B. There is, therefore, the further provision that the Communists should call unofficial selection conferences if the local Labour Parties will not do what is required, and there select candidates truly representative of that mystical revolutionary proletariat beloved by the three tailors of King Street.

LENIN'S GHOST.

You see the idea? If the local Labour Parties will do what the Communists want them to do, the Communists will accept the decision of the rank and file; but if they will not do what they want them to do, they will become the rank and file, and the Communists will set about creating a Selection Conference, which will "deliver the goods."

Nevertheless, despite all these declarations of antagonism to the Labour Party, including the exposure of its crime in becoming a Social Democratic Party, the Communists are to continue to fight for affiliation. Ah! but with a difference. The fight for affiliation is to continue, but at the same time it is to be converted into an offensive fight against the treacherous leadership of the Labour Party! Then an energetic campaign (the history of the Communist Party is strewn with the debris of energetic campaigns which have come to nothing) must be organised to secure local Trade Union branch control of political expenditure, so that the Trade Union branches may finance candidates to stand in opposition to the official candidates of their own class! This is the class struggle in a new form.

At this point somebody saw the ghost of Lenin, who, despite the instinct of the new British Communist Party at its beginning to be in opposition to affiliation to the Labour Party, told them, with his own glorious frankness, not to be guilty of infantile sickness of the "left," but to get inside the Labour Party and push it into power as a prelude to the Labour Government being treated like the Bolsheviks treated Kerensky. And the ghost of Lenin raising doubts as to throwing over the Leninism of 1920, the E.C.C.I.

took courage and comfort by declaring that "under no circumstances can the present situation compare with the situation which existed in 1918-20," nor with the situation of 1924.

So the Communist Party is ordered to go out "more boldly and more clearly as an independent political Party." And instead of beating the air with the slogan, "Labour Government," it is to beat the same air with the slogan, "Revolutionary Workers' Government." And, believe me or believe me not, kind friends, neither the one slogan nor the other will make any difference in the statistics of the Returning Officers at the next Parliamentary General Election. What Moscow has got to do is to get busy collecting £150's as free-will offerings to the British Exchequer in the shape of forfeited deposits at the General Election of 1929.

So the Communist Party will put forward independently the largest possible number of its own candidates, particularly against the leaders of the Labour Party and the General Council. Nevertheless, it is absolutely necessary "to propose the united front both nationally and locally" in order to "expose the Labour leaders."

PITY THE POOR BOLSHIES!

Where Labour candidates are willing to do the bidding of the Communist Party (and as a consequence lose the election) they may be supported by the Communists, which seems to me to be an ungrateful return for the adaptability of such candidates. Even so, however, this is only apparently to happen after all possible preliminary work is done in the matter of putting up Communist candidates, which again is hardly an indication of gratitude.

And despite it all, notwithstanding the open war declared upon the Labour Party and its candidates and the General Council, we witness the curious spectacle of Mr. Harry Pollitt fighting for the right to be a delegate to the Labour Party Conference, where, as a condition of being a delegate, he is required to accept the Party's principles and constitution.

No! We ought not to be too hard upon the Communists: they lead a dog's life. They have to try to do several things at once. As they go to bed at night, they never know what instructions the postman may leave for them on the doormat the next morning.

But so far as the British Labour Party is concerned we may thank Moscow for its relative honesty, for its open declaration of war, and for blowing to the winds at last the Tory fiction that the Labour Party is a creature of Communism.

Cuckoos in the Cotton Mills

By

T. H. RICHARDSON

EVERYBODY agrees that Lancashire is in a bad way. By Lancashire is meant the cotton industry—Oldham, Burnley, Blackburn, and a few other places that produce excellent football teams but poor prospects for getting a living. Burnley, for example, has 10 per cent. of its looms on the market ready for the auctioneer's hammer, and with only three-quarters of the rest producing cloth, whilst in Blackburn 23,000 looms are idle waiting for something to turn up. In the medium and coarse spinning section of the trade semi-paralysis has ruled the roost for seven years. Bolton is busy because those who find Bolton employment are the rich countries of the world, like the United States, and also because the spinning companies of Bolton did not go headlong to the devil when the temptation came just after the war to gamble in spindles in the expectation of plenty. Whilst Oldham was selling and reselling mills at fever speed, Bolton kept her head and her mills. The former has been suffering from financial dyspepsia for eight years, whilst the latter has kept financially fit by a prudent management of her mill finances. That is the situation to-day in South-East Lancashire.

Largely owing to bloated finances the Oldham trade is unfit to face world competition. Ground has been lost wherever Lancashire's cheap lines found a market, and since two-thirds of her spindles stand or fall by her ability to market mass quantities of goods in India, the East Indies, Egypt, China, Turkey, the Argentine, failure to sell those goods in pre-war quantities has produced wholesale unemployment, and under employment, and short time. To-day Lancashire is annually nearly 3,000,000,000 yards below the 7,000,000,000 yards level of 1913. The cotton masters see, or try to persuade the doubting operatives to see, that salvation can be brought by longer hours and less pay. The operative is requiring a good deal of convincing, and though many joint conferences between the employers and the operatives' leaders have taken place up to now no progress has been made. Nobody realises, however, more fully than the men who speak for the workers that if Lancashire is to live

in the markets overseas cotton goods must suffer a drastic reduction in price.

But they are not yet convinced that by cutting wages half-a-crown in the pound and working another four and a-quarter hours a week any benefit is to be gained. As a matter of fact, if the Trade Union leaders conceded the employers their request the difference in the price of grey cloth would only be 1 per cent. and in printed cloth about two-thirds of 1 per cent. Would this recoup the lost Indian market, something like 1,500,000,000 yards? Would China take her pre-war volume of 700,000,000 yards against only 15 per cent. of this trade, the business done last year? Not a bit of it. There is something very much more seriously at fault than hours and wages, and not the least is, as indicated, the finances of the spinning companies.

It has been mentioned that the Bolton section of the industry is prosperous. This is borne out by the fact that a full 48-hour week has obtained since 1920. From then until to-day the Fire Cotton Spinners' Association has made enough profit to hand back to its shareholders more than the equivalent of its nominal share capital, namely, £5,000,000, together with handsome bonuses. Yet after this rich harvest of financial cream, at a time, be it noted, when the cotton lords are calling for harder work and less pay, the Fire Spinners' £1 ordinary shares are to-day quoted at 55s. each. On the other hand, shares in some—quite a number—of Oldham mills are dear at ten a penny. This is no figure of speech. Was not Mr. Tom Shaw, in the House of Commons, offered a few mills for nothing?

Why do Lancashire spinning companies want to give away their mills? The answer is that, owing to the assistance rendered by the banks by way of loans and overdrafts, and the accumulation of interest-debt, and debts for supplies of raw cotton, a host of Lancashire mills are running not for the benefit of their shareholders, but to meet the claims of their creditors. Every year the position becomes worse, and whilst in the ordinary way scores of mills would long ago have gone to the wall had the banks so desired, the wily bankers have preferred slow motion, and in the process have fortified themselves against the worst eventualities of the wholesale bankruptcy that

was certain to come. Anybody with an unbiased mind saw this coming; maybe the banks saw the doom of the spinning companies they had encouraged to be floated, first of all; and when the bottom fell out of the market in 1920 the banks laid themselves out to save as much as they could of the capital they had advanced on such a colossal scale to the refloated companies at the time of their promotions. It is not overstating the truth when it is said that the banks have been picking the bones of the worst conditioned mills from the very first day of the slump, and to-day they are standing over scores of spinning companies demanding their usury. Such mills as these are unenviable property, and to attempt to even give them away is tantamount to a fraudulent act. But to accept them is like taking the albatross from the neck of the Ancient Mariner.

Apart from the fine spinning section, where about one-third of Lancashire's spindles are placed, there are mills in the medium and coarse spinning section that are doing almost as well as the fine spinning firms. The summary that is given below will throw up the contrast in the weak and strong mills in what is called the "Oldham" trade. Some 310 spinning companies representing over 30,000,000 spindles of the American section are here analysed:—

COTTON MILL COMPANY RETURNS.

	Paid-up share capital.		Dividends paid.	
			1926	1927
65 Original mills.....	£3,731,595	....	9·6	7·3
35 Recapitalised mills ..	6,128,563	....	7·1	6·1
210 Reconstructed mills..	41,157,388	....	1·4	0·6

Now, nobody can fail but to observe from these figures the weakness in the spinning companies' finances. The bugbear is the "reconstructed" class, the mills that are standing as a free gift. (It will be noticed that the total paid up share capital of this class is about £41,000,000, against nearly £10,000,000 in the other two classes combined.) These last two classes account for 100 mills and the other class for 210 mills, roughly two-thirds of the mills in the "American" or "Oldham" trade. We may make a further distinction between these two classes, a distinction that is tremendously important when examining the question of production costs. When the mills were refloated the full amount of the change-over price was not contributed by those who purchased the shares; the method of financing the new companies was to call up 10s. of the £1 share—the usual amount of the new shares—and to go to the banks and loan

moneylenders for the balance. So that a cotton company that cost at the time of the boom, say, £100,000 would get £50,000 in share capital and £50,000 in loan-holder capital. This last amount was lent at a fixed rate of interest, perhaps 6 per cent., and, of course, has the first call upon the trading profits. When the unfortunate spinning companies made no profits they were compelled to sell their stock at a loss to keep their pressing creditors at bay. The mills that did not change their capital escaped the calamities that have since beset their unhappy 'neighbours, being comparatively independent of the banks' overdrafts and loans.

The hopelessness of the refloated mills becomes very clear when it is recalled that the new companies were faced with the very serious difficulty of operating with grossly inflated spindle values. The change-over prices of these mills is well put by Mr. J. Grant Gibson, late Senior Official Receiver in the Manchester district:—

"The combined capital of all these (168) companies before the refloations of 1919-1920 was £8,243,927. The same companies received, by way of payment from the new companies formed to take over, £50,051,987, but this does not represent the whole of the capital of the new companies—it was, in fact, far larger . . . it is apparent that Lancashire investors could never have found this huge sum out of their own resources, and it is known that they did not. The capital was found largely by the banks, and to-day one of the greatest difficulties in making sound schemes of arrangement for companies in financial difficulties is the deadweight of bank liens for loans and interest."

Now, assuming that this £50,000,000 was the final amount—though it was much larger—that was paid for this block of 168 mills, the post boom inflation values are about six times pre-boom values. That means that to pay an equivalent of, say, 5 per cent., in pre-boom days, something like six times pre-boom profits must be made. Of course, they have not been made, but they have come remarkably near to being made.

The banker has been paid right enough, and if his share was half the £50,000,000 used in the new companies, and 6 per cent. his charge, then he has been drawing £1,500,000 per annum out of a distressed industry which he is by no means innocent of creating. This applies only to 168 mills;

spread over the whole of the mills that received capital from the banks, the amount is, of course, much larger.

At the time of the boom refloatations bankers' capital was poured into spinning companies without question. Now the bankers must have believed that the new values set on the mills were correct values. But that opinion has been established as an error, and for that error which was shared by thousands upon thousands of cotton share investors, many of whom are cotton operatives, dire consequences have been visited upon them. In the first place their invested capital has yielded no interest in the majority of refloated mill companies; secondly, they have lost their capital; thirdly, they have been called upon to pay an additional £16,250,000 in calls for the shares they hold, mainly to satisfy the banker, which is a scandal; and fourthly, the operative has had his employment rationed and is now threatened with a further debasement in his standard of living. But in what respect is the banker suffering? What part is he taking in the sacrifices? Surely, even a Liberal Parliamentary candidate for a cotton constituency, like Sir Herbert Samuel, who is anxious to know Labour's plans for rescuing the cotton trade, would not dare to tell the electors of Darwin that a handful of bankers and their shareholders are to get off scot free from an error they shared in, even if they did not actually promote it, whilst scores of thousands of small investors are to have no relief. What might Sir Herbert's proposals be, and why has he and his party had nothing to say on this South Sea Bubble that is nearly eight years old? His answer would make interesting reading.

The real trouble with Lancashire is that, at the boom changes, she in effect created two sets of shareholders and based her future upon the assumption that her dividend distributions would be at least six times pre-boom dimensions. One set has taken its dividends with great regularity, but the other set has been left to whistle for theirs, though, certainly, some have come their way. But last year no less than 179 out of 210 refloated spinning companies made no return on their shareholders, and something nearly as bad as this has been going on for many years.

Now supposing that instead of creating two sets of shareholders there had been two sets

of workpeople created, one who would take wages, guaranteed by the goodwill of the industry, and no matter how much the cost of living was reduced that rate must be maintained. The other set of workpeople, who, unlike the first, would be expected to do all the work and take their chances, would be like the shareholders who ran the mills and risked their savings. What would have happened? Would not the situation have been the butt for jokes and sarcasms in Parliament, on the platform, and in the Press? The *Daily Mail* would have worked overtime on so good a story.

Yet something very like this has happened in Lancashire, but it is not the operatives who have been receiving the plums from so ludicrous an arrangement. It is the mighty banks that have, cuckoo-like, planted their eggs in a nest that others have created. If Lancashire will face realities there need be no attack on the workers. Those mills that do not pay the master spinners are indeed very good paying concerns. The wrong people are taking the profits, for after all no industry can pay two lots of dividends at the same time.

THE Labour Woman

EDITED BY DR. MARION PHILLIPS

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Published by the

LABOUR PARTY PUBLICATIONS DEPARTMENT,

Transport House (South Block), Smith Square,
London, S.W. 1.

Thinking Internationally

By

MARK STARR

IN his description in the March issue of the *LABOUR MAGAZINE* of the I.L.O., Mr. Robert Williams refers to the documents stored by that institution in 30 different languages, and its issue of some of its own reports in as many as twelve. Correspondence, it can be added, is carried on in 23, which is two less than the American Trade Unions have to use. In these facts we are brought at once to a hindrance to effective organisation. There is, of course, in the issue of documents, time to find the equivalent fitting phrase, but in conferences—where often immediate explanation and reply are vital—the difficulties of language diversity are intensified. May Day is an appropriate time to consider whether there exists a way out of these difficulties. The waste of time, energy, and money involved is obvious, and the will to mutual understanding between peoples is either non-existent or very much hampered by this babel of tongues.

Prominent industrial and political leaders in the British Labour Movement have already expressed support for the adoption of the international language, Esperanto, to solve the problem. Three years ago a resolution at the Trades Union Congress recommended its study and use. The I.L.O., indeed, issues an Esperanto version of its bulletin, and in Labour circles especially the language is regaining the rate of advance interrupted by the war.

There have been, notably since Leibnitz (1646-1716), many proposals for an international tongue, but that known by the pseudonym of its author, Dr. Zamenhof, at present holds the field. It has stood the test of practical use for 40 years, and by it now stands or falls the question of an international tongue.

Ease in acquirement is secured by a grammar of sixteen rules only, without an exception. Its alphabet is phonetic and written with Latin characters. The vocabulary is made by the use of root words—chosen on the principle of their greatest international usage—and then given the regular grammatical terminations required. From *labcr-*, for example, comes *laboro* (the noun, work), *labora* (adjective), *labore* (adverb), and the verbs: *labori* (infinitive), *laboras* (present tense), *laboris* (past tense), *laboros* (future tense). The active participles are *laboranta*, *laborinta*, *laboronta*, and the passive participle endings are *-ata*, *-ita*, *-ota*. Add to

these invariable function endings the multiplying power of 33 affixes and you have brought within easy reach, not a jargon or a mere code, but an effective agency for the expression of every idea.

To some an international language is unnecessary, because they maintain that a law of concentration is at work which will establish one of the national tongues in that position. But even in the British Isles we have survivals and revivals of Welsh and Gaelic. Some Trade Union branches in the East End of London are carried on in Yiddish. In Europe, Czech and Ukranian are only two out of the minority languages once crushed but now sedulously cultivated. This may seem a backward step to the members of the numerically great nations, resembling culturally the sorry jig-saw puzzle of frontiers and tariff barriers in post-war Europe. On the other hand, language is a basic element in any culture, and no national group can retain a culture without reviving its language and thus increasing the language imbroglio. An Imperialist, confident in the claim of his own chosen people to rule the earth, might well scornfully steam-roller out the smaller races and their cultures, but the men and women of the Labour Movement have no part or lot in that pooled self-esteem. The alternative of a neutral auxiliary language naturally commends itself to them.

It used to be thought that the economic supremacy of Great Britain and the succeeding sway of the United States would cause English to gravitate into the position of the international language. Ford, however, adorns his tractors with directions in the *customers'* language. Spanish is an asset in the South American markets. Wells has suggested that additionally the richness of the English literature would give it the chief place, but who shall judge the rival claims of German science against the French writers, and the diplomatic use of their language? If, with convenient laziness, we English-speaking members of the human race could say to the rest of the world "Let 'em learn English" our difficulties would not end. The *lingua franca* would probably become a "pidgin English." If the B.B.C. has difficulty in standardising pronunciation, what of the possible corruption—in view of the capricious accent, unphonetic spelling, and irregular grammar of English—in world usage?

In some quarters it is hoped that enlarged leisure, travel, and improvement in language teaching will make possible the acquirement of at least two languages besides the mother tongue. Thus it is said knowledge will be obtained of the inner souls of the peoples in a way not possible by an artificial project. We fear, however, that for large sections of the ordinary people such facilities are still well out of reach. Unless Mr. Shaw's super-centenarians arrive life will remain all too short, and the painful acquirement of languages all too long to meet the present need of international goodwill based on knowledge. (Incidentally it should be noticed that the world has 2,796 spoken languages, 48 of which are used in Europe, and that the Bible has been translated into 593.)

Without deprecating the study of national tongues, one can realise that it was only a matter of time before language science would pass from the analysis of existing tongues to the positive formation and contribution of a language containing the good and eliminating the bad of the existing schemes. It is true such a language must be artificial—just as the garden rose, the telephone, and all outside our skins are artificial. Further, there is a need not only for an inquiry into the inner soul of the past of peoples but of contributing to their future. To some nations the existing dominant languages have bitter associations of conquest and persecution, dread legacies of hate and rivalry which the world would do well to forget.

At present the mixing of mankind proceeds apace. Wireless telephony is the most recent and important agency in this process. Science, art, and sport have leaped the confines of a single national group. Meetings of international bankers and the formation of international trusts and cartels are reported still more frequently in our newspapers. Recently a suit-case marked "Made in Britain" was found by a Government Committee to contain constituent parts from ten different countries. The struggle for the eight-hour day must now be made on an international scale to be effective. The tragic plight of the coal miners and others in Great Britain illustrate the dependency upon a world market.

All these factors give urgency to removing every barrier against the unity of the workers. Esperanto hopes to become the auxiliary international language for all. Its adoption will offend no national susceptibilities. Each national group will come half-way to meet the

others, and use a medium which can be acquired with at least one-fiftieth of the effort required to master any of the existing national tongues, and which opens up contact with the whole world.

No one need fear for lack of opportunity to use the language. The Esperantists' Workers' International, S.A.T., has its own weekly newspaper. The Soviet Government has issued Esperanto stamps and postcard headings. The Austrian and Japanese Governments issue travel guides in Esperanto. In our own country men like Charles Roden Buxton and Professor J. J. Findlay are exponents. In Ireland Mr. R. P. Mortished, of the Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress, is also an adept. Mr. N. Nathans, of the International Transport Federation, makes practical use of it in his organisation. The Board of Education sanctions classes, and the L.C.C., co-operative education committees, the N.C.L.C., and the W.E.A. alike provide tuition facilities. Labour journals are making increasing use of the language. Certainly our May Day appeal: "Workers of the world, unite," would sound more convincing and appropriate in an international tongue than in some 40 odd mutually incomprehensible declarations of solidarity.

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Maternity: A Primary Problem of Socialist Policy

By

MARION PHILLIPS, D.Sc. (ECON.)

Chief Woman Officer of the Labour Party

THE fundamental problem of Socialism, the acid test of all its policy, is the healthy birth of the next generation.

For while the Conservative strives uncomfortably to keep to the path of the present with one foot dragging in the past, the Socialist reaches out always from present to future, to the goal of his forward march, the superman of the to-morrow. The whole *raison d'être* of the economic theory of Socialism is to be found, not in a negative spirit of revolt against suffering, but in a constructive demand for the development of a finer form of humanity, of nobler and more powerful men and women. It is, therefore, a fundamental question which Socialist women will consider at the Women's International Conference at Brussels, in August this year, when they deal with the Socialist demands of the political Labour Movement for mother and child.

It is in no sentimental and romantic spirit that Socialist women approach this subject. They have no illusions as to the social sentiment which lies behind those facile words when danger threatens, "Women and Children First." They know from experience that in the general social wreckage that capitalism has created it is women and children who are in fact the first, not to find safety, but to stagger under poverty's assaults. From the time of birth until the slow decay of old age it is the tender bodies of infants that pass most often from the beautiful movement of life to the stillness of death. The surest index of poverty is the rise or fall of the death and sickness rates of babies, and the next surest is that of young children.

The figures of maternal and infant death rates show another unromantic fact. It is at the entrance to life that the toll of death is heaviest. In every country, where awakening social instinct has led to the development of infant welfare work through the Public Health Departments, the reduction of infantile mortality has been mainly in the later months of the first year. The first four weeks remain the critical time and obstinately resist the general downward trend. The

following figures for England and Wales, which would be found similar in all countries, show this very markedly:—

TABLE SHOWING BIRTH RATE, DEATH RATE, INFANT MORTALITY RATE, AND TOTAL PUERPERAL MORTALITY, 1891-1926.

Years.	Birth rate.	Death rate.	Infant mortality rate.	Total puerpera mortality (old classification).
1891-1895....	30'5	18'7	151	5'49
1896-1900....	29'3	17'7	156	4'69
1901-1905....	28'2	16'0	138	4'27
1906-1910....	26'3	14'7	117	3'74
1911-1915....	23'6	14'3	110	3'81
1916-1920....	20'1	14'4	90	3'88
1921-1925....	19'9	12'2	76	3'69
1926	17'8	11'6	70	3'87

The last column holds the solution of this particular problem. The stationary character of the maternal mortality rate steadily opposes every effort to make the baby safe in its first weeks of life. It is at this time more than at any other that the physical conditions of mother and child are most closely interdependent. Until maternal mortality has been reduced, the tide of infant deaths cannot be stemmed.

The question of maternal deaths has recently been much discussed, especially in Great Britain (where a Labour Minister of Health caused the publication of the first important report in 1924), in U.S.A., Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. In all these countries the figures show the same obstinate quality. Some are higher, notably U.S.A. and Canada, where it is over 6 per 1,000 births. In the last named 1,532 mothers died in 1925-26, leaving 5,073 motherless children, including 768 new born babies. Imagination must picture those homes with the widower and the uncared for children, and also the 764 babies who died with their mothers, to complete the picture of social loss. European figures tell much the same tale. Detailed reports, however, are few, and the statistical methods not yet sufficiently internationalised to give exact comparisons. Nor have we yet such inquiries as will give us the reasons for the lower rates in Italy, Holland, Norway, and Sweden, and the higher ones in Germany, Ireland, and Switzerland.

Certain definite causes, however, stand out very prominently. They may be broadly summarised :—

1. General conditions of poverty leading to poor health, bad housing, and overwork.
2. Unhealthy conditions of work in adolescence and later—conditions which affect both mother and father.
3. Lack of medical and nursing care both before, at the time of, and after birth.
4. Lack of knowledge—a condition of ignorance which is to be found in both mother and father, and also amongst doctors, midwives, and nurses.
5. Lack of income at the time of birth, which means both great anxiety for the mother and failure to get sufficient nourishment, warmth, and hygienic comfort for herself or the baby.

With regard to the first two causes it is clear that a much more far-reaching policy than can be brought under the special terms of reference we have given above must be found, but with regard to the lack of medical and nursing care the subject is to be attacked from two sides. On the one hand, there is the difficulty that the average working-class mother has in paying for proper attendance and the lack of provision she now suffers from, in most cases, in the lack of ante-natal advice. But on the other side there is need also of better training both for doctors and midwives. There is need, too, for better hospital provision for all difficult and dangerous cases, a provision which is also required where housing conditions make the birth of a child at home unsuitable and dangerous.

Under this same heading comes also the need for assistance to the working woman in looking after her home. Under the title of Home Helps, this provision has been constantly advocated by working women's organisations in Great Britain so far with some little success. For women at work the provisions of the Maternity Convention at Washington laid down general principles of very great value. The only large industrial country which has put this into operation with any sort of completeness is Germany; but more is needed, for the provision should be extended so that on essential points all working class mothers are provided for and not only those who work for wages. British Labour women have already put forward such a scheme.

It is not the purpose of this article to deal in detail with the proposals for meeting all these needs. In Great Britain a great many of them can be adequately carried out by full

use being made of the Maternity and Child Welfare Act, but unfortunately local authorities have not taken the advantage they should of that measure. In some cases this is because they are governed by reactionary majorities that do not want to use their full powers; in others lack of funds and the foolish and cruel policy of economy forced upon them by the Ministry of Health under the present Conservative Government have held up their advance. In Great Britain, however, as in other countries legislation is necessary in order to make further financial provision for the mother.

The subject is one which has been very prominently discussed in this country during recent years, and it has been before National Conferences of Labour Women and the Labour Party many times. A representative non-party Committee of women formed by Miss Gertrude Tuckwell has done a great deal in the past year, and has certainly had a very great influence in urging the Minister of Health to take further action. A recent report published by the Ministry has pointed the way with regard to improved medical, nursing, and midwifery care, and to the very necessary work of investigating all cases of maternal deaths. This has now been specially urged upon the Maternity and Child Welfare Committees of Public Health Authorities in a circular from the Minister in which he has also stated that he proposes to appoint a special Committee of investigation into the problems of maternity. He has not yet made it clear whether he intends this to be a Research Committee of scientists or a General Committee which will include representatives of the mothers themselves. The National Conference of Labour Women to be held at Portsmouth on May 16 and 17 will have before it a long and full report on the question. It is to be hoped that the discussion at the International Women's Conference will lead to further pressure being placed upon Public Health Authorities in all countries, and through the health section of the League of Nations fruitful action might be taken to bring the more backward areas up to the level of the most advanced.

We have got to recognise that public opinion even amongst women is not fully awakened. Death in child birth has been treated as a natural event, and women themselves have been ready to accept danger and ill-health as a usual consequence of maternity. This is a degradation of a natural function which should be carried out with the happiness of good health.

Labour's March to Power

TORY MISGIVINGS: LIBERAL DISAPPOINTMENT

BY-ELECTION FACTS AND FIGURES

By

W. W. HENDERSON

THE approach of the next General Election invests the by-elections with especial significance, and the broad tendencies which the latter disclose, while they must fill the Tories with misgiving and the Liberals with disappointment, inspire the Labour Party with real confidence and hope. Nothing could be more encouraging to a Party that is fighting to gain power than the results of the last two by-elections, Hanley and Linlithgow. Hanley provided Labour with the most dashing and outstanding victory since the last General Election. A comparison of the by-election result with that of the 1924 General Elections makes clear the extent of Labour's magnificent triumph.

BY-ELECTION, 1928.	GENERAL ELECTION, 1924.
Mr. Arthur Hollins (Lab.) 15,136	Mr. S. Clowes (Labour) 13,527
Mr. Alfred Denville (Con.) 6,604	Mr. F. Collis (Con.) 11,973
Mr. Walter Meakin (Lib.) 3,390	
Lab. majority over Con. 8,532	Lab. majority over Con. 1,554

Labour's poll was increased by 1,600 votes; its majority over the Tory was more than 8,500, and its majority over the Liberal 11,746. More remarkable still is the fact that the Labour poll exceeded by over 5,000 votes the combined votes of the Liberals and Tories, whereas in 1924, in a straight fight with the Tory, its majority was only 1,554.

In view of the fact that the combined Liberal and Tory vote in the by-election was nearly 2,000 less than the Tory vote alone in 1924, it is amazing to find one of the anti-Labour newspapers attempting to explain away Labour's smashing victory by asserting that it was only secured in a three-cornered fight. The obvious stupidity of such an explanation serves only to emphasise the staggering effects upon its opponents of Labour's remarkable success.

This victory was even more inspiring and decisive than that at Linlithgow recently, where Labour had a majority of more than 5,000 over the Tory and of 8,756 over the Liberal. The

by-election and General Election figures were as follows:—

BY-ELECTION, 1928.	GENERAL ELECTION, 1924.
Labour 14,446	Conservative 14,765
Conservative 9,268	Labour 14,123
Liberal 5,690	
Lab. majority over Con. 5,178	Con. majority over Lab. 642

In each case it will be seen that the Labour vote was increased, and that the Liberal—a poor third in both fights—drew his votes from the Tories, whose polls were very substantially reduced.

We do not isolate these two results from the rest for proof that the tide is flowing with Labour. Their real significance is that they stress the broad tendencies of the whole series of by-elections that have taken place since the General Election. The one indisputable conclusion to be drawn from an analysis of the by-election results is that Labour alone of the three parties has been making steady progress, a progress varying from one period to another in its rate, but never more marked than in the by-elections that have taken place during the present year.

Since the beginning of January there have been nine by-elections, in which the total Party polls have been as follows:—

Labour	93,764
Liberal	78,741
Tory	109,275

The Tory Government has lost four seats, its aggregate vote of 129,988 for only eight of them at the General Election has fallen to 109,275 for the nine seats in the by-elections, and its average of 16,248 in these constituencies in 1924 has fallen to 12,142 in the by-elections, **an average loss of 4,100 votes per contest.** With 78,471 votes the Liberals held one seat and gained two seats, whilst the Labour Party, with 15,000 more votes, also held one seat and gained two seats.

Commenting on the first seven of these by-elections, the official monthly magazine of the Liberal Party, in its April number, declared: "More people are now voting for Liberal

candidates than for Labour candidates. This is a sign of the real political tide, and its obvious meaning is that as the electors become more and more dissatisfied with the Conservative Government, it is to the Liberal Party that they are turning for an alternative Government." This claim is completely demolished by the aggregate polls set out above which show that Labour candidates have received 15,000 more votes than the Liberal candidates in the nine by-elections of this year, representing a Labour average excess of 1,555 votes per contest.

In view of the claim which the Liberals are constantly advancing that the by-elections show a "Liberal Revival," it is of interest to note what they did in the same constituencies in the 1923 General Election, which represented the post-war peak of Liberalism. Seven of these seats were then contested by Liberal candidates, who polled a total of 76,788 votes, as against 78,741 votes for nine contests in by-elections. The average poll of 10,970 votes in 1923 has fallen to 8,750 in the by-elections. The Labour Party also fought seven of these seats in 1923, securing a total of 68,666 votes, representing an average of 9,809 votes per contest as against an average of 10,418 in the by-elections. **It will thus be seen that the Liberal average in 1923 has fallen by 2,220 per contest, whereas the Labour average for 1923 has been increased by 600 votes per contest, and that whereas the Liberal average in 1923 was over 1,000 votes per contest higher than that of Labour, in the by-elections the Labour average exceeds that of the Liberals by 1,668.**

It is the custom of the Liberals to claim that a Liberal revival set in with Liberal Reorganisation in the early part of last year. They exclude all contests prior to that at Leith. Accepting the Liberals' basis of calculation, and taking the Leith by-election as a starting point, there have been sixteen contests. In 15 of these contests Labour and Liberal candidates have fought, the total Liberal vote being 138,037 as against the total Labour vote of 140,196. Yet at the General Election of 1923 the Liberal vote for only fourteen of these seats was 156,453, or more than 1,800 votes higher. On the other hand, the Labour aggregate vote rose from just under 98,000 for eleven contests in 1923 to over 140,000 in the fifteen by-elections. **The Liberal average of 11,175 in 1923 has fallen to 9,263 in the by-elections, while the Labour average has risen from 8,828 in 1923 to 9,346 in the by-elections.**

The same story is told if we take the whole series of by-elections since the last General Election. Altogether there have been 40 contests. The Labour Party has contested 37 of them, and obtained an aggregate vote of 400,323, representing an average poll of 10,819 per contest. The Liberal Party has contested 39 of them, and obtained an aggregate vote of 325,329 votes, representing an average poll of 8,342 per contest. **Thus Labour has polled an average of 2,500 votes per contest in excess of the Liberal average poll.** In 1923, when the Liberals polled over 1,250,000 more votes than they did in 1924, their average poll per contest was 9,738, while in 1924 it was 8,705, and it has now fallen to 8,342 in the by-elections.

It will thus be seen that their by-election average is less than their General Election average in 1923, and on this basis, if they ran the same high number of candidates at the next General Election which they ran in 1923, their aggregate total of votes would be lower by more than 500,000, and even on the basis of the average secured by the Liberals during the period of so-called Liberal revival, it would be lower by nearly 250,000 votes.

It is quite clear, therefore, that the by-elections either as a whole or during the period from which Liberal reorganisation is dated, or even during the present year, supply no sound evidence of a Liberal recovery. On the basis of the by-election results, and with the franchise as it is at the present moment, it is clear that the Liberals would have to struggle hard to approximate to their poll of 1923. If by "Liberal revival" is meant the recovery of those Liberal votes which went Tory at the last election—caused primarily by the reduction in the number of Liberal candidates—and the restoration of their 1923 aggregate vote, the Liberal aim is far from being an ambitious one, for although 1923 represented the peak of post-war Liberalism, it also very definitely placed the Liberal Party in the third position. Obviously, therefore, the Liberals realise that they cannot possibly be other than an "also ran," and the most that they hope for is that they may not lag behind in too humiliating a way.

These figures show not only that it will be a difficult enough task for the Liberals to recover their 1923 aggregate poll, but also that it will be an almost impossible task to restore that measure of Parliamentary representation which they enjoyed at that time. It is true that they have won four seats, but they have also lost two seats, so that three and a-half years after the General

Election the Liberal Party in the House of Commons has only two more members on balance, and only 43 members altogether.

How precarious is their hold on some of these seats is disclosed by the fact that Leith, Bosworth, and Middlesbrough West were won by the Liberals with a combined majority for the three seats of less than 500 votes over Labour. Yet if there were any seats in the country where the Liberals might expect to be safely entrenched, Leith, Bosworth, and Middlesbrough West are those seats. Since 1885, that is to say, in a period of 43 years, Leith has consistently returned a Liberal member, excepting on one occasion of a by-election in 1914, when the Tories secured the seat with a majority of sixteen votes. In the same period Bosworth has consistently returned a Liberal, excepting for a few months in 1922, and at the 1924 election, when the Tories were successful. Since 1885 Middlesbrough was consistently Liberal, excepting in 1900, when the Tories won by 55 votes. Middlesbrough West, which formed a part of the old Middlesbrough constituency, has been Liberal since its creation in 1918. Never have they been held by Labour. Yet these three constituencies, with their long record of Liberal representation, could only be retained for the Liberals with a combined majority of 471 votes over Labour.

In the light of such facts and figures, it will be seen how flimsy is the basis upon which the claims of Liberal revival rest. Yet such has been the extent and constancy of their Press campaign that it is not surprising if a few voters here and there have been deluded into accepting the fiction for fact. Indeed, the idea has been sedulously fostered not merely by Liberal newspapers, but by some of the Tory Press, and the official monthly of the Liberal Party has greedily grasped at any such small pickings to boost up its own unsubstantial assertions. It quotes the *Daily Mail* as declaring that "the by-elections in the past few weeks have now definitely established the fact that there is a Liberal revival, and that it is making real progress," and the *Daily Express* as saying, "The result shows that the revival of Liberalism is not a mere wish, but a fact . . . and moderate opinion everywhere, even that section of it which is Conservative, will rejoice

that it is so. More and more events point to Liberalism taking once more its rightful place as the natural alternative to a Conservative Government." The gratitude of the Liberals for such gratuitous support is indicated by the interesting comment of the LIBERAL MAGAZINE which added: "Wherever this kind of thing is said, it is true."

Now, it is quite clear that the support given by Tory newspapers to the idea of a Liberal revival is not based upon the by-election results, in so far as they affect the Liberal Party, but on these results, in so far as they show a serious diminution in the Tory vote, and a constant improvement in the Labour position. Only very occasionally does some audacious spirit in the Government ranks express satisfaction with the trend of the by-elections. Many Tory members view the approaching General Election with real apprehension, because they know that it will put a period to their membership in the House of Commons. They may not be sure as to the extent of the popularity of the Labour Party. They have no doubt as to the widespread unpopularity of the Government. Tory newspapers are fully aware that the present Government is running straight for defeat at the next General Election, and for a defeat that may easily assume the proportions of disaster. They are extremely doubtful of the present Government being returned. They know that the real alternative is a Labour Government. If they cannot avert Tory defeat, they are anxious to prevent a Labour victory, and they have hit upon the idea of giving publicity to the myth of a Liberal revival in the hope of being able to prevent Labour marching to power. But neither the boastings of Liberal organisers nor the false propaganda of Tory newspapers will alter the facts disclosed by the by-election results. These facts, which cannot be contested, are that the Government has lost the confidence of the electorate, that the Liberals have made no headway which by any stretch of the imagination can be said to represent Liberal revival, and that the Labour Party alone is marching steadily forward, increasing its votes, augmenting its representation in Parliament, and establishing itself more firmly than ever in the minds of the electorate as the only alternative to Government by reaction.

THE
LABOUR MAGAZINE

*Official Journal of the Trades Union Congress
and the Labour Party*

Editorial Offices : TRANSPORT HOUSE (SOUTH
BLOCK), SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W. 1.

Telephones : VICTORIA 8010-7-8
Telegrams : LABREPCOM, CHURTON, LONDON

SIXPENCE MONTHLY, by post 7d.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION 7s.

ONE of the most important matters engaging the attention of the Labour Party at the present time is that of raising its £100,000 Bid For Power Fund in readiness for the next General Election. That election, for reasons that are obvious to everyone, will be the most important that has ever been held in this country. It will decide whether the present discredited Tory administration is to be re-elected to office, or whether it is to be replaced by a Labour Government. Our opponents realise the importance of the election as well as we do, and from the huge reserve funds that they built up by the sale of honours they are pouring out money like water on propaganda and organisation. We cannot hope to compete with them in their expenditure. We do not need to do so. Much of it is profligate and wasteful. But if owing to financial stringency we have to curtail certain activities that are essential to electoral success it is no use blinking the fact that we may have to suffer. We are not lavishly supplied with money like the other parties. We have had to rely mainly on the pennies of the workers, and just as we were recovering from the heavy strain imposed on our resources by the three elections of 1922, 1923, and 1924, the Government placed its Trade Union Act on the Statute Book, prohibiting the collection of the Political Levy as heretofore, and virtually cutting off our supplies until new collecting machinery had been created to take the place of the old. That machinery is gradually being moulded into shape, the process of "contracting-in" is proceeding satisfactorily, and in due course the new machinery will doubtless be capable of meeting all the demands that are made upon it. During the interval,

however, preparations have to be made for the next General Election. The work of organisation and propaganda must not be allowed to slacken off; on the other hand, it must be intensified. This costs money. And if it is to be continued the money must be found. For this reason the National Executive of the Labour Party have launched their appeal for a £100,000 Bid For Power Fund, and, realising that the movement as a whole will appreciate the importance of the appeal, they are anticipating confidently that there will be an overwhelming response.

* * *

THE proposals adumbrated in Mr. Churchill's fourth Budget grow less attractive as they become more fully understood. There is one good point in it—the increase in the Income Tax allowance for dependent children—but this only takes £2,100,000 this year and £4,500,000 in a full year, not a very big amount of relief when compared with the yearly £12,000,000 gift that the Chancellor has made to the Super Tax payers in each of his Budgets. However, it is a move in the right direction. The other proposals are almost all open to severe objection. The tax on petrol and that which he originally proposed on paraffin, for instance, which, at the rate of 4d. a gallon, is expected to yield £10,200,000 this year and £16,300,000 in a full year, is being denounced in all quarters. It is placing a heavy burden on many industries which use huge quantities of petrol, it is imposing a discriminatory tax on motorists as a special class of the community, it is likely to lead to an increase in passenger fares and merchandise freight rates so far as road transport is concerned, and had the paraffin tax not been withdrawn in deference to the clamour of opposition, it would have imposed a very unfair and unbearable burden on the agricultural labourers, who are dependent almost entirely on paraffin for the illumination of their cottages, and often for cooking purposes as well. There are new taxes, also, on imported petrol lighters, and on imported buttons—rather trifling matters in themselves, but typical of the willingness of the one time Apostle of Free Trade who now presides over the Exchequer to be dragged at the behest of his new party in the direction of Protection.

THERE is no serious attempt in the Budget to relieve the working-classes of the Food Taxes which at present press so heavily upon them. There is certainly a slight readjustment of the sugar duties—a step which has been taken in order to prevent the subsidised beet sugar industry from squeezing out the old-established British refiners of imported sugar—and although Mr. Churchill is suggesting that this may lead to a reduction of a $\frac{1}{4}$ d. a lb. in the retail price of sugar, there is no guarantee that such relief will percolate down through the various interests concerned into the pocket of the consumer. And even if it does, what is a $\frac{1}{4}$ d. a lb.? It amounts to little more than a halfpenny or a penny a week off the grocery bill of the average housewife. This is typical, however, of Mr. Churchill's indifference towards the needs of the workers. To the landowners, on the other hand, he proposes to give a subsidy of millions. From next year all agricultural land will be relieved entirely of rates. This is intended, ostensibly, to be in the nature of a subsidy to the farmers, but it is easy to see that a subsidy to the farmers, so long as the land remains in private ownership, will certainly find its way into the pockets of the landowners, and the enthusiasm with which this proposal has been received by the land-owning interests shows clearly that they are anticipating that this shall be the case.

* * *

AS to the other aspects of Mr. Churchill's proposals for the Reform of Rating; no detailed particulars have yet been given, and it is therefore not possible to pass a considered judgment. For some years, of course, the Labour Party has been demanding a reform of the present anomalous rating system, and the transference of certain charges—such as that for the maintenance of the unemployed—to the national Exchequer. Mr. Churchill, however, seems to have set about the task of reforming the rating system in the wrong way. His proposals—which, briefly speaking, comprise a rebate to “productive” industry of 75 per cent. of its rates, and the consequent reimbursement of the local authorities concerned by means of block grants from the national Exchequer—fall very short of what is needed in certain respects, and go very much farther than what is needed in

other respects. For instance, the proposals will make no direct appeal to the necessitous areas, who will still have to struggle on under the £7,000,000 burden of debt which now hangs over them. They do not provide a subsidy sufficiently large to restore the fortunes of the industries that are hardest hit; coal, for instance, will only receive a subsidy of about $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. a ton under the scheme, whereas in South Wales, at present, there is an average loss of 1s. 7d. on the coal produced. On the other hand, many prosperous industries—such as gramophone, motor-car and artificial silk manufacture—will receive this subsidy from State funds, merely because they happen to be classed as “productive” industries, whereas many other industries and services, although they are essential to the community, and although they are incurring heavy losses on their trading, will be refused the subsidy merely because they do not come within the definition of “productive” laid down in the proposals. Nor is that all. These undertakings that are heavily losing money may actually have to subscribe towards the subsidy which will be paid out to the “productive” firms which are making enormous profits. No wonder Mr. Snowden described the so-called rating relief scheme as “a fantastic, half-baked monstrosity.” It certainly does seem to have been very ill-conceived. But that is typical of the proposals that we have learned to associate with Churchillian finance.

* * *

THE trend of the by-elections during the first four months of this year is further confirmation of the claim we have made from time to time that Labour alone is making steady and solid progress. That the so-called “Liberal revival” was merely a flash in the pan can no longer be denied. At no time did the assertion carry conviction, especially as it rested in no small part on Liberal victories in three ancient strongholds of Liberalism where the total majority over Labour was less than 500 votes. Far from these results representing revival, they showed that Labour is within an ace of wresting from the Liberals some of their few remaining one-time impregnable fortresses, and were a fore-warning of Labour successes on the next occasion. But if the claim that

Liberalism was reviving rested on a flimsy basis then, what must be said of it following the results at Linlithgow and Hanley? At the former Labour's majority over the Liberals was 8,756, and at the latter it was 11,746! As for the Tories, each successive by-election fills them with increasing gloom. They have been called upon to defend seven seats this year, and have been deprived of four of them! Their General Election polls have been seriously reduced in each of the nine by-elections, and this is true of practically every contest they have engaged in since 1924. A few more Hanleys and the rout of the Tories at the General Election will be assured. Labour, on the other hand, marches steadily forward, increasing its vote, winning seats, and gaining new influence and strength. A Labour Government in 1929 is becoming a very real probability.

* * *

EVENTS in the Notts coalfield are daily providing fresh justification for the campaign inaugurated by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress in defence of democratic Trade Unionism. The open and straightforward test of the position undertaken by the T.U.C., whose decision to go forward with the ballot of the coalfield has given great satisfaction to the great mass of the mineworkers, is calculated to solve all the difficulties which have arisen out of the ill-advised attempt of a section of the owners to sabotage the Notts Miners' Association through the instrumentality of the so-called "non-political" union. The owners and the "Spencerites" have sullenly refused to submit themselves to this test, and have thereby raised grave doubts as to the honesty and sincerity of their respective attitudes. For if the owners are genuine in their declaration that they "make no inquiry or discrimination with regard to a man's employment as to his membership of any Trade Union," they can have no reasonable objection to the settlement of the rival claims of the N.M.A. and the Spencer Union by the free and democratic method of the ballot. And if Mr. Spencer and his associates are really so satisfied that they exist by the free will of the Notts mineworkers, they would not hesitate to take such an excellent opportunity of establishing their claim at the polls.

MEANWHILE the General Council and the Notts Miners' Executive are going steadily on with the ballot. The campaign of which the ballot is the culmination is no mere strategic expedient: it is having an effect on the morale of the miners which is bound to have a permanent reaction on the situation in the area. Something of the shadow of terrorism under which the Notts miners and their families have lived for so many weary months has already been lifted. Attendances at the meetings held to explain the purpose of the ballot grew steadily from the opening of the campaign, as men began to realise that a shield was being raised between them and the tyranny which threatened to reduce them to the status of robots. Men who had left the Notts Miners' Association under fear of being penalised in their daily work began to return; at the moment the Association is still feeling the benefit of this movement, and can look forward hopefully to the rehabilitation of its membership. The propagandists supplied by partisan political bodies to assist the promoters of the "non-political" union have succeeded only as items of comic relief in the serious business of the campaign. Miners from the coal-face or from the unemployed queues have had no difficulty in refuting the arguments of these gentry, whose ignorance of the real facts of the situation—and indeed of the facts of industry generally—has brought upon them an ignominy which their employers have shared.

* * *

THE memorandum on the gold reserve and its relations with industry (the text of which is reproduced on another page), submitted to the Chancellor of the Exchequer as the joint production of the Conference on Industrial Re-organisation and Industrial Relations is intrinsically a valuable contribution to current discussions on credit policy. Few people will be found to-day hardy enough to deny the urgency of the problem, with which are involved considerations of such prime importance to the working community as the state of the employment market, the cost of living, and the incidence of direct and indirect taxation. These are considerations which have too often been lost sight of; it is indeed a fact that credit policy has not infrequently been framed on sentimental rather than scientific lines.

It is for a scientific inquiry into the question that the Trades Union Congress and the employers are asking, and it may be expected that two such representative groups will secure an attention from the Government proportionate to their status in industry and to the universal interest which their tentative suggestions have aroused. It may be added that the document was in an exact sense of the word "timely," anticipating as it did the Budget disclosures as to the monetary policy of the Government, whose proposal to amalgamate the issue of Treasury notes with the Bank of England notes indicates a situation demanding the serious attention of everybody interested in the economic position as a whole. It remains to be seen how far the Government will find itself able to go, but it is significant that Mr. Churchill has already stated that more elasticity in credit policy will be provided in future—a point the Memorandum stresses. It should be added that criticisms of the Memorandum based on the suggestion that it implies either a departure from the Gold Standard or a policy of inflation are quite without foundation and betray a complete misunderstanding of the situation.

* * *

IT can hardly be said that the Government has disappointed the community by its attitude towards the Washington Hours Convention, because there has been nothing in the record of the present administration to lead anybody to suppose that they would so far trouble themselves about the national reputation as to carry out an undertaking which their big business friends were likely to find disagreeable. It is now nine years since a British Government which included incidentally members of the present administration, gave its adherence to the Convention, to which 39 out of 41 States, members of the League of Nations, had agreed. Since then six member States have ratified the Convention, a large number have recommended it for ratification, and the "big five" of Europe—France, Italy, Belgium, and Germany—have expressed their willingness to ratify if Great Britain will give the lead. Only during the short term of existence of the Labour Government did it ever appear that this lead was to be given, and the Labour Government went out of office before

the measure it had prepared, which amounted to 100 per cent. ratification of the Convention, could be got through Parliament. The present Government then had its chance of putting Great Britain right in the eyes of a world which was beginning, as the gossips say, to "pass remarks," and Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, the Labour Minister, did go through certain motions calculated to give the impression that there might be something doing in the dim by-and-by. Then the employers issued their notorious memorandum, which was in effect a hint to the Government not to get above themselves. Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland described himself as "surprised" at this document, but apparently was not so completely dumbfounded as to be able to grasp its real significance. Within a few weeks the British Government representative on the governing body of the International Labour Office was demanding a revision of the Convention, and the immediate and indignant response from members of the governing body was symptomatic of the storm of indignation that was to sweep working-class movements throughout the world.

* * *

READERS of the *Labour Magazine* who have been following the remarkable series of articles by Mr. Walter Citrine dealing with the mischievous activities of the Communist Party and Minority Movement will not conclude that the series is finished. For the last three weeks Mr. Citrine and members of the Trades Union Congress staff have been absorbed in the work of organising the ballot of the Notts miners, and he has been unable for that good reason to complete the article we had hoped to publish in the present issue. It will appear, we hope, in our June number. We expect also to be able to publish in that issue an article describing the work which the Trades Union Congress Secretary and his staff have been engaged upon in Nottinghamshire. It represents something new in the development of the General Council's activities as the central co-ordinating body of the Trade Union Movement, and possesses an historical interest. Numerous photographs have been taken illustrating the scenes at the headquarters of the Notts miners and around the polling stations.

In the "Eight-fifteen"

MR. HARDPHACE DOESN'T LIKE "CLASS" DEMANDS

By

T. S. DICKSON

"LATE this morning, isn't he?"

It was Mr. Hardphace who spoke as he drew out his heavy gold lever and glanced at the dial.

"Yes," nodded the Man with the Briar Pipe, just as the "Eight-fifteen" let go a shriek of her whistle. "She's off."

"Here he is," ejaculated Hardphace, and leant forward to open the carriage door, as the Man with the L.M.S. Badge in his cap dashed along, leapt on to the footboard, and swung himself inside. "Phew!" he gasped, and drew the back of his hand across a steaming forehead, "that was a near thing."

"Touch and go," agreed Hardphace with a smile, which was suddenly arrested, finally to fade away. "Imphm!" he grunted, as his eye ultimately rested on the Badge's lapel, where blazed a rosette of red. Divining the cause of the trouble, the Badge looked down, patted the rosette, looked across at Hardphace, and said: "May Day, you know! Don't like it, eh?"

"Why can't we stop this snarling and yelping at one another?" inquired Hardphace, in a tone more of sorrow than anger.

"What's the grievance?" returned the Badge. "You've got your Empire Days, and Primrose Days, and King's Birthdays, and what not—can't I 'ave a day as well."

"Empire Day is for everybody, without distinction of creed or class," answered Mr. Hardphace.

"Well, nobody's stoppin' you from carryin' a flag, or makin' a May Day speech, if ye wants to."

"I'd throw myself in the Thames first," blared Hardphace.

"That wouldn't alter you much," snapped the Badge, riled a little. Hardphace looked up interrogatively as the Badge added: "You see the tide would only land you out at sea, and you're usually there anyhow."

Hardphace compressed his lips, rustled his copy of the *Morning Mugwump*, and stared hard into its pages.

The Badge is like that. A shade of a sneer, or the tiniest curl in a supercilious lip from an opponent, and he lowers his head, and lets go. But the Man with the Briar Pipe he's

rather different. He prefers to play his fish a bit before he attempts to land it. It was he who broke the painful silence. "About May Day," he said pleasantly, with a glance at Hardphace. "Really, you know, the distinction you draw between Empire Day and May Day is fictitious. Empire Day is supported by those who believe in it, and May Day is supported by those who believe in *that*. And everybody is perfectly free, without class or creed, to support either—if their opinions permit them."

"Yes!" This sharply from Hardphace, who jerked his head from behind the *Morning Mugwump*. "If their opinions permit them! That's the point. Empire Day is a day that can be celebrated by everyone who desires the best for the Empire, whatever their politics or status in society may be. But May Day! ! !" He spluttered as if the very sound well-nigh choked him.

"Yes," said the Briar encouragingly.

"It appeals only to the grouzers, the grumblers, the discontents, the workshys——"

"Never seen the members of the 'Ouse of Lords in a May Day procession yet, I 'aven't," interposed the Badge solemnly, also thinking of workshys.

The Briar raised a pacifying hand to quell the swelling gorge of Hardphace. "Go on," he said.

Hardphace swallowed his wrath, and in a tremulous voice explained: "Empire Day symbolises the unity of all classes within the Empire and May Day does exactly the reverse. It's the—the foghorn, the loud-speaker for one class, bellowing out class hate, class grievances, and class demands."

"Yes," agreed Mr. Hesitant, the Liberal, "I think there's a little too much of that."

"Hear, hear," said the Young Man with the Purple Socks, who believes that men grow rich because they have great brains, though the implication of that logic is that he himself may end in the workhouse.

"Well, well, let that be as it may be," commented the Briar gently. "You'll agree"—this to Hardphace—"that there *are* different classes in the community."

"And always will be," he answered.

"Let us pass that by, too, for the moment," continued the Briar, not to be side-tracked. "It is admitted that there are different classes. Some do necessary and vital work for the community, and live and die in poverty. Others do no work whatever, either useful or otherwise, and live on the cream."

"Yes, but—" broke in Hardphace.

"Wait a moment, wait a moment," counselled the Briar. "I am not arguing whether that is right or wrong; I am merely stating the fact. Now, I want to put a question, since you object to what you call 'class' demands. Do the Socialists and Labourists who speak on May Day platforms demand for themselves anything more than they are willing should be granted to every other member of the community?" The Briar lay back and waited.

"I don't say they do, but——"

"Answer the question," clipped in the Badge.

"Order, order," squeaked the Young Man with the Purple Socks.

"That's all I want," said the Briar. "If the May Day orators only claim what they think should apply to everybody—that cannot be a class demand. It is a universal demand, which the direct opposite of a class demand."

The brows of Hardphace corrugated: he was being drawn further than he wished, but he didn't very well see the way out.

"In point of fact," pursued the Briar, "when you defend the position that one set who produce nothing should live in luxury, and that another set *do* produce the means of life should live in poverty, it is you and not the Socialist who is making the class demand."

"And the Tory party what you support is the rottenest class party in existence—and always has been,"—the Badge swung in his hammer again.

"Nonsense, sheer unmitigated nonsense," retorted Hardphace in annoyance.

"Sense, sheer, unmitigated sense," mimicked the Badge.

"I think so, I think so," came the quiet approval from the Man with the Briar.

"You have no evidence for that, none whatever," protested Hardphace. "That's just words, bluff, mere assertion."

"On the contrary, there is a great deal of evidence. Take their record on constitutionalism. Whenever they catch a man on the workers' side talking sedition, preaching the doctrine of armed force, off he goes to judge and jail."

"And quite right, too," rapped out Hardphace.

"Quite, quite—so long as that procedure applies only in one direction. But Sir Edward Carson preached defiance to constitutionalism in the North of Ireland. He was sent not to prison, but to the House of Lords. F. E. Smith openly advocated resort to armed force in opposition to a constitutional measure—he didn't get hauled before a judge: he was *made* a judge, given an Earldom, and ultimately elevated to be Secretary for India. Sir William Joynson Hicks howled with the same pack, and he was made Home Secretary to see that other people didn't howl in exactly the same way as he had howled, but for a different cause. Any answer to that?"

"These were exceptional circumstances," murmured Mr. Hardphace lamely.

The Man with the Briar smiled, and left it there, but said: "Take the Government's Trade Disputes Bill."

"Yes, take it," agreed Hardphace, thinking he was on safer ground. "That was a measure calculated to defend the interests of the whole community, irrespective of class."

"One could argue a long time over that," came the warning from the Briar. "But briefly, the Government pretence was that the Act was necessary to prevent any section of the people coercing the community by striking."

"And quite right," again came from Hardphace, with an echoing chirp from the Purple Socks.

"Perhaps, perhaps," said the Briar soothingly. "But what I wanted to add was this: when the Labour Party submitted an amendment in similar language, and providing similar penalties for the trusts, and syndicates, and combines who coerce the community into paying higher prices by holding up supplies, the Tory Party rejected it. You see the point: if mere workers coerce the community by withholding their labour—the only thing *they* have to sell—until they get a higher price the penalty is a judge, a jury, the jail. But if 'Big Business' coerces the community by holding up what *they* have to sell in order to get a higher price the Tories turn their blind, 'class' eye upon that."

"Business men cannot hold up supplies; competition will decide the price they get," mumbled Hardphace.

"Oh, Lord!" gasped the Man with the L.M.S. Badge, as he thought of the trusts that had bled the public—the cement trust, the light castings trust, the wallpaper trust—as he thought of the machinations of Sir Alfred Mond and American and European

capitalists to wipe out competition between national and international groups. But he only muttered something about "stone-age skulls attached to 1928 bodies" and subsided.

"Then look at Churchill," advised the Man with the Briar Pipe.

"He's got his limitations," agreed Hardphace, "but taken all in all, a big man, a genius."

The Badge lowered the window and spat through it.

"He has done a little window-dressing here and there," said the Briar; "makes one think of the gorgeous and astounding pictures outside the circus at the village fair compared with the paltry actuality inside the tent. But take the classes who have got the greatest relief in his Budgets—the rich and the super rich. If we take the super-tax payer alone, the poor fellow who has to stagger along on about £40 a week!—he has given these people a gift in reduced taxation of £12,000,000 a year, some ninety odd thousand of them. But they could not find more than £3,000,000 to assist the miners, though they represent a community of between three and four million people. £40,000,000 a year additional for the income tax and super-tax payer, and three days longer wait before the unemployed worker gets his insurance pittance. Bah!" fumed the Briar, "your Government reeks with class distinction and class demands."

"That's all very well," put in Hardphace, "but the super-tax payer and the income tax payer have heavy calls on them. Everybody is suffering these days."

"Rubbish, undiluted rubbish," flung back the Briar. "Listen to this." He searched out a cutting from his wallet. "This is from Table 48 of the Report of the Inland Revenue Commissioners for 1927, and shows the return of gross income of all kinds for income tax purposes. What does it show? That income from lands, houses, etc., had increased by £15,724,457. Incomes from British, Dominion, and Foreign Government securities had increased by £2,362,127. Profits from businesses, professions, employments, etc., had increased by £18,094,066. Salaries of Government, Corporation, and Public Company officials had increased by £9,001,944.

And—note this, will you—the amount returnable by weekly wage-earners had decreased by £89,632,383. What do you think about it?"

"Strange," commented Hardphace as if amazed.

"The only strange thing is that hundreds of thousands of those same wage-earners go on voting for a Tory Government that lends its weight to wage smashing, and opens its purse strings to the classes whose incomes are increasing."

"You know, I'm not prepared to accept those figures," Hardphace said.

"Well, you'd better write to the Inland Revenue Commissioners about it. The figures aren't mine," added the Briar, lifting his attache case as the "Eight-fifteen" drew into Grubtown platform.

"And if I can 'ave a word," suggested the L.M.S. Badge; "if I can 'ave a word, I'd like to say that I never met a man what has such an 'atred for 'class' speeches in Hyde Park and such a love for a 'class' Government in the 'Ouse of Commons. Put that in yer pipe and smoke it."

And he hopped out after the Briar.

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A Diary of Parliament

March 26

On the Consolidated Fund Bill debate, Labour raised the question of the distress prevailing in the South Wales mining areas. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald said that there were three main matters that required urgent attention: (1) Boots and clothing should be provided for the school children, who were having to stay away from school because they had no boots and clothes fit to go in. (2) Steps should be taken to save the local authorities from financial collapse. (3) Miners who have no prospect of being re-employed in the derelict areas should be transferred with public assistance to other districts.

The Minister of Health replied to the effect that the Industrial Transference Board was dealing with the last-mentioned question. With regard to the second question, he did not agree that the local authorities were likely to collapse. With regard to the first question, he preferred to leave this matter to private charity.

March 27

Mr. J. Batey (Lab., Spennymoor) moved the adjournment of the House "in order to draw attention to the failure of the Government to prosecute certain coal owners for breaches of the Mines Eight Hours Act by the continuous employment underground of a boy on three occasions for more than 16 hours per day."

The pit in question, said Mr. Batey, was the Tursdale Colliery, in the county of Durham, and the Secretary for Mines admitted that on three occasions a boy under 16 years of age had been kept underground for 16 hours a day. The Secretary for Mines added that the circumstances in each case constituted an emergency, and that as the coal owners had promised not to do it again, he had decided not to prosecute. Asked what the "emergency" was, the Secretary for Mines said that on the three occasions the boy had been kept to work a second shift underground at the end of his eight-hour shift "on account of the absence of other boys through illness." As Mr. Batey pointed out, this did not appear to be a genuine case of emergency, as if the boys on the second shift for any reason did not turn up for work there was an abundance of others who could do the work and who could be employed.

March 29

Representation of the People (Equal Franchise) Bill, to give votes to women at the age of 21 on the same terms as men, introduced by the Home Secretary, and supported by the Labour Party.

The Tory Die Hards moved the rejection of the Bill, but they were defeated by 389 to 12 votes. (See page 35.)

April 2

Mr. Tom Shaw, on behalf of the Labour Party, drew attention to the very depressed state of the cotton industry, and asked that the Government should set up an inquiry into the whole of the circumstances connected with the trade. The Government declined to do so.

April 3

On the Second Reading of the National Health Insurance Bill, Mr. Rhys Davies moved, on behalf of the Labour Party: "That this House, whilst prepared to welcome improvements in National Health Insurance, cannot assent to the Second Reading of a

Bill which fails to recognise, in the light of modern conditions, the necessity for making the scheme more national in character by establishing the right of entry to many persons now excluded; neglects to make better benefits possible by restoring the State contributions of which the National Health Insurance Fund has been deprived; and fails in many respects to carry out the recommendations of the Royal Commission." After the Labour amendment had been rejected, the Labour Party agreed to the Second Reading of the Bill.

April 4

The following Labour resolution, introduced by Mr. Tinker, was agreed to: "That, in the opinion of this House, the maintenance of independent organs for the dissemination of news is vital to the preservation of the standard of public life in the country, and that the consolidation of the newspaper Press in the hands of powerful syndicates, and some of the devices employed by these syndicates to extend the circulation of the newspapers under their control, are contrary to the public interest."

April 5

Parliament adjourned for the Easter recess until April 17th.

April 17

In reply to Commander Kenworthy, the First Lord of the Admiralty announced, in regard to the "Royal Oak" court martial, that the Admiralty had decided that Admiral Collard should be retired, and that the sentences on Captain Dewar and Commander Daniel, that they should be severely reprimanded and dismissed their ship, should be confirmed, but that these sentences should not preclude them from further employment in due course when suitable vacancies occur.

Army (Annual) Bill considered in Committee, and amended so that the only military offences on active service which will remain punishable with death will be mutiny, treachery, cowardice, desertion, and leaving a guard, etc., without orders, or in the case of a sentinel leaving a post without being properly relieved.

April 18

Equal Franchise Bill considered in Committee.

April 19

Major Kindersley (Tory) asked the Home Secretary whether, in view of the fact that Bank of England notes found on persons described as Irish gunmen, arrested before Easter for being in illegal possession of firearms, have been traced back to a Russian banking institution in this country, he will make inquiries as to whether any of the moneys standing to the credit of Russian trading organisations in this country are being used in attempts to foment and organise revolutionary action here.

The Home Secretary replied: My honourable and gallant friend's information is correct. I am constantly making inquiries, and am satisfied that Russian money is being used as suggested in the question.

April 21

Mr. Churchill introduced his fourth Budget. (See page 32.)

Another Churchillian Budget

SECOND thoughts are sometimes best. Many people have discovered this in connection with the latest Budget.

Swept off their balance by the Chancellor's eloquence, their first impression was a favourable one. But after a day or two's reflection, and after Mr. Philip Snowden had X-rayed his successor's speech and shown the real nature of the proposals that lay beneath the camouflage, they frankly admitted that their first impression was erroneous, and that the Budget was as typically Churchillian as ever.

It does not ease the Food Taxes which press so heavily on the homes of the workers. It holds out no immediate hope to the unemployed. It puts a new and heavy tax on petrol and originally proposed to put one on paraffin as well—important industrial and domestic commodities. And although it contains a Rating Relief scheme, that relief will not come into operation until 18 months have elapsed, it

will be conferred indiscriminately on industries that are making huge profits as well as those which are really in need of relief, and it makes no direct appeal to the necessitous areas, which still have to struggle on with heavy burdens of indebtedness hanging like millstones around their necks.

Owing to the new form in which Mr. Churchill has presented the accounts this year, comparison with previous years is rendered somewhat difficult. The Post Office and the Road Fund Accounts are shown separately from the General Accounts, the revenue and expenditure in each case being regarded as self-balancing. Eliminating these items (which total £78,614,000), the expenditure for the coming year is shown as £760,322,000.

The table submitted by the Chancellor sets out the allocation of this £760,322,000 ordinary expenditure, and the revenue for the year, as follows:—

Estimated 1928 Revenue.		Estimated 1928 Expenditure.	
	£		£
Inland Revenue—		Interest and Management of National Debt..	304,000,000
Income Tax	232,900,000	Payments to Local Taxation Accounts.....	14,200,000
Super Tax.....	60,000,000	Payments to Northern Ireland Exchequer ...	5,600,000
Estate Duty	72,000,000	Miscellaneous Consolidated Fund Services	2,600,000
Stamps	28,000,000		
Excess Profits Duty	1,000,000	Total	326,400,000
Corporation Profits Tax	1,500,000		
Land Tax, etc.	550,000	Supply Services—	
Total Inland Revenue.....	396,250,000	Defence—Army	£
		Navy	41,050,000
Customs and Excise—		Air Force	57,300,000
Customs.....	122,067,000		16,250,000
Excise.....	142,518,000	Total Defence (including	
Total Customs and Excise	264,585,000	£16,819,000 for Pensions)	114,600,000
		Civil	
Motor Vehicles Duties—		I. Central Government and	
Exchequer Share.....	4,400,000	Finance	2,233,000
TOTAL RECEIPTS FROM TAXES	665,235,000	II. Imperial and Foreign	5,604,000
		III. Law and Justice.....	12,304,000
Post Office Net Receipt	8,186,000	IV. Education	49,493,000
Crown Lands.....	1,100,000	V. Health, Labour, Insurance	
Receipts from Sundry Loans due to British		(including Old Age and	
Government	27,650,000	Widows' Pensions)	75,614,000
Miscellaneous—		VI. Trade and Industry	9,695,000
Ordinary Receipts	13,550,000	VII. Buildings, Rates, etc.....	8,459,000
Special Receipts (including £13,200,000		VIII. War Pensions and Civil	
from Currency Note Assets)	40,362,000	Pensions	59,866,000
TOTAL 1928 REVENUE ..	756,083,000	IX. Miscellaneous	536,000
Add—Surplus of 1927 ..	4,239,000	Tax Collection—	
		Customs and Excise and Inland Revenue	
		Votes (including Pensions, £925,000)...	11,777,000
			350,181,000
		TOTAL 1928 EXPENDITURE.....	676,581,000
		National Debt—Sinking Fund.....	65,000,000
		Surplus, 1923.....	14,502,000
		Surplus, 1927.....	4,239,000
			*18,741,000
		*Available for	760,322,000
		() Contingencies in 1928 Budget.	
		(b) Suspensory Fund for Rating Relief Scheme.	

There are several new items of taxation in the Budget. Two of them are trifling—a duty of sixpence on the imported petrol lighters used by smokers, and a duty of thirty-three and

a-third per cent. on imported buttons. There is also an increase in the Excise Duty on British wines from 1s. to 1s. 6d. a gallon, and a slight readjustment of the sugar duties in order to

protect the refineries from the competition of the subsidised beet sugar. According to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, this readjustment will result in a reduction of a farthing a pound in the price of sugar to the consumer, but there is no guarantee, as yet, that that reduction will ever reach the housewife, and, if it does, it will only represent a benefit of a halfpenny or a penny a week to the average working-class household.

The biggest tax change is that whereby a duty of 4d. is placed on petrol. This is likely to have a far-reaching effect upon industry and the cost of living. Already there are possibilities of increased bus fares and increased road transport freight rates, whilst the tax will also impose a burden on many petrol-using industries. A similar tax of 4d. a gallon on paraffin was also included in the Budget—an outrageous proposal that would have added shillings a week to the household expenses of the agricultural workers, who are dependent almost entirely on paraffin for the illumination of their cottages—but in face of the Labour Party's opposition and of a revolt on the part of his own supporters, the Chancellor withdrew the paraffin tax during the debates in Committee.

The only other tax change of importance is the increase in the Income Tax allowance in respect of dependent children. At present there is an allowance of £36 in respect of the first child, and of £27 in respect of each subsequent child. Under the Budget this allowance is to be increased to £60 for the first child and of £50 for each subsequent child. The remission will only affect a limited number of people—and it will not touch millions of working class families at all. The total amount concerned—£2,100,000 this year and £4,500,000 in a full year—is a comparatively small amount in comparison with the gift of £12,000,000 yearly which Mr. Churchill has conferred upon the super tax payers during his period of office.

The estimated effect of the various alterations in taxation in the Budget as originally presented are as follow:—

	1928-29.	In a full year.
Customs—		
Sugar	— 1,800,000	— 2,380,000
Mechanical lighters.....	+ 37,000	+ 42,000
Cinematograph films		Negligible loss.
B ttons	+ 130,000	+ 200,000
Oils	+ 10,200,000	+ 16,300,000
Excise—		
British wines	+ 65,000	+ 70,000
Sugar	— 500,000	— 520,000
Mechanical lighters.....	+ 3,000	+ 3,000
Oils	+ 4,000,000	Non-recurrent.
Motor Vehicle Duties—		
Hackney vehicles.....	— 600,000	— 600,000
Commercial goods vehicles }		
Income Tax—		
Increased relief for children	— 2,100,000	— 4,500,000
	+ 9,435,000	+ 8,615,000

By no means one of the least important proposals of the Budget is that which foreshadows an "economy" campaign at the expense of Civil Servants. Mr. Churchill announced that a five years' campaign began on April 1 last year, and that during this period it is proposed to abolish 11,127 posts, equal to 18 per cent. of the particular staffs affected.

As to the scheme of rating relief which the Budget foreshadows, the Government have so far refrained from furnishing that sufficiency of detail necessary for a complete examination of the subject. The Labour Party, of course, has for years been advocating in Parliament that a portion of the present inequitable burden imposed by local rates upon industry should be lifted and transferred to the Central Government, but from such details as have already been given by the Government with regard to their scheme, they appear to be going the wrong way about it.

Briefly, the Government's proposals are that three quarters of the rates on productive industry are to be remitted, beginning with the rate payment of October, 1929; that farm lands and buildings, after the rate payment of April to June, 1929, are to be completely and permanently relieved of all rates, though the farmer will continue to pay rates on his residence; and that rating relief amounting to not less than £4 million a year will be given to the railways.

Although it is necessary to await further details of the scheme before passing final judgment, there are some very obvious objections which occur to mind in regard to the proposals as at present adumbrated. In the first place, as Mr. W. Graham has pointed out, the scheme makes no direct appeal to the necessitous areas, and does not touch with £7 million of debt under which they are at present staggering. Moreover, another 18 months has to elapse before any of the relief is felt at all, and in that time the industries and the population in those "black spots" of the coalfields and elsewhere will be left to sink to a lower and still lower level of depression and degradation.

Further, the relief, even when it does come into operation, will not help many of the hardest hit coal districts in the slightest degree. The rates levied on coal amount to something in the region of 6d. per ton. Under the Government's proposals the mines are to be relieved of three-quarters of this amount—equivalent to a subsidy of only 4½d. a ton—an entirely inadequate amount when it is remembered that in January of this year, according to the Ministry of Mines figures, the loss per ton on coal in South Wales was rather more than 1s. 7d. a ton.

Then there is also the anomalous discrimination which it is proposed to make between "productive" industry on the one hand and other industrial and commercial undertakings on the other. The "productive" firms are to receive this subsidy—in the form of a remission of three quarters of the rates—whilst the firms who do not come within the "productive" category are to continue paying their full rates as theretofore. Note the unjust effect which this will have. On the one hand prosperous firms engaged in the manufacture of motor cars, gramophones, and artificial silk, making huge profits, and needing no subsidy from the State, will receive this subsidy, much of which will have to come out of the pockets of firms not regarded as "productive," from whom the full 100 per cent. rates will be levied, despite the fact that they may be suffering heavy losses as a result of their trading.

As to the abolition of the rates on agricultural land, it requires no particular gift of pre-vision to be able to perceive what will happen. In a very short time the subsidy will percolate through into the pockets of the landowner—in which connection it is significant to note that large landowners have already been falling over one another in their haste to bestow their blessing upon the proposal and upon the Chancellor who put it forward.

Finally, it must not be forgotten that whilst the "punitive" clauses of the Budget—those which impose new taxation—come into operation immediately, those clauses under which it is proposed to relieve the ratepayer do not begin to operate for another 18 months—after the next General Election and when the present Government, presumably, will no longer be in office.

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Tory Opposition to the Equal Franchise Bill

WITH the enthusiastic support of the Labour Party, and despite the open hostility of the Diehard section of the Tory Party, and the lack of support of another section—numbering 121 Tory Back Benchers and fifteen members of the Government, who did not vote on the Second Reading—the Equal Franchise Bill has now reached a stage when it is ready for its Third Reading.

Its form only differs in one administrative detail from the draft that was originally submitted to the House. Mr. Arthur Henderson's new clause, proposing a stabilisation of existing maximum election expenses in place of the automatic increase that will take place under the Bill through the extension of the electorate, was adopted in part. Labour's other Committee stage amendment, which aimed at preventing the extension of plural voting as proposed in the Bill, was defeated. So also was the Tory Diehard amendment on the Committee stage which sought to fix 25 instead of 21 as the qualifying age for both sexes. Similarly, the Tory motion for the out-and-out rejection of the Bill on Second Reading was defeated by the overwhelming majority of 389 votes to twelve.

The Bill, which extends the franchise to women of 21 and over on the same terms as men, will have the effect of enfranchising about 5,250,000 new women voters. At present, in round figures, there are 12,250,000 men electors and 9,250,000 women electors, the men being in a majority of about 3,000,000, so that when the provisions of the new Act come into operation, there will be a majority of about 2,250,000 women.

The Home Secretary classifies the 5,250,000 newly enfranchised women as follows:—

Women over 30 years of age	1,800,000
Married women between 21 and 30 years of age	1,700,000
Occupied unmarried women between 21 and 30 earning their own living	1,477,000
Unoccupied unmarried women between 25 and 30 years of age	175,000
Unoccupied unmarried women between 21 and 25 years of age	216,000

A glance at these figures is sufficient to show the absurdity of the Diehard Tory hysteria about "Votes for Girls," and "Votes for Flappers." More than one-third of the new

voters will be women over thirty years of age. Surely they cannot be regarded as irresponsible. Nearly another third are women between 21 and 30, who are sufficiently responsible to be housewives and mothers of families. Nearly another third are women of the same ages who are responsible enough to be earning their own living.

These facts, however, did not seem to weigh with the Diehards, who were out to work up a case against the Bill no matter how foolish they made themselves appear in the process. Just as an indication of the Diehard mentality a few of the arguments that they used may be worth placing on record.

Colonel Applin, for instance, on the Second Reading, suggested that because we ruled over a large Mohammedan population in India, where the women were kept in subjection and not allowed to speak, we ought not to give our British women this proposed voice in the Government of the country, because the Indians might object to being "governed by women." What a plea! In the first place, as Miss Ellen Wilkinson reminded him, Colonel Applin seems to have forgotten that a woman (Queen Victoria) ruled India for the greater part of the last century, and in the second place it has merely come to something if the status of British women as citizens has to be determined by the status of the Mohammedan women of India.

This same Diehard M.P. said that these British women ought not to receive the vote on equal terms with men because they did not perform equal duties. They did not serve in the Navy, he said, nor did they work in blast furnaces nor down the coal mines. But he forgets that they did work down the coal mines at one time, and that even then they were not allowed to exercise the vote, and he also seems to make the mistake of assuming that unless women perform the *same* duties as men they are not performing "*equal* duties." There, of course, he is wrong, and in one of his later sentences he put his own finger on the key to his errors. Referring again to the fact that women did not work in the Navy or in the coal mines, he said, "Women cannot physically perform these duties." Surely that is the essence of the whole question. Physical reasons do prevent

women from performing some of the duties that men perform. But physical reasons also prevent men from performing some of the duties that women perform. Women's duties may not always be the *same* as men's, but that does not prove that they are not *equal*.

The Diehards continued to argue in this same strain on the Committee stage, when they urged that the qualifying age for voters should be fixed at 25 for both sexes instead of 21, as proposed in the Bill. They tried to compare the conditions of to-day with the conditions that prevailed in the days of their own childhood half a century ago, and because they said that they then were not interested in politics at the age of 21, they suggested that the same conditions applied to the young men and women of to-day.

"Yes," remarked Miss Margaret Bondfield, who on behalf of the Labour Party defended the Bill from the Diehards' attack, "but on this question there are two schools of thought." She added:—

"You deal with the age of 21 as being an age bordering upon childhood, and I can quite understand that point of view. I wish we could all feel like that. I wish all our children had a youth at which education is not supposed to end until the age of 25. But we in the main consider this from the standpoint of the vast majority of our population whose children begin to get their experience of knocking about in the world at the age of 14 years. By the time they get to 21 they have suffered most of the hardships of unemployment and all the difficulties and troubles of a very severe life bordering upon poverty or only just above poverty.

"It is that section of the community that is interested in politics, because politics interests itself in them. Laws which are passed in this House, while they may be matters entirely outside the consciousness of the sons and daughters of those who can afford to keep their children at school or at college until they reach mature years, are definitely concerned with the lives of those whom we represent here. It really is absurd to talk about young men and women of 21 years of age as having no experience of life."

Miss Bondfield also disposed of the Tory suggestion that women ought not to have the vote at the same age as men because of the part that men had to play in time of war. "Surely," she remarked, "if war comes, women will be part of the war machine the same as men. It is no use blinking the fact that if we have another war, war in the air will be no discriminator of sex, and it will be a question of the whole nation at war. So that argument as an argument in favour of any differentiation in age between the sexes, ceases to have the slightest weight with people who have very seriously considered the question."

Although the Second Reading of the Bill was carried by the overwhelming majority of 389 votes to 12, that does not do away with the fact that the record of the Tory Party in the Division Lobby was a most discreditable one. Twelve of them actually voted against the Bill. That is bad enough, but what is worse is that 136 more Tory M.P.'s did not vote at all, and what is worse still is that these abstainers included three Cabinet Ministers and twelve other Members of the Government, namely:—

Cabinet Ministers not voting: Sir Austen Chamberlain (Foreign Secretary), Mr. Amery (Colonial Secretary), and Mr. Winston Churchill (Chancellor of the Exchequer).

Other Members of the Government not voting: Duchess of Atholl (Parliamentary Secretary to Board of Education), Mr. H. B. Betterton (Parliamentary Secretary to Minister of Labour), Mr. A. Duff Cooper (Financial Secretary to the War Office), Major Elliot (Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Scotland), Sir Thomas Inskip (Attorney-General), Commodore Douglas King (Secretary for Mines), Sir William Mitchell Thomson (Postmaster-General), Lieut.-Colonel H. Spender Clay (Charity Commissioner), Lord Winterton (Under-Secretary for India), Mr. H. G. Williams (Parliamentary Secretary, Board of Trade), Lord Wolmer (Assistant Postmaster-General), and Sir Kingsley Wood (Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health).

On the Committee stage, whilst continuing to defend the fundamental principle of the Bill against the attacks of the Diehards, Labour attempted to improve it in two respects—by moving the deletion of the clause which provided for an extension of the anachronistic system of plural voting, and by moving a new clause which, as already mentioned, aimed at preventing an increase in the amount of election expenses that candidates may incur.

The amendment against plural voting, although supported with an unanswerable case by Miss Margaret Bondfield, was outvoted by the Tories, who saw in it a move in the direction of the disfranchisement of privilege. The result is that, in addition to the 230,000 or 240,000 men who at present have a second vote in respect of business premises, as well as their residence qualification, a further 200,000 second votes are now to be conferred upon members of the privileged classes. One hundred and thirty-thousand women over 30, who are at present entitled to vote on the residential qualification will get a second vote in respect of their husbands' business premises; between 20,000 and 30,000 wives between 21 and 30 will similarly get a second vote in respect of their husbands' business premises; 16,000 men will also get a second

vote in respect of their wives' business premises, and 31,000 women over 21 will be given a second vote in respect of their business premises.

As Miss Bondfield pointed out, there will now be a number of well-to-do households where the husband and wife between them will have six votes. The husband may vote for his own business premises, for his own residential qualification, and in respect of his wife's business; the wife may vote in respect of her residential qualification, her husband's business premises, and her own business premises. "It is a duplication of a fancy franchise," she said, "which carries no dignity with it, and serves very little purpose except to perpetuate existing anomalies and privileges for a very small section of voters."

Labour's new clause with regard to election expenses, which Mr. Arthur Henderson moved, proposed that the maximum which candidates are now permitted to spend—7d. per elector in county constituencies, and 5d. in borough constituencies—should be reduced by 1d. in each case, so as to avoid the huge increase in the amount allowed which would have accompanied the addition of some thousands of new voters to the register in each constituency.

According to the Home Secretary's figures, the expansion of approximately 25 per cent. in the electorate, which the Bill contemplates, would have the effect, at the present *per capita* rates of 7d. and 5d. per head, of increasing the amount allowed for expenses by £208 in a county constituency of 30,000 electors, by £291 in a county constituency of 40,000 electors, by £156 in a borough constituency of 30,000 electors, and by £208 in a borough constituency of 40,000 electors.

Mr. Henderson pointed out that election expenses were already exceedingly heavy—in some cases they went up to £1,100, £1,200, £1,300, or £1,400—and it would inflict no great hardship on any candidate, even with the more numerous electorate, if the maximum amount were left somewhere near the present figure. On the other hand, as Mr. Philip Snowden emphasised, poor candidates ought not to be placed at a disadvantage through a raising of the allowance which put a premium upon lavish expenditure.

The Tories agreed to accept that portion of Mr. Henderson's new clause which reduced the *per capita* allowance for county constituencies, but they refused to accept the portion dealing with borough constituencies. Probably they thought that they were safe enough in their county seats to retain them, but that they would lose many of their borough seats to Labour candidates unless they were given power—as the Bill gives them power—to pour out another £100 or £200 in blood curdling anti-Labour posters and propaganda in each such constituency. However, on the basis that half a loaf is better than no bread, there is ground for some satisfaction over the one concession that the Labour Party has managed to secure during the consideration of the Bill.

Nevertheless, the Labour Party is making another attempt to secure a reduction in the scale of expenses before the Bill receives its Third Reading. It will then, after the usual formalities, pass to the Statute Book, and the new register, including the newly enfranchised women voters, will be compiled in time to come into operation on May 1 of next year.

C. E. L.

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The Labour Movement under the Microscope

A REVIEW OF MODERN SOCIALISM

THOSE opponents of the Labour Movement who think that they can talk it down are fond of saying—when it first begins to dawn on them that they hardly know what they are talking about—that anyhow there are so many kinds of Socialists that one really does not know where one is; the latter part of this statement is usually true. It might be replied that it would be better for the political life of the country if there were more than one variety of Tory, or some differentiation among Liberals, other than which is not based on reactions towards Mr. Lloyd George. It would probably be useless to attempt to explain to the type of critic aforementioned that the apparent diversity of type among Socialists really arises from their common belief in the duty of the individual to try to arrive at an intelligent attitude with regard to everything that concerns the welfare of the human commonwealth, and not to be content with merely learning by rote a few fragments of the simpler party formulæ. In effect, the Labour Movement is an organism, alive and kicking, and takes the complaints of opponents about its abundant vitality as compliments.

An excellent idea of the catholicity of the Labour Movement in its cultivation of progressive ideals is given by the new and amply documented publication of the Caxton Publishing Company,* edited by Mr. H. B. Lees-Smith, M.P., one of the ablest and most learned (to use a term which has rather lost its ancient savour since its adaptation for technical purposes by one of the professions) of Labour protagonists. Mr. Lees-Smith has mobilised a team of brilliant writers; his emotions on first reviewing his "command" must have been similar to, but more complimentary than, those of the first Duke of Wellington, who, after inspection of a draft of officers fresh from the depots, remarked, "Well, I don't know what the enemy will do about these fellows, but, by God, they frighten me!" The enviable alarm which we will imagine Mr. Lees-Smith to have experienced would, of course,

have a stimulative effect, and thus we arrive at an explanation of an interesting result, for the finished product is at least as fascinating to the reader as it is informative to the student, which is saying a good deal.

Every topic is treated from a detached, non-party point of view, and from necessity most of the topics are dealt with historically rather than philosophically, which is all to the good, as everybody is interested in history, and scarcely anybody in philosophy. It was a good idea to include articles on Conservatism, Liberalism, and Communism by exponents of those creeds, and interesting to note—apropos of these articles—that Viscount Sandon, the Tory apologist, mentions Leninism and Mussolinism as equally obnoxious to the middle-class Conservative, and is rather inclined to make out a case for the present Government on the score of its "Socialistic" achievements. When he argues that Trade Unionism "must credit its creation and liberties to the Tories of past years, and that it owes its rise and importance to Conservative sponsorship," he becomes intriguing: Goliath might have argued in the same way that his idea was to earn David a little timely kudos, but even posterity, though credulous in respect of great men, would hardly believe him. Besides, Mr. Harold Storey, who supplies the article on Liberalism, lists the "chief Trade Union Acts" among the good things due to the Liberals.

Mr. G. D. H. Cole's brilliant historical sketch of the growth of Trade Unionism, however, in Volume III, does not mention either of the claims advanced respectively by Viscount Sandon and Mr. Storey. It would rather appear from the evidence collected by Mr. Cole, in fact, that Trade Unionists are indebted to Trade Unionists, and to few people besides, for the advance they have been able to make in alliance during the latter part of their history with the great political party which was virtually their creation, towards the realisation of working-class ideals.

A detailed account of the inception and evolution of the Trades Union Congress is given by Mr. Walter M. Citrine, general secretary of the T.U.C., who, in his account of

**The Encyclopædia of the Labour Movement*. Edited by H. B. Lees-Smith, M.P. (The Caxton Publishing Company. 63s.)

the T.U.C. General Council, outlines the steps by which the movement was led to the creation of the most important co-ordinating body which it has ever possessed. "The tendencies," says Mr. Citrine, "are all in the direction of an increase in its power and prestige both as a representative industrial parliament and as an authoritative executive body." The outline of the functions belonging to Congress and to the General Council furnishes one of the most valuable reference pages in the volume.

Mr. Cole is also responsible for the article on the Labour Party, in which he traces the history of the Party from the formation of the Labour Representation Committee to the fall of the Labour Government in 1924. His account of the reorganisation of the Party in 1918—in the course of which he pays a tribute to Mr. Arthur Henderson and Mr. Sidney Webb for their work in recasting party policy—is, though in volume necessarily no more than a precis, a very clear statement of what was a crucial event in the career of the party. It will probably come as a surprise even to many loyal Labourites to learn that the decision to open the ranks to individuals was only taken as recently as 1918. The effect of this change, especially in progressive, but not predominantly industrial, areas has, of course, been enormous.

A fascinating chapter is that on Marx by Mrs. J. L. Stocks; a good many readers will find in these ably written pages all they want to know about a personage, who, says Mrs. Stocks, must be recognised by friends and foes alike as "either an angel or a devil of a very majestic stature." Certainly very few people will be found to quarrel with Mrs. Stocks' suggestion that Marx "has taught us more emphatically than any other teacher to fix our eyes upon the continuous growth and movement of the organism, to recognise and estimate its changing dis-harmonies, and to formulate schemes of Socialism and social reform, not in relation to some static utopian scheme of life but in relation to the organic evolution of human society." It is also true, as Mrs. Stocks says, that "to-day there are Marxians who are prepared to defend every jot and tittle of his law with the obstinacy of fundamentalists waging war for the verbal inspiration of the Bible." Perhaps they do not

care, having had the trouble of getting the Marxian gospel solidly into their heads, to go to the extra trouble of getting any of it out again.

Communism is dealt with by Mr. Saklatvala, the Communist M.P., and Anarchism by Mrs. Mary Agnes Hamilton—in this case critically—who, in her able but somewhat ruthless treatment of a not very popular philosophy ought, perhaps, to have given Bakunin credit for his contention that our ideas of "natural laws" should be based on a process of scientific discovery. Fascism in Great Britain is described by Mr. H. B. Usher, who gives a plain but devastating account of this serio-comic manifestation. The narrative of Professor Salvemini, who writes the history of Italian Fascism, is unrelieved tragedy.

The problem of the coal industry is dealt with by Professor Tawney, who points out that the difficulties are world-wide. Professor Tawney, who is dealing with a topic which is pre-eminently his own, points out that the trouble with the coal industry in this country is that down to 1914 it was "too prosperous for its health." The people in control saw no need to bring things up-to-date, with the result that other countries—notably Germany, where the coal producers were "building up one of the most elaborate systems of associated enterprise that the world has ever seen," were in a position of advantage when the period of post-war reconstruction was well under way. Professor Tawney exposes the weakness of the "simple arithmetic" by which the owners have proceeded to set things right in their own way, which is by means of a policy of wholesale wage-cutting and the lengthening of hours. He proceeds to an analysis of practicable schemes or reorganisation, in which the proposals of the Labour Party and of the Miners' Federation are exhaustively reviewed. This is one of the most important and most valuable sections of the encyclopaedia.

The three volumes are attractively printed and "got up," and should be added to the library of everyone who wishes to possess in handy form a conspectus of a movement which continues to gain upon the sympathy of large masses of the people, and deserves of its sympathisers an adequate degree of knowledge and understanding.

Book Reviews

The Farmer and His Market. (Ernest Benn. 1s.)

The Liberal pamphlet on marketing is now available. It arrives as an after thought to the proposals of the Green Book in which the neglect of marketing was conspicuous. The new pamphlet usefully embodies some of the suggestions and conclusions which appear in the series of Orange Books issued by the Ministry of Agriculture. The activity of the marketing branch set up by Mr. Noel Buxton, M.P., when he was in charge of the Ministry, is bearing with fruit, and their studies are eagerly welcomed by the Liberal and the Labour Parties, whilst there is little evidence of the Conservatives—the self-styled farmers' friends—making any use of them.

In regard to commodities for the production of which this country is specially suited, for example, eggs and poultry, fruit, vegetables, milk, etc., the Liberal pamphlet underlines the lessons of the Orange Books pointing out the need for standardising goods with the help of officially established grades. It is futile to call for an increase of production unless the things produced supply the wants of the public, and unless the public can always rely on getting the quality and type it needs. The Danes and other exporters to this country have long ago realised this condition of good business, and good quality earns its reward. But in the case of English bacon, for example, quality has so varied, and sometimes is so inferior, that shopkeepers have been known to cease to display their English products.

The first requirement of marketing is the improved production. To dispense with some of the intermediaries in the process of reaching the consumer is the next stage, and here the pamphlet suggests the formation of producers' associations specialising in one particular commodity. The plan was suggested by the Departmental Committee set up by Mr. Noel Buxton, M.P., to study the question of the stabilisation of prices of agricultural commodities, and is set out in much greater detail in the Orange Book issued by the Ministry embodying this report, which should be in the procession of every Labour member interested in agricultural problems.

The Liberal plan suggests in addition the establishment of a Central Board of five business administrators to supervise the organisation needed for the functioning of such associations. A central intelligence system

would keep itself informed of the state of the markets as to price and supplies. It is perhaps a mistake to use the word "plan" in relation to these proposals, as they are in an embryo stage of vague general suggestion, but they do not so far conflict with the Labour scheme, and it is gratifying that they point in the same direction.

The note on stabilisation calls for criticism. The pamphlet hints that Labour speakers are not quite honest with their audiences. At such meetings farmers "are told that until the industry is nationalised, and they are all made State servants (sic), they will be guaranteed a steady price which will always give them fair profits." This is not correct. At every meeting I have attended I have specifically told the farmers that a stabilised price will not mean a higher level of prices, but will simply smooth out the fluctuations that occur from week to week. I have not heard of other speakers representing a point of view, indicated by the Liberals, which amounts to camouflaged protection. It is unfortunate that our Liberal friends should have descended to this unworthy aspersion. They seem to think that unless stabilisation offers a higher general level of prices, it won't help the farmer.

Surely the advantages are fairly obvious. In the first place the farmer will know at seed time what his remuneration will be at harvest, and can adjust costs accordingly—at present that process is a gamble; secondly, the farmer, if he is forced to find ready cash, as he now invariably is, can sell without fear of losing heavily on a very low market; thirdly, the smoothing out of fluctuations will put out of business middlemen speculators, who now exact unnecessary tolls from the farmers. These advantages are substantial, and will probably prevent more land being laid down to grass, and increase the margin which can be devoted to arable acreage.

In view of this it is difficult to understand the Liberals when they say, "Fluctuations are troublesome, but the farmers' main trouble is not that prices are sometimes up and sometimes down, but that they are kept down on balance by the unduly large share of the consumers' payments which goes on the intermediate stages." They should know that stabilised prices would remove some of those intermediate stages, and eliminate the middlemen who flourish solely by profiteering

from fluctuations. The Liberals, however, come nearer to our point of view than they do in the "Green Book," for they do not now condemn the proposal, but rather feel that it requires further investigation.

T. P. C.-E.

Responsible Government in the Dominions. By A. Berrisdale Keith. Second Edition, revised to 1927, 2 vols. (Oxford University Press. 73s. 6d.)

Professor Keith's great work is now made all the more valuable by his discussions, in this second edition, of the changes in the status of the Dominions since the war. It need hardly be said that he shows quite clearly the unity of the British Empire or Commonwealth, while at the same time refuting all theories that imply Federal Government as the natural outcome of such unity. The Dominions in fact are *not* the equals of Great Britain in foreign policy, nor are they "independent States," although they are "autonomous" in a further sense than is implied in local autonomy. The analysis of the changes since the war does not know any distribution of the relationships within the Empire. But although Professor Keith is strictly scientific in his treatment of the subject there are flashes of wit, and there is biting criticism in his book.

He refers, for example, to the *Times* and the *Round Table* as "those organs of popular confusion," and there is some witty treatment of the knots into which Dominion Prime Ministers tie themselves when they are trying to explain where they stand. No wonder the British Empire is unintelligible to foreigners. Its spokesmen do not generally make matters clearer when they attempt to decide what it is. Although Professor Keith does not say so, it may be expected that he feels the confusion to be due to the lack of suitable terms to express relationships which are new. Sovereignty clearly will not do. Independence and autonomy are both inadequate. But the lack of terms to describe facts must not delude us into supposing that the facts do not exist, and one suspects that many of those who talk loudest about the Empire are really playing with words. They might gain much from a study of Professor Keith's new edition.

C. D. B.

The Psychology of Socialism. By Henry de Man. Translated from the German by Eden and Cedar Paul. (Allen and Unwin. 16s.)

The author of this book was an orthodox Marxian Socialist who fought as a Belgian against Germany and, after the war, was for two years in America. He is now in Belgium. His new book is a study of the conflict which is now most prominent in Germany between what may be called "democratic Socialism" and the rigid Marxian of the Communist and other left-wing groups. Happily it is not another book on abstract theories of value. It is a psychological study, with certain implications in moral theory. It is, therefore, necessary to allow for the personal feelings or "reactions" of the writer, but with all due allowance made, the book remains a valid criticism of the defects of rigid Marxism.

The omission of psychological analysis and of moral theory in Marx's theory of industry and Government is quite obvious and conceivable, considering the date at which Marx wrote. But it would be foolish nowadays to omit the factors which are known to psychologists to modify the attitude of all men. For example, a person who is a "misfit" in any job naturally has repressed social instincts which make him or her unmannerly and violent. He or she then quite easily accepts or develops a theory of society to show the wrong from which such suffering arises. The alternative society proposed by the "disgruntled" is generally too "intellectualist." The whole study of social movements in psychological terms is new and, of course, it is not yet possible to make any conclusions. But Mr. de Man's book, taken as suggestion and criticism, is most valuable. The same sort of analysis could be applied to Conservatism.

The British type of Socialism is not quite the same as either of those, whose conflict in Germany Mr. de Man has chiefly in mind, but there is much in his book which will prove illuminating for anyone in the Labour Movement who has to deal with the more bad-tempered section of the Communist or crypto-Communist groups. They are pathological cases, and are not amenable to ordinary reasoning. A psychological study of the situation, therefore, is the best basis for policy in regard to Communism.

C. D. B.

Trades Union Congress and Employers

MEMORANDUM TO THE CHANCELLOR

[The following is the text of a Memorandum on the gold reserve and its relations with industry, adopted by the Conference on Industrial Re-organisation and Industrial Relations, and presented by them to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.]

1. PREAMBLE.

(a) Since industry and commerce in highly-developed countries are necessarily dependent on the provision of credit facilities, financial policy has become a matter of the greatest importance to all those engaged in industry.

(b) It is now generally recognised that under the automatic application of the gold standard customary before the war, changes in the supply and value of gold played a highly important part in bringing about the long and short term price movements and industrial fluctuations which seriously disturbed the even flow of our national development, and gave rise to grave social and industrial ills.

(c) In view—

(i.) of the fears expressed by experts as to the adequacy of the world's gold supply in the near future and the prospect of a prolonged period of trade depression which this opens up;

(ii.) of the urgent need that British industry should not be further hampered in its efforts towards recovery from the post-war depression;

(iii.) of the impending transfer of the Treasury note issue to the Bank of England and the legislation which may be expected to accompany that transfer;

(iv.) of our conviction that it is impossible to restore prosperity to industry and trade, or to revive or maintain stability of trading conditions, unless the

elasticity of currency and credit is so arranged to meet the requirements of industry and commerce that industrial recovery will not be arrested by the lack of credit facilities as soon as increased production becomes effective.

2. RESOLUTION.

We consider—

(a) that under the special conditions in which the gold standard operates at the present time we are not convinced that it is either practicable or desirable that the credit policy of the country should be determined more or less automatically by gold movements as in pre-war days;

(b) that it is highly undesirable that the Bank of England should be so tied down by the provisions of a gold reserve law as to be unable fully and freely to co-operate in the plans adopted by this country and the rest of Europe at Genoa 1922, for International co-operation in economising the use of gold, regulating its distribution, and preventing undue fluctuations in its value in terms of wealth;

(c) that it is therefore essential to hold a full inquiry into the best form of credit policy for this country, before decisive steps are taken by the Government.

ALFRED MOND,
BEN TURNER.

April 12, 1928.

Industrial Developments

Wage Movements in March

In the industries for which statistics are regularly compiled by the Ministry of Labour, the changes in rates of wages reported to have come into operation during March resulted in a reduction of £46,450 in the weekly full-time wages of 210,000 workers, and in an increase of £180 in those of 1,200 workers (says the *Ministry of Labour Gazette*).

The principal reductions affected coal miners in Durham and Northumberland, in which districts the percentage addition to basis rates was reduced by an amount equivalent to nearly 13 per cent. on the current rates in Durham and to over 22 per cent. in Northumberland.

During the first three months of 1928 the changes reported to the Ministry in the industries for which statistics have been compiled have resulted in net increases of £12,150 in the weekly full-time wages of nearly 207,000 workers, and in net reductions of over £109,000 in those of 971,000 workers. In the corresponding period of 1927 there were net increases of £70,500 in the weekly full-time wages of 629,000 workers, and net reductions of £70,800 in those of 436,500 workers.

* * *

Statistics of Trade Disputes

The number of trade disputes involving stoppages of work reported to the Ministry as beginning in March was 31. In addition, 15 disputes which began before March were still in progress at the beginning of the month. The number of workers involved in all disputes in March (including workers thrown out of work at the establishments where the disputes occurred, but not themselves parties to the disputes) was about 38,000, and the aggregate duration of all disputes during March was about 168,000 working days. These figures compare with totals of 13,200 workers involved and 107,000 working days lost in the previous month, and with 14,000 workers involved and 137,000 days lost in March, 1927.

The aggregate duration of all disputes in progress in the first three months of 1928 was about 325,000 working days, and the total number of workers involved in these disputes was about 58,000. The figures for the corresponding period of 1927 were 348,000 days and 32,000 workers respectively.

* * *

Post Office Workers' Protest

A deputation from the Union of Post Office Workers met the Postmaster-General, Sir William Mitchell-Thomson, on April 4 to protest against the strictures passed upon telegraphists in the report of the Committee presided over by Sir Hardman Lever.

Mr. J. W. Bowen, General Secretary of the U.P.O.W., put the case for the deputation. In his reply, the Postmaster-General gave an assurance that the staff would be taken into consideration with regard to any proposals affecting their position brought forward as a result of the Committee's report.

Assurance Workers' Dispute Ends

Following a strike of agents employed by the Wesleyan and General Assurance Society, the society has agreed to recognise the National Amalgamated Union of Life Assurance Workers, of which the strikers were members, and the men on strike resumed work on April 21. The society has further agreed to meet representatives of the union to discuss the matters in dispute.

The dispute arose, in the first place, through the issue to the agents of new terms. The union was not consulted prior to this action being taken, and the directors of the society refused to discuss the matter with representatives of the union.

The strike, which lasted nine weeks, was confined to agents working in the South Wales, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Midland areas, but agents in other parts of the country assisted those on strike by refusing to accept new business.

* * *

Organising the Veterans

The Union of Post Office Workers is arranging to convene a meeting in London of pensioned Post Office officials, irrespective of grade, with a view to considering the possibility of forming a "veterans'" organisation.

* * *

Scholarships for Trade Unionists

The Trades Union Congress General Council are providing six scholarships, value £150 each, three of which will be tenable at Ruskin College, Oxford, and three at the Labour College, London. Forms of application for these scholarships, which are open to men and women members of affiliated Trade Unions, can be obtained from Mr. Walter M. Citrine, General Secretary, Trades Union Congress, Transport House (South Block), Smith Square, London, S.W. 1., and in applying for forms candidates should state which college they desire to attend.

Applicants should not be less than 20 and not more than 35 years of age, and applications should be sent in so as to be received not later than June 16th.

* * *

Enginemmen Criticise Electricity Acts

During the Easter week-end a Conference was held at Leicester of the National Union of Enginemmen, Firemen, Mechanics, and Electrical Workers, which constitutes the Power Workers' Group of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

Discussion at this Conference was mainly concerned with the International Federation of Enginemmen and Firemen which has just been inaugurated, and the Executive Committee's decision to affiliate was endorsed.

There was some criticism of the provisions of the Electricity Supply Acts relating to the compensation for workmen for loss of employment, and a resolution

was adopted in favour of an amending Bill being introduced into the House of Commons with a view to getting the compensation placed on a satisfactory basis.

* * *

Shop Assistants and Hours' Legislation

The 37th Annual General Meeting of the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen, and Clerks was held at Birmingham on April 8 and 9.

The most important subject dealt with by the Conference was the Departmental Committee's report on shop hours, and there was some strong criticism of the Government's failure to deal with the problem. In this connection, a resolution was adopted urging that shop hours should be limited to a maximum of 48 hours per week, and that special exemption for holiday resorts should be refused.

Among resolutions of general interest was one condemning attempts by the National Minority Movement to influence the voting in connection with elections to official positions, and this was carried by a large majority.

* * *

Cotton Negotiations Resumed

Fresh attempts to bring about agreement in the cotton industry were made at a meeting between the United Textile Factory Workers' Association (which acts as the negotiating body for the various unions in the cotton textile industry) and the Federation of Master Cotton Spinners, held on April 16. After some discussion, the meeting was adjourned till April 30 in order to enable the operatives to consider the proposals put forward.

This is the third attempt to settle matters in the cotton industry since last December, when the Federation of Master Cotton Spinners first decided to take steps to secure a wages reduction of 12½ per cent. and an increase of the working week from 48 to 52 hours. Following on this decision, conferences of representatives of the Employers' Federation and the United Textile Factory Workers' Association were held, at which the latter organisation suggested that a comprehensive inquiry should be made into the position of the industry. The employers refused to entertain this suggestion, and decided to give a month's notice to terminate the existing agreements.

Further joint meetings were held during February, and the employers withdrew the threat to terminate the agreements, and proposed that there should be an inquiry into ways of reducing costs of production and distribution. These conferences also broke down, as no agreement could be reached as to the terms of the proposed inquiry. Moreover, a grave complication had been created by the action of two firms, who attempted in one case to introduce double-shift working and in the other to increase the hours to 55½ per week. It appeared at this stage that a

complete deadlock had been reached, but, as stated above, the negotiations have been resumed.

* * *

N.U.D.A.W. Conference

The seventh Annual Delegate Meeting of the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers was held in London on April 8, 9, and 10. It was reported that the membership of the union had increased during the year, and that the finances were very satisfactory, there being a surplus on the year's working of over £20,000.

Among resolutions of particular interest was one protesting against the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act, and pledging the delegates to do their utmost to counteract its effect on the National Labour Party's funds, which was passed with only one dissident. A resolution in favour of supporting the efforts of the Miners' Federation to remedy the conditions of the mine workers was adopted unanimously.

The General President was re-elected unopposed, and the Executive Council were re-elected with only one change.

ORDERS FOR THE

Industrial Review

(ENLARGED TO 16 PAGES)

should be sent to

THE LITERATURE DEPARTMENT,
— TRADES UNION CONGRESS —
TRANSPORT HOUSE (South Block),
SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1

Annual Subscription :

Single Copy	. . .	2s. 6d.
10 copies	. . .	13s.
20 copies	. . .	25s.
50 copies	. . .	£3
100 copies	. . .	£6

THE INDUSTRIAL REVIEW

is the official publication of the Trades Union Congress, and gives official news of the activities of recognised Trades Councils and affiliated Trade Unions.

International Trade Union Notes and Labour Abroad

(Specially contributed to the LABOUR MAGAZINE by the International Federation of Trade Unions.)

I.F.T.U. Executive Meeting

An executive meeting was held at Amsterdam on March 16 and 17, and was attended by the vice-presidents Jouhaux, Leipart, Madsen, Mertens, and Tayerle, and the Secretary Sassenbach. The agenda comprised 24 items, of which we may mention the following :—

The Executive discussed thoroughly the preparations for the International Labour Conference to be held in May next, i.e., the preliminary meetings and the attitude to be taken on the questions of minimum wages and the prevention of industrial accidents. With regard to the attack of the British Government on the Washington Eight-Hour Day Convention various defensive measures were decided upon in connection with the April meeting of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office and the situation in the various countries.

It was decided to arrange for the first of the regular inquiries into actual working hours in the various countries, which are to be organised in accordance with a resolution passed at the Paris Congress of the I.F.T.U., to be made this year; the first week in October was fixed as the date for it, and the following industries are to be covered in the first of these inquiries: boot and shoe factories, the building trades, the chemical industry, the metal industry, the mining industry, the printing trades, the textile industry and the wood-working trades, while the national centres are free to include any other industries which are of special importance to them.

* * *

Seat of the I.F.T.U.

In respect of internal questions and the re-organisation problem in general, it was decided to hold at Amsterdam, on September 25 and 26, the extraordinary General Council Meeting, which will make the final decisions in the question of the seat of the I.F.T.U., the president and the general secretary. This meeting, to which the International Trade Secretariats may also send delegations, will have the following agenda to discuss: (1) Re-organisation questions: (a) Fixing the seat of the I.F.T.U.; (b) conditions of appointment of the general secretary; (c) election of general secretary; (d) other reorganisation questions. (2) The proposal (referred to the General Council by the Paris Congress) for the election of representatives of non-manual workers and civil servants to all the leading bodies of the International Trade Union Movement.

The International Committee for Youth and Educational Questions will meet at Amsterdam on June 12 and 13. The next executive meeting of the I.F.T.U. will be held at Amsterdam on May 21 and 22.

* * *

Dutch Trade Union Membership

The Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions had on January 1st, 1928, 205,561 members, an increase of 7,126 on last year's figure. Increases in previous years were as follows: In 1924, 3,781; in 1925, 5,784; in 1926, 6,013.

International Reciprocity Agreement

A reciprocity agreement has been concluded between the tobacco workers' unions in Denmark, Germany, Norway and Sweden, providing that in cases in which at least 25 per cent. of the membership of any of the four unions are engaged in conflict, compulsory aid shall be furnished by the other three unions, in accordance with rules compiled to that end.

Efforts will be made to get this agreement adopted by all the unions affiliated to the International Secretariat of Tobacco Workers.

* * *

Growth of the Finnish Centre

The Finnish Trade Union centre showed a satisfactory increase in membership in 1927 (as previously in 1926). The total figure for the affiliated unions was 13,788, a rise of 22.2 per cent. The largest union is the Building Workers' Union with 16,226 members (increase 4,962); the second the Woodworkers' Union with 12,827 members (increase 3,354); and the third the Metalworkers' Union with 11,613 members, and an increase during the year of 1,308.

* * *

Atrocities in South America

The International Union of Woodworkers has recently published a work which is as interesting as it is useful. It is called "Labour Sufferings in the Dark Primeval Forests," and describes the atrocious working and living conditions of forestry workers in Argentine, Brazil, and the Dutch East Indies.

This publication is intended to be the starting-point of action for the improvement of conditions for these workers, and in such action there will be close co-operation with the Trade Union and political organisations of the working class. The material collected by the Woodworkers' International goes to emphasise the value of international conventions to non-European workers; it makes it very clear that such conventions should not be regarded from the narrow standpoint of the wishes and needs of European workers. It will also be of use at the next International Labour Conference, when the question of the minimum wage comes up for discussion, for it will furnish ample evidence that other groups of workers besides home workers urgently need minimum wage regulations.

* * *

Backward Brazil

A law providing for paid holidays for workers should have come into force in Brazil in 1926, but, thanks to the opposition of the employers, its application has been delayed.

Certain Labour organisations and Members of Parliament have recently approached the responsible Minister with a request that it may be brought in soon. Their request was, however, refused, the Minister giving as his reason the palpable excuse that supervisory machinery would be necessary, and the Government has not the money to provide it.

International Labour Office Notes

National Ratification Progress

By ratifying four more Conventions, adopted by the International Labour Conference of the League of Nations, the French Government has, during the past month, brought its total ratifications to twelve, as against thirteen by Great Britain, twelve by Italy, and seven by Germany. Belgium heads the list of ratifications with eighteen, while Bulgaria has sixteen, Poland and Estonia have fourteen, Latvia, and the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom twelve, and India, Sweden, and Rumania eleven.

The Conventions just ratified by France deal with seamen's articles of agreement, the compulsory medical examination of young persons employed on board ship, workmen's compensation in agriculture, and equality of treatment of aliens with regard to workmen's accident compensation.

* * *

Unemployment Convention Leads

To date 268 ratifications have been received of different Conventions. The Convention most widely ratified—by 22 countries—is that dealing with unemployment, one clause of which provides for the setting up of free public employment exchanges in each country.

Nineteen countries have ratified a Convention fixing the minimum age of employment on board ship at 14, while eighteen have ratified Conventions prohibiting the night work of young persons under 18, and fixing the minimum age of employment as trimmers and stokers at 18.

* * *

Revision of Conventions

The Standing Orders Committee of the Governing Body met in Paris at the end of March and adopted proposals regarding the possible revision of Conventions, in view of the fact that the Conventions hitherto adopted by the Conference contain a provision that at least once in ten years the Governing Body shall present to the Conference a report of their working, and shall consider the desirability of placing on the agenda of the Conference the question of their revision or modification. The Committee also considered the question of the methods of voting adopted by the Governing Body in determining the agenda of the Conference.

* * *

Maritime Efficiency

The Joint Maritime Commission, which consists of an equal number of representatives of shipowners and seamen and which advises the International Labour Office on all maritime matters, met at Geneva at the end of March.

Questions arising out of the "Lotus" case, following a collision at sea between a French vessel of that name and a Turkish ship, "Boz Kourt," were discussed and a resolution was unanimously adopted inviting the Governing Body to examine the possibility of placing on the agenda of the maritime session of the Conference, to be held next year, the question of the institution of a minimum international standard of professional qualifications for masters, navigating officers and engineer officers in charge of watches in merchant vessels.

Health of the Worker

Experts from the Correspondence Committee on Industrial Hygiene, which is composed of people having special knowledge of this subject in all the important industrial countries, met in Geneva in April. One of the most important questions before it was connected with the Convention adopted by the International Labour Conference in 1925, regarding workmen's compensation for occupational diseases, whereby a State which ratifies agrees to apply its national system of compensation for industrial accidents to workers contracting diseases from lead, its alloys and compounds, mercury, its amalgams and compounds and anthrax infection.

The experts examined the possibility of adding a certain number of other occupational diseases to the above.

* * *

Governing Body Election

In addition to the usual business of the International Labour Conference, which opens in Geneva on May 30, there will be the three-yearly election of the Governing Body. The present number of members is 24, twelve representing Governments and six each the employers and workers. In 1922 the Conference, to give effect to a desire frequently expressed by non-European and especially by Latin American States, adopted an amendment to Article 293 of the Peace Treaty, increasing the number to 32, sixteen for the Governments and eight each for employers and workers.

Such an amendment has, however, to be ratified by 42 States to become effective, and only 37 have been received. It is hoped by the Office that the full total will be reached before the election on the new Governing Body takes place.

* * *

Italy and the Alien Worker

The Italian Government has ratified the Convention adopted in 1925, by the terms of which a country undertakes to grant to the nationals of any other State which ratifies the same treatment regarding workmen's accident compensation as it grants its own nationals. This Convention has also been ratified by eleven other States, including Belgium, France, Great Britain, India, the Netherlands, Sweden, and South Africa.

* * *

Refugee Settlement

Following a decision of the Governing Body to transform its Sub-Committee on Refugees into a permanent Committee to meet periodically and keep the Governing Body informed of the progress made in the employment of refugees, the Committee met at Geneva recently and adopted several recommendations emphasising the distinction between refugees as such and those who require assistance from the Refugee Service of the Office on account of their financial position.

So as to effect a progressive simplification of the problems connected with refugees, those who have obtained permanent employment should be regarded as no longer entitled to assistance from the Office unless their difficulties involve issues of a general nature.

Co-operative Activities

Industrial Distress

The Central Board of the Co-operative Union have decided by resolution to make an appeal for assistance to be rendered to members of societies now suffering from depression.

This has arisen from a suggestion that funds should first of all be raised to help societies in mining areas, but the condition of some of the societies in some of the cotton districts of Lancashire has been brought into the picture, and in making the appeal allusion will be made, no doubt, to the effect that societies in districts other than mining have been seriously affected by continued slackness in trade and industry.

* * *

Political Difficulties

No doubt quarrels will continue to arise among co-operators about the relationship of the Movement towards politics. There is a peculiar quarrel proceeding at present with regard to the position in Leeds. In the North-East Parliamentary division there is a voluntary Co-operative Party which insists in bringing out a candidate at the next General Election. This party, however, is not recognised by the Leeds Society, which is not affiliated to the Co-operative Party. There is, therefore, strong objection on the part of the society to the existence of a local Co-operative Party established on voluntary lines, although this is now permissible by resolution of the Co-operative Congress.

Officials of the Leeds Society are very sore about the matter, and at a recent meeting of the Central Board of the Co-operative Union it was resolved that the Central Board ask Leeds Society to meet the Co-operative Party and the North-Eastern section of the Union to discuss the position in North-East Leeds with a view to coming to some amicable agreement. There was an amendment that the Co-operative Party should withdraw its candidate from North-East Leeds in order to obviate a threatened disruption of the Movement in the North-Eastern area. The resolution, nevertheless, was adopted by 37 votes to 13. This decision will not reconcile the opponents of co-operative politics, who seem to be much under the influence of the *Yorkshire Post*, which has given considerable publicity from time to time to those who still think that co-operation should not develop a definite political policy of its own, and particularly should have nothing to do with Labour.

* * *

Co-operative Congress

Now that Easter is over, co-operators will be looking forward to the Annual Co-operative Congress, which this year will be held at West Hartlepool during Whit Week. The Congress will be

accompanied by an exhibition of co-operative productions, and the C.W.S. has made arrangements to utilise the hoardings of the town for advertising purposes, and also to place the film "The Magic Basket" in a large number of picture houses in the town and district.

This year Mr. A. Whitehead will be in the position of President of Congress. Perhaps no man is more familiar with the annual proceedings than he, as he has been connected with the Co-operative Union (under whose auspices the Congress is held) nearly all his life. Presumably Mr. Whitehead has been appointed to the exalted position because at the end of the year he will retire from active service in the Movement.

* * *

London's Big Legion

Trade Unionism and Co-operation arose out of the same economic pressure; they are progressing together towards a Commonwealth in which equity to producer and consumer will be manifest. That is the impression stoutly maintained in "The Century of London Co-operation," published in celebration of the arrival of the 250,000th member of the London Co-operative Society. The struggles of Owenism, Chartism, and the early co-operation were intertwined until the middle of the century when new forces began to operate.

It was in the store of the London Co-operative Society of 1824-1834 that the agitation for untaxed newspapers arose, and the author, Mr. W. H. Brown, has clearly pictured the wide vision of the old reformers who were Co-operators, Trade Unionists, and politicians at the same time. The story he tells is one that should be read by all who seek the modern unity of the three ideas. This is being developed by the London Society, whose Education Committee is doing a useful service in publishing this 2s. volume of 180 pages. The illustrations of Robert Owen, William Lovett, the Reformers' Memorial at Kensal Green, and of the London Society's van delivering groceries at 10, Downing Street, are a comprehensive glance across a century of co-operative striving to the present success.

Copies can be obtained (2s. 3d. post free) from the Education Committee, L.C.S., Manor House, Gladding Road, Manor Park, E. 12.

* * *

College Education

At the annual meeting of the Co-operative Educational Committee Association (Northern section) the question of Co-operative College came under review. This college began in a modest way at Holyoake House, Manchester, in 1919. The few students who attended lived in private lodgings. The college was extended in 1924, when a hostel was purchased at

Kersal, near Manchester, where about 40 students can be housed and educated.

One of the main objects of this college is to give attention to co-operative subjects, or at any rate mix with education of a high standard a little co-operative flavour. It is expected to grow into a large establishment. The college does not receive any Government grant, as it does not comply with the conditions on which grants are made. The promoters, no doubt, prefer to have their own system and methods of teaching in order to maintain the right and independence to provide their own funds.

* * *

Growing Trade

As was the case with the last half-yearly report of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, the report and balance sheet just issued for the six months ended January 14 shows a considerable increase in the sales of the society. These amount to £44,273,541, which represents an increase of £5,807,832, or 15 per cent. on the corresponding period of 1926, although the half-year under review consists of 27 weeks owing to a change in the date of making up the accounts. The average weekly sales, however, show an increase of 10½ per cent., and for the latter half of 1927 averaged £1,639,760 per week. For the whole of the year the average weekly sales represent an increase of 9 per cent.

The total sales for the year 1927 were valued at £186,894,379, or an increase of 15½ per cent. over 1926.

* * *

Other Increases

An encouraging increase also was noticeable in the supplies of goods from C.W.S. productive works to retail societies. For the 27 weeks ended January 14 the value of these supplies was £14,430,076, or an increase of 12½ per cent. For the year these supplies amounted to £28,903,135, representing 12½ per cent. over the figures of 1926. Similar increases are shown in other directions.

The banking department, for instance, had a turnover for 1927 of £709,458,791, or £17,344,845 more than in the previous year, whilst the deposits and withdrawals for the past half-year amounted to £346,744,411, being an increase of £29,184,658. In fact, there is an average weekly sum of £13,000,000 passing through the bank of the C.W.S.

* * *

International Publication

The *Bulletin*, issued by the International Co-operative Alliance, will in future appear under the name of *Review of International Co-operation*. This publication appears in three editions—in English, French, and German.

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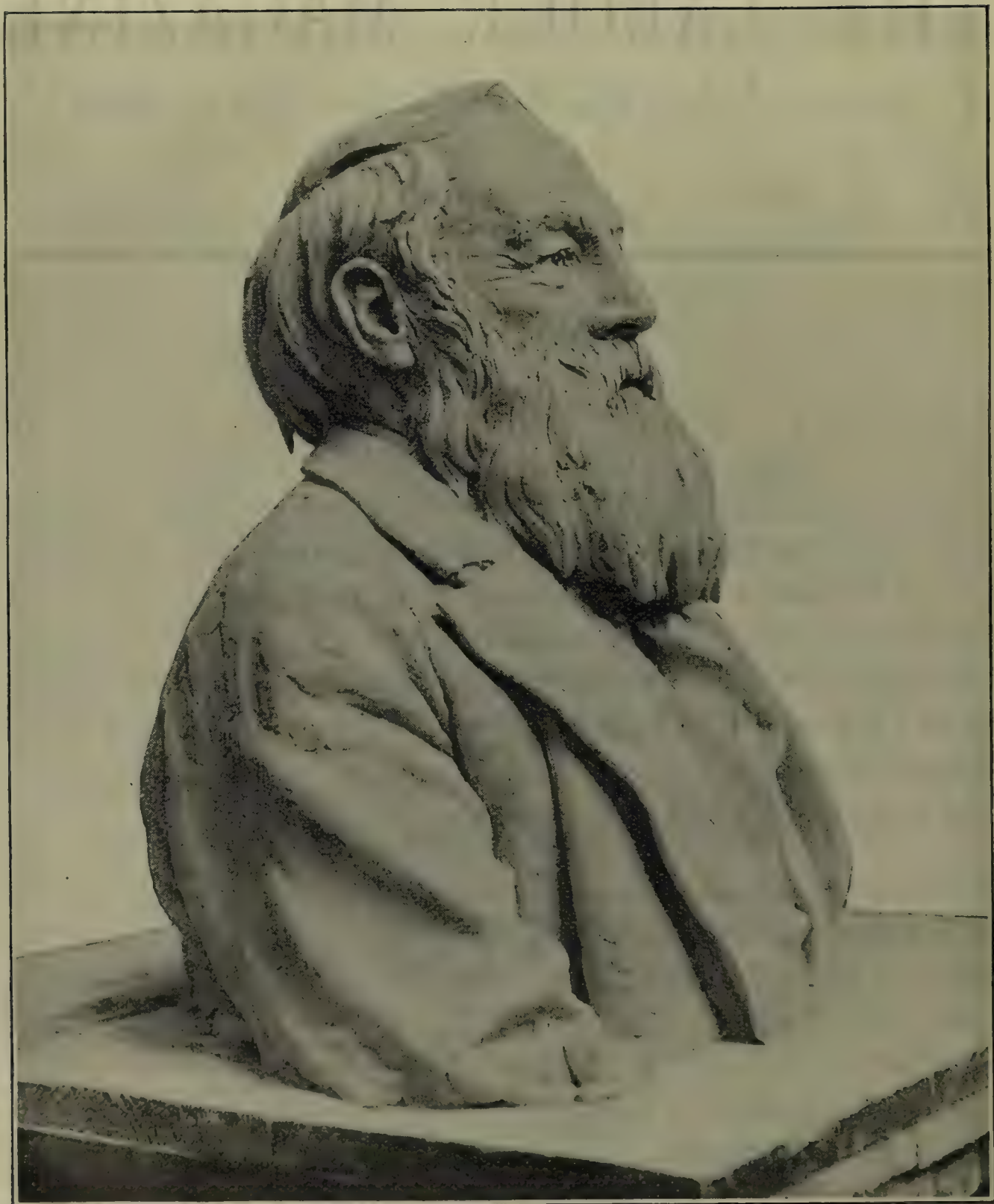
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JUNE, 1928

No. 2

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H. M. HYNDMAN

Hyndman : Prophet of Socialism*

IN *Hyndman : Prophet of Socialism*, Frederick J. Gould has given us an invaluable addition to the political and industrial history of the last 50 years. He has treated his main subject faithfully, and readably, and sympathetically. But he has made no attempt, as one less skilled might have been tempted to do, to clothe Henry Mayers Hyndman in the garb of prophetic infallibility or to paint a picture of the "Father of British Social Democracy" as hero, saint, or martyr. Hyndman's part was that of the pioneer and the prophet.

A true valuation of his life is to be found therefore, as his biographer has sought to find it, in the Hyndman period—1842–1921. The revolutionary events of that period, as understood and interpreted by Hyndman, provide the material of this story of the life of a great English citizen. In this sense Mr. Gould raises his work above the personal level either of hero-worship or the merely cold scrutiny and appraisal of the personal achievements and qualities of his subject.

The faith of the pioneer, if it be well founded, is based on an understanding of facts. Prophetic wisdom is not a supernatural gift. It is the natural gift of those who interpret Time as the intimately related succession of events that men call the Past, the Present, and the Future. The prophet is he who is able to look even a little bit below the surface of the evolutionary current of events, to account for tendencies, and, conscious of their origin and meaning, to measure their influence and predict their outcome. Hyndman possessed this gift of insight and understanding and interpretation in pre-eminent degree.

Amongst his compeers he occupied a unique position. As economist, orator, writer, and publicist, there is none, connected with the Socialist Movement of Britain, with whom he could be justly compared. None but the factious partisan would nominate a rival for the place he occupies in the history of the British Socialist and Labour Movement. To say this is neither to depreciate the work of others nor to magnify the importance of Hyndman's contribution to the cause of British Socialism. Should we not rather be grateful for the fact that the movement and the cause claimed the heroic service of such men as Marx, Liebknecht, Bebel, Jaurès, Hyndman, Hardie, and others? "Each

laboured in his own field, in his own way, ..."

Many years ago Hyndman and Keir Hardie, as British delegates, attended an International Socialist Congress—or was it a meeting of the International Socialist Bureau? They travelled together, and the present writer can remember that in Hyndman's report of the Congress proceedings to his S.D.F. colleagues the point that more than any other impressed itself upon his mind was Hyndman's pleasure at being able to say that Hardie and he had got to know each other better in the course of their journey than they had ever done before! *Verb. sap.*

Hyndman was not fated to be the leader of big political battalions. But he did gather round him in the Social Democratic Federation an active militant organisation, still living, which in the '80's and '90's of last century made a deep and definite impression on working-class thought and organisation throughout this country. Many of his critics—and some of his friends—have stated that he was "a difficult man to get on with." Keir Hardie, discussing his attitude to the Great War, called him a "pestilent Jingo." Hyndman doubtless, in explosive mood, would have called Hardie "a pestilent pro-German." An impartial observer, if one could have been found, would without doubt have said that both were wrong. But the suspicion that Hyndman was possessed of what might be called a pronounced superiority complex gained currency and still lives. Our author gives us a key to an understanding of the origin of this ill-founded suspicion. Hyndman's general policy as a Social Democrat, in so far as it separated him from the I.L.P. and the Labour Party in its earlier stages, was with him a matter of deliberate choice.

"If there are," he wrote in 1896, "among educated and thoughtful men two diametrically opposed and incompatible theories in regard to what regulates the exchange values of the commodities which constitute the wealth of our modern society, nothing is to be gained by shading over the antagonism between these conflicting schools of thought. Far better is it, in my opinion, to accentuate the differences which undoubtedly exist on this point in order that students may be able to think out the whole question for themselves uninfluenced by mere authority or great reputations on either side."

* By F. J. Gould. (London: George Allen and Unwin Limited. Price 10s. 6d.)

As I point out in my preface to Mr. Gould's work, Hyndman

"ran full tilt against old ideas and prejudices and outworn economic theories. And thus he had to see the formation of the Fabian Society, the Socialist League, and the independent Labour Party—all offshoots, although this may not be acknowledged of the parent body. And thus it is that the estimate of Hyndman which still persists in certain quarters is that of an arrogant, quarrelsome, tactless person, unreasonably impatient of the ignorance and incompetence of his followers, and studiously resolved to dissipate and destroy every opportunity of political leadership that came his way. Such a view of Hyndman and his life work is historically untrue and wholly unjust. He never, it is true, sought or received the applause of the foolish. It may be admitted also that for the politician as such he had little respect. ('Mere Parliament-men . . . trimming their sails to suit the breezes of popularity, or manipulate the votes of the day.') So he described them, seeking neither their patronage nor their approval. Hyndman neither hesitated nor temporised when pompous phrase-mongers or self-seeking and pretentious wind-bags had to be exposed. His undiluted contempt and scorn for anything that savoured of Liberal-Labour compact or compromise, he made no effort to hide. Successful politicians, therefore, bore him many a grudge, although there are not a few in one department of public life or another who owe to him the direction and knowledge that enabled them to reach a level of self-advertisement and self-assertion that otherwise would have been beyond their reach."

Mr. Gould's style as a biographer is intensely interesting. Hyndman's personality and the historical meaning of the events in which he played a part are delightfully interwoven. The first glimpse we have of our prophet is that of a four-year-old child, the child of wealthy parents, wealthy and pious parents (his father endowed Church of England pulpits):—

"looking with eyes of pitying wonder at a crowd of hunger-bitten and ragged tramps . . . They shambled to the porch of the Elizabethan Pendell Court, where his parents were staying. They begged; platesful of food were brought out; they devoured, and then trudged forth. The four-year-old child watched the melancholy English scene, and . . . held the

vision in sight till he breathed his last in 1921."

* * *

"I was brought up," says Hyndman, "in an atmosphere of the sincerest devotion and was surrounded by praise and prayer to God and his Christ . . . Moreover, I believe I am not devoid of religious feeling of a kind. Yet somehow even my mother . . . was quite unable to get me to pray, and from then till now (1911), though not, I hope, lacking in respect towards those who are worthy of it, I have never been able to accept the view that appeals to a personal Deity could be anything more than a personal gratification of individual sentiment."

"Of all the little devils I ever had to bring up, Harry Hyndman was the worst." This is the candid declaration of his grandmother. More than half-a-century later the grandmother of his second wife remarked of him: "That's the sweetest-tempered man I ever saw in my life." His wife agreed. Between the dates on which he earned those more or less flattering appreciations Mr. Gould enables us to follow the main outlines of a vigorous and adventurous life.

At school in Norfolk and at Cambridge, where he took his degree in 1864, he had developed a bent, in association with George Meredith and others, that led him to declare his dislike of the idea of "battering out his brains over disputes about other people's property." Nevertheless he began reading for the Bar. But his thoughts were elsewhere. He had absorbed Gibbons' *Decline and Fall*, and interested in the story of the Italian medieval republics, he took more than a passing interest in Garibaldi's passage through the streets of London acclaimed by 300,000 Londoners who saluted the red-shirted champion of Italian unity. While sojourning in Italy in 1866, Prussia:—

"then rising towards the power which broke France in 1870-1, and collapsed in the frightful tragedy of 1914-18, made war on Austria . . . Garibaldi led an enthusiastic but ill-trained army to the rocks and valleys of the Tyrol . . . Frederick Greenwood, Editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, appointed his friend Hyndman correspondent with the Italian forces."

George Henty and George Augustus Sala were fellow journalists. Hyndman's vivid memory of the campaign is summed up in the reflection:—

"What a preposterous state of civilisation is that in which intelligent human beings can find no better way of settling their differences than that which I had witnessed."

While Italy was unifying, the International Working Men's Association was growing. The English Trade Unions "beat slowly up against the aristocratic, clerical, and capitalist wind." Frederic Harrison and the Positivists were in the field. The right of workers to combine and picket was being established in law. All this keenly interested Hyndman as journalist and publicist.

In 1869 he toured Australia, New Zealand, the Sandwich Islands, and the United States. In Australia he burst into a flame of eagerness and wrote articles in support of "compulsory, free, and non-theological schools for the people." In 1871 he returned to London, and his sympathy with France and his warm defence of the Paris Commune led to his being regarded as a "red-hot Communist." He was not even then a Socialist. But he saw no virtue in the Hohenzollern domination, and when Paris capitulated to the Germans, and the Government of M. Thiers prepared to disarm the Guards, his entire sympathy was expressed for the Commune and its soldiers "striving for the emancipation of the working people from the sordid organisation of production for profit and the substitution of a nobler system for the whole civilised world."

Between the early '70's and 1880 the world political stage was occupied with the discussion of orthodox issues: the purchase of Suez Canal shares; Turkish massacres; the Treaty of Berlin; the annexation of the Transvaal—prelude to the South African War (which Hyndman vigorously opposed 20 years later); Irish Home Rule, etc. German and French Socialists were astir; there were anarchist rumblings in Russia; but the economic problems of Britain were not regarded as fit subjects for Parliamentary consideration.

Hyndman was then the Radical journalist, the outspoken publicist. His ancestral connection with the public services in India induced him to examine the spectre of India's starving millions. From "blue books" and pamphlets and statistics he published in 1878 in the *Nineteenth Century Magazine* an article on "The Bankruptcy of India." The article caused a stir which has not yet died down:—

"Unlike former conquerors of India, we do not live there, and as a consequence we take out of it each year more than the people can afford. The total net revenue of India (1878) is under £40,000,000 a year. Not less than £20,000,000 worth of agricultural produce is sent out of India every year without any direct commercial equivalent . . . from the poorest people on the earth . . . it means

that so many millions more are condemned to starvation at the next scarcity; it means that during the 20 years 1858-78 £400,000,000 have been so applied . . . need we look further for the cause of the growing impoverishment of India."

The Indian "question" is still unanswered. But it will be answered. Up to the end Hyndman maintained the point of view he stated in 1878. The whole question of the relations of Europe and America to India, China, Japan, and Asia generally is dealt with in *The Awakening of Asia*, which he published in 1919, and which so far as Asia is concerned is still under the ban of the Censor.

Now we arrive at the stage where Lewis Morgan's *Ancient Society*, published in 1877, and Marx's *Das Capital*, read and digested, gave Hyndman the scientific basis of his life work as a Social Democrat:—

"In June, 1881, Hyndman published *England for All*, and presented first copies to the members of the Democratic Federation, a body which shortly afterwards became the Social Democratic Federation, the first Socialist organisation to be formed in this country. For the ideas and much of the matter contained in Chapters II. and III. of that little book, as the author explained, he was indebted to 'the work of a great thinker and original writer, which he hoped would shortly be made accessible to the majority of his fellow countrymen.'"

This was the first definite Socialist publication in Great Britain. It expressed Hyndman's firm faith in England's capacity to lead the world out of the poverty and chaos of capitalism into the culture and enjoyment of the Co-operative Commonwealth. But Hyndman, who did more than any other to spread an understanding of Marx's analysis of capitalist production and working-class exploitation, never accepted without reserve the Marxist *Materialist Conception of History*:—

"Hyndman insisted that the psychologic factor counter-acts upon the main material factor. That is to say, moral and religious enthusiasms can mould the coarse stuff of the world while being themselves affected by the geographical and physical environment."

Dealing with the history of the S.D.F., its relations to the I.L.P. and other bodies, and Hyndman's influence on these relations, Mr. Gould is guilty of justifiable bias in that he gives full weight to the undoubted fact that no one can be named who with so much accuracy

and prophetic insight foresaw and predicted the modern developments of industrial and financial capitalism. To say that every prophecy and forecast made by Hyndman had been literally fulfilled, would be equivalent to saying that all his hopes and passionately-expressed desires had been realised. That would be absurd. Mr. Gould does not say so. But he does well to prove that years before the outbreak of the Great War, Hyndman had laboured to warn the people of this and other countries of the coming of that catastrophe. He was regarded as an alarmist, a war-monger, a Jingo. War, precipitated by any action on the part of Germany, was unthinkable. The Social Democrats of Germany would see to that! Even if war came Britain would not, need not, intervene. Business interests would prevent that! But war did come. Hyndman, realist as he was, regarded the war as a fact, not as a subject for pious exhortation and prayer. He ranged himself against German Imperialist ambitions. But he was no Jingo. He hated war. But the struggle could not end in a stale-mate. Militarily, Germany or the Allies would win. Believing that Hohenzollern domination of Europe would be a military domination and a menace to democratic peace throughout the world, pro-

French in the sense that he valued the contributions of Republican France to the cause of world progress, he worked and hoped for the defeat of what he regarded as a ruthless military despotism. But he had a wider vision. Shall we call it a dream?—

“Looking ahead, he saw the collective machinery and organisation, State-owned and State-controlled, brought into being to meet an emergency for which private enterprise was totally inadequate, used when the war ended by a united disciplined army of free citizens for the purpose of the peaceful national organisation of the British Co-operative Commonwealth. He sadly underestimated the capacity of his fellow-countrymen for patient endurance of social wrong, and over-estimated their capacity to claim their due share of the fruits of victory.”

A thought-provoking book. It will inform the Socialists of a younger generation of the character and outlook of one who was at once a great Englishman and a great Internationalist. “Youth and the New Time will inherit their ample meed of courage and devotion, and finish the emancipation which he and his comrades began.”

T. K.

WEEKLY NOTES FOR SPEAKERS

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Democracy or Disruption

By

WALTER M. CITRINE

V.

IN the first sentences of the first of these articles, I asked whether the influence of Communism on the Trade Union Movement was of sufficient importance to call for examination. Whether it would die a natural death if treated with silent contempt. The answer has been furnished in the instances which have been given of the widespread machinations of Moscow to secure domination over our Movement.

At first the leaders of the Minority Movement were regarded as nothing more than genuine enthusiasts, well intentioned but carried away by an excess of zeal for progress. For a long time they disavowed with upraised hands the suggestion of any connection with Moscow or the Communist Party. When the falsity of their repudiation was exposed they threw discretion to the winds and the direct connection was no longer concealed. In union after union within the last eighteen months there has been a growing realisation of the wrecking tactics of these reactionaries, spoon-fed as they are with hackneyed phrases and jargon of unmistakable origin. With that realisation there has come the determination to ensure that British Trade Unionism shall not be the plaything of these adventurers, to be destroyed if it cannot be captured. The struggle has been intensified, and will continue to be so until our Movement asserts its authority and sets itself unflinchingly against outside interference. The string of cant phrases, the kindergarten knowledge of history, economics and sociology, the standardised abusive epithets which compose the armoury of these assailants of constructive Trade Unionism, are being no longer accepted at their face value at Trade Union conferences.

TEST OF TRADE UNION SERVICE.

Meaningless references to "revolutionary situations" and "united fronts" no longer are received as overwhelmingly convincing arguments. The application of reason and the test of Trade Union service are to-day being applied to some of those who regard themselves as belonging to the ultra Left Wing. The knowledge that people who pay lip service to 100 per cent. Trade Unionism and who shout loudly about the proletariat, are little more than the worn and monotonous gramophone records of their "Masters' Voices" from Moscow, is

preventing earnest Trade Unionists from being deceived by these forces of disruption.

Attempted interference has ranged over almost the whole of the Trade Union field. The Minority Movement which pledges itself to obey the discipline of the Red International, invokes the rank-and-file of the British Movement to revolt against the rules and constitution which the members have themselves established. Appeals are made over the heads of Union Executives and every grievance is exploited to the utmost to stir up resentment and create indiscipline in our Movement. Fatuous and hair-brained policies are thrown into the faces of our members, then withdrawn when their absurdity has been revealed, and other equally fallacious proposals are advanced at the bidding of the paymasters in Moscow.

POLICIES CHANGED BY TELEGRAM.

Sometimes the comrades kick. They protest their inability to carry out programmes which they know to be hopelessly impracticable. But the financial whip cracks and they meekly obey.

The German and Continental Trade Union Movements are possessed of a plethora of instances, where policies from the Profintern received by telegram in the morning, have been reversed by noon. No local autonomy, no free thinking. Obedience, implicit obedience is required. The Ring Masters of the Red International raise their whips and although the performers may yap and bark their protest, they climb on their stools promptly though spiritlessly.

Take the proposal for a general strike to oppose the Trade Unions Bill. The leaders of the Minority Movement knew it was totally impracticable. They had warmly reviewed Trotsky's book, "Where is Britain Going?" written by him a little time before he was exiled for daring to criticise the methods of his comrades. Vainly have I searched for adverse criticism of his proposals in the Communist "Weaklies." Eulogy by the bucket-full, but not even the mildest dissent from his description of what a general strike involves.

List to Trotsky. According to him "a general strike cannot be declared on what day you like and what time you like, but only under definite and concrete conditions." What are these conditions? Again hearken to Trotsky. "One may undertake a general strike only when the working-class,

and, in the first place, its advance-guard, are prepared to carry the struggle through to the end." What is the required preparation? A third time, listen to Trotsky. "The revolutionary bands must be armed with revolvers and hand-grenades, until they succeed in gaining possession of rifles, machine-guns and cannon." "Any general strike which does not safeguard itself against force and break-up, is a demonstration of cowardliness and is foredoomed to defeat. *Only a madman or a traitor will sound the call to struggle under such conditions.*"* Yet week in and week out the Communist and Minority members in this country demanded a general strike. Did they arm the rank and file of the British Trade Union Movement with revolvers and hand-grenades?

As far as my knowledge goes the only weapons in their armoury, were not explosive bullets but explosive speeches, not mustard gas, but poison gas of the hot-air pattern. Yet Trotsky had told them that only a madman or traitor would sound the call to arms without arming the proletariat. By his criticism all those who joined in the cry for a general strike against the T.U. Bill were madmen or traitors.

Trotsky's valuation of his erstwhile Communist and Minority Movement colleagues in Great Britain will not meet with general dissent. But why did they advocate that which they knew to be impossible? The explanation is that Losovsky, Secretary of the Red International, had called loudly for a general strike, and the Communist and Minority Movement leaders in this country had to obey. Every change in tactics is dictated from Moscow, as, for example, the recent decision (against the advice of the British Communist Party) to run candidates against official candidates of the Labour Party. What else but disorganisation and disruption can follow from such tactics?

PROGRAMME OF VILIFICATION.

The Miners' Unions in this country are experiencing very acutely the results of the discontent fomented by the Minority Movement in the coalfields. In Durham strikes have been fomented against the advice of the properly appointed officials. The most misleading incitements have been published to try to induce the miners to strike. The favourite weapon of vilification of the leaders and the Executives of the Associations has been brought into prominence; as Mr. W. P. Richardson, General Secretary of the Durham Miners' Association says, "It is so easy always to put the blame on somebody else, especially if that

person is not there, and so your leaders are traitors, jelly-fish, constitutionalists, belly-crawlers and cowards."

The recent decision of the Boilermakers' Society that the Secretary of the Minority Movement is not eligible to stand as delegate to the T.U.C., has been remitted to the branches. At once an incessant and frenzied campaign of vilification by periodicals, circulars and speeches is utilised against the Executive. At the works-gates literature is distributed by agents, not boilermakers, containing the grossest mis-statements.

Who is financing this campaign? Who is paying for the numerous workshop bulletins that appear in the mining, textile, engineering, shipbuilding, and a host of other industries? Obviously they are not self-supporting. The one Communist "weakly," which is compelled by law to publish its accounts, shows a loss of something like £10,000 on the year's working. Where does this money come from? From whence is derived the money to finance the myriad of mushroom organisations and organisers that are subsidiary to the Communist organisation? Perhaps it falls like the gentle rain from heaven. Or perhaps it comes from Moscow, on the strictly business terms that "those who pay the piper will call the tune."

The Amalgamated Engineering Union at its National Conference, held on May 24, passed a resolution by 41 votes to 11, that:—

In particular, we denounce the attempts of the Communist Party, and its chief subsidiary body, the National Minority Movement, to form rival bodies to the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress, and to seek to render futile every effort made to ameliorate the condition of the workers of this country by opposing Labour Party candidates in Parliamentary and local elections, and by constant endeavour to obstruct and frustrate the administration of Congress policy by the General Council.

We announce our intention to do all in our power to defeat all disruptive tendencies within the union, and we call upon all our branch, district, and national officials to co-operate in refusing to deal with the correspondence of these hostile bodies, and to refuse to tolerate all interference from them in any of the union's business. Finally, we authorise the Executive Council to take such steps as may be appropriate within the meaning of the union's rules to give effect to the terms of this resolution.

* Italics ours.

The Shop Assistants, the Distributive Workers, the Boot and Shoe Operatives, the General and Municipal Workers, the Garment Workers, and the Electrical Trades Union have all recently shown that they realise the game that is being played. What of those who are to replace the reformist leaders?

Losovsky, as reported in "Pravda," the Russian daily newspaper, in addressing the Fourth Congress of the Red International, on March 17, 1928, admitted that it often happens when a mass movement is begun the Communists do not know how to utilise their influence and energy, and he went on to command them to use every opportunity to take the leadership out of the hands of the present Trade Union leaders. Not that the securing of that leadership by the Communists would produce very much, for Losovsky was good enough to state that "In many countries we do not know how to exploit the temper of the masses and how to lead them through a conflict. In some of the Latin countries it is an easy matter to declare a general strike, but it happens too often that the strike is general only on paper." Nor is he at all certain about the ability of his colleagues to prepare for a strike. He says, "*in some countries we suffer on account of our incompetence in preparing the strike and in collecting exact information about the real temper of the workers.*"* I should imagine that Losovsky was thinking about the short-comings of his colleagues in Great Britain when he wrote those words.

He gave the history of a strike declared by the French Communists in Aisne in December, 1927. This strike was called off the following day because practically nobody responded to the call. Losovsky is good enough to reveal to us how the Communist Agents are compelled to do the bidding of their masters. He went on to say that in some cases when the conditions for a favourable issue of a strike were evident the local Communists were reluctant about the advisability of declaring it. "Our Czechoslovakian comrades did not want to take the initiative in declaring the strike on the pretext that they had not sufficient funds. I asked our Comrade Gyes: 'The conditions are favourable and you refuse to go on strike, what will you do in the time of an industrial crisis? You abandon the strike weapon altogether.'" Then Losovsky adds: "*The strike was declared only after pressure had been exercised on our Czechoslovakian comrades.*" We see here quite plainly the dictatorship of the

Secretariat in action. It is not surprising that the local "Communist comrades" sometimes have doubts whether the strike is opportune. They had before them the vista of the wreckage of Communist strike projects and disillusioned strikers, which have been provided during the last few years.

The idea is everywhere the same—create suspicion, foster distrust, promote dissension amongst the members and their officials, shake their faith in Trade Unionism by leading them into fruitless and disastrous strikes, tell them that the unions are corrupt, reformists; "boss collaborators," that their standards must decline whatever the unions may do and that nothing can be achieved except by bloodshed and the forceful overthrow of Capitalism.

Sometimes this advocacy of the Minority Movement is resented even by the so-called "Revolutionary Unions," as witness the complaint of the delegate of the Irish Workers' Union at the Fourth Congress of the Red International. This union is the organisation of the notorious Jim Larkin, who for the moment imagines himself to be a Communist. His representative pleaded that the territory of the Irish Workers' Union was being invaded by the English Minority Movement. He protested that the union was being impeded by the English Minority Movement. Then he produced a sensation by telling Losovsky pointedly that as the Red International was supporting the English Minority Movement, the leaders of the Irish Workers' Union had decided to sever their relations with the Red International.

A book could easily be filled with the reckless follies, blunders and misdeeds of the Communists and their agents, but enough has been said in these articles to rouse our Movement to an active resistance against these wreckers.

AMERICAN LABOUR'S VIEW.

A very significant illustration is the case of the International Lady Garment Workers' Union in the United States. If space permitted, I could say much about the disruptive activities of the American Communists, but this episode will perhaps suffice to explain why the American Federation of Labour has felt it necessary to declare:—

"There is no room in the American Labour Movement for Communism or Communists. We will aggressively carry on the work of purging every international union chartered by the American Federation of Labour of those evil influences which seek to tear down the organisations which have been built up through years of sacrifice and effort."

* Italics ours.

The story begins in 1923, when the International Union drew up a series of demands. After months of negotiation, it became clear that the employers were not prepared to accept these demands. A ballot was taken on the question of a strike, and the union accepted a proposal made by the Governor of New York for the appointment of a Commission to ascertain the facts and make recommendations with the object of averting a stoppage. This Commission, after due consideration, endorsed some of the union's contentions, but rejected others. In view of the unfavourable industrial situation then existing the leaders of the union counselled acceptance of the Commission's report, especially as the union had gained its most important contention. But this did not suit the Communists. They began an agitation against acceptance of the Commission's report as a basis of negotiation. "One of the policies of the Communist Party and one of the slogans thrown into the face of the American Labour Movement," writes an official of the union, "is the so-called 'anti-class collaboration.' A conference with the Industrial Council on the basis of the Commission's report meant 'class collaboration.' And so, in the face of the policy of the International which always accepted impartial efforts for the settlement of disputes, reserving strikes as a last resource The Communists rejected Governor's Commission report and prepared for a general strike."

The strike began, and its conduct was captured by the Communists. The only question put regarding the appointment of men to take positions in the strike committees was "Is he a Communist?" As a result the strike was disgracefully mismanaged. Details of the amazing incompetence shown by the strike leaders need not be given. "Suffice it, that by the end of December, twenty weeks after the strike had been called, and after an expenditure of \$3,500,000 (about £700,000) in Strike Funds, and the loss of \$30,000,000 in wages, the Communists were ready to call quits, and settled with the Industrial Council, one-quarter of the industry, on terms that were considerably less than offered to the union by the Governor's Commission, and leaving 75 per cent. of the industry in as chaotic a condition as before." Taking advantage of this position, another body of employers, seeing the union lying prostrate as a result of the Communist adventure, suddenly locked out 16,000 workers in order to enforce in their branch of the industry the same terms as the strikers had accepted in the other branches. Faced with this demand the Communists did not know

how to proceed; they had 16,000 locked out workers on their hands, and 10,000 other cloakmakers not covered by the agreement with the Industrial Council, and they did not know what to do with them. Then the union leaders took control of the situation, ended the dispute, and placed the industry on a firm basis. They also instituted a system of voluntary registration among the garment workers in order to ascertain "whether the membership stood for American Trade Union principles and methods or for a Communist-controlled group of puppets taking orders from Chicago and Moscow." The registration showed that the overwhelming mass of the workers in this industry stood behind the union and rejected their discredited Communist leaders. Out of 32,000 regularly employed cloakmakers, over 29,000 registered with the International Union.

COMMUNISTS "TAKE THE COUNT."

"The Communists have taken the count," says the union; "they are down and out. Within a few weeks following the union's assumption of control, every manufacturers' association, and independent manufacturers as well, both in the cloak and dress trades, signed contracts with the union. The deposed Communist Joint Board and the deposed Communist officials of the New York Cloak and Dress Unions, unable to protect the welfare of the workers in the shop, having no contractual relations with any employers, are finished. In a desperate attempt they are seeking to set up dual unions, issue fake membership and working cards, sell fake bonds, and send agents all over the country, but their efforts are collapsing like a house of cards."

That is the story of a reckless and irresponsible adventure engineered by Communists who had secured control of a part of the organisation of a great Trade Union in the United States. It is identical in many respects with the course of events in unions much nearer home. It can be paralleled in the history of Continental Trade Unionism. Everywhere that this evil influence obtains an ascendancy in the working-class organisation the same tale is told, the same results are seen, the same tragedy is worked out.

CONCLUSION.

In the course of these articles it has been shown that:—

- (1) It is the duty of all who have a sincere feeling for the welfare of the Trade Union and Labour Movement to abandon a negative attitude towards Communist propaganda.

- (2) The Minority Movement is definitely a disruptive force, assisted and inspired by Communist organisations, both inside and outside this country.
- (3) The principal officers of the Minority Movement are all paid Communists and take their instructions from the Communist Party, nationally and internationally.
- (4) It is not a natural development from the militant movements of pre-war days, but owes its origin to the inspiration of the Red International.
- (5) The Red International exists for the revolutionary overthrow by violence of the social system. The Minority Movement is affiliated to and financed by the Red International and must carry out its instructions.
- (6) The Minority Movement is committed to work for the violent overthrow of the social system and is pledged to carry this out in its daily struggle.
- (7) The Minority Movement has specific instructions to capture all responsible posts in the Trade Union Movement for Communists, so that the Industrial Movement shall conform to the principles established by the Communist Party.
- (8) Definite instructions are issued by the Red International as to how this shall be done. At Conferences specific orders are given to Communists and Minority Movement members instructing them how to act and vote.
- (9) These members are organised into fractions under the control of Communist Organisers, work as a group, and are openly spoken of as "Communist" delegates. Their election is engineered by all sorts of subversive methods. They are there to act on the instructions of the Communists, and take no notice of the views of their members as expressed through the Trade Union Branches and Executive Councils.
- (10) That the subversive actions of these agents have resulted in attempted disruption in a number of unions.
- (11) The method usually employed is to undermine confidence in the Union. Executive and officials, to vilify, abuse and misrepresent them, to exploit unscrupulously every grievance in order to divide the rank and file against the officials.
- (12) The fantastic policy of promoting reckless general and partial strikes has destroyed unions in other countries, split their ranks into fragments and brought about chaos.
- (13) Such advocacy is forced by the Red International upon Communist and Minority leaders, sometimes against their own convictions.
- (14) Unions in other countries have set their face against these disruptionists, and unions in Great Britain are similarly retaliating vigorously against the Communist and Minority reactionaries.

Now that the unions are alive to the Communist menace and are giving the disruptionists a taste of their own medicine, the pathetic wail has gone forth that the unions are penalising members for their political opinions.

"Why don't you deal with Tories and Liberals, whose political ends are opposed to yours?" the Communists plaintively ask. That false analogy will deceive nobody. The Communists are in a different category from other members of Trade Unions. They have sold their birth-right to revolutionary dictators and have tried to corrupt the Trade Unions they profess to support.

They have pledged themselves to carry out instructions, not of their Trade Union members, but of the Red International. They owe their allegiance, both economically and politically to organisations which are aimed at destroying the established Trade Union Movement. If Tory and Liberal Trade Unionists did the same thing, they would be treated similarly. When the disruptionists learn that the Trade Unions are determined not to endure their antagonistic activities, they will realise that Trade Unionism, which has its roots in the suffering, the privation, the sacrifices and the triumphs of over a century, does not intend to be dominated by those who are avowedly hostile to its declared principles and policy.

Fuel, Power and Transport

By

J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

III.—Chemistry and Electricity in Agriculture

THE introduction into the House of Commons last month by the President of the Board of Agriculture of a Bill "to secure, by means of the formation of a company and the assistance thereof out of public funds, the making of loans for agricultural purposes on favourable terms" has one aspect which, important as it is, because of the unfamiliarity of the idea in England, is entirely escaping notice. It is an aspect that is presented, also, by the decision to remove the burden of rates from agricultural land, and by the means being adopted further to extend the system of State aid to the growing and the refining of sugar beet.

There is in train a very carefully considered plan for the renewal of that surplus value which was formally the normal and regular yield to the landed proprietor of the processes of agricultural production. Not only is there a progressive tendency in the Dominions, in the United States, and in South America to expropriate, formally or by financial pressure, the absentee British owner and mortgage holder of the land on which is grown the greater part of the food of our people here at home, but there is recognised an ever greater urgency to render this country less dependent, whether in peace or in war, on the agricultural production of countries overseas.

Imperial Chemical Industries displayed at the last British Industries Fair, held at the White City, a film advertising the advantages of the new synthetic nitrogen fertiliser produced from the atmosphere at Billingham, and prefaced its pictures of the factory and of the farm by other pictures of the submarine menace in the last war, and diagrams showing the serious peril of our reliance on enormous volumes and values of wheat, meat, and dairy produce transported hither from overseas. This emphasis on the importance of national safety in war, which characterises also the utterances of Sir Alfred Mond, whether talking about synthetic nitrate or the syndication of the steel industry, is paralleled by an insistence on the part of our financiers and statesmen that, in the altered world wherein other nations no longer need our coal and our manufactures, we must import less for which there is need to pay.

Now nothing is more true than the statement

by the great scientist, Dr. Baekeland, to the effect that:—

"Agriculture, after all, is nothing but a very important branch of industrial chemistry."

So, first of all, there is proceeding in this country a great propaganda of the advantages to be got from the use of "nitram," and Baldwins Limited and others of the steel masters and coalowners are pushing superphosphates and sulphate of ammonia. These, along with basic slag, afford an alternative source of revenue in these days when blast furnaces, steel works, and coke ovens are not too productive of profits. Aided by the Agricultural Mortgage Corporation to borrow money on long date, or by the new provisions to strengthen the banks in the extension of short-date loans, the farmers should be stimulated to buy much more of those nitrates, phosphates, and sulphates which Sir Alfred Mond and Mr. Baldwin have superabundant, and awaiting sale at Billingham and at Aberavon. Another important chemical of agriculture is potash. Since the Germans, financed by the Americans, have made from 1924 onwards an effective monopoly of the potassium salts of Stassfurt and Alsace there has been just one alternative source of these invaluable chemical materials. They can be produced synthetically and in considerable quantity from sugar beet. Hence, we can understand the more readily why the current Finance Bill endeavours to assist the refining of sugar made from home-grown beet.

Potash, lime, phosphates, sulphates, nitrates—these are the materials of chemical industry which it is desirable that the farmer should again serve as a convenient conductor to carry from the coal, the chemical and the steel magnate into the exhausted soil of Britain, there to be transformed into values not to be taken by the rate collector or kept back unduly by the farmer, but drawn off to the banks as interest on loans and to the landed proprietors as rents derived from real estate.

Meanwhile that the farmer stands in need of fertilisers for his soil, and in the interests alike of coke-oven operator, steelworks owner, limestone quarry master, chemical manufacturer, and landed proprietor should be induced to buy

them in ever larger quantities, there is another, indeed, there are several other, industrial capitalists who see in him a new customer in that ever contracting market whereon to they pour the commodities of mass production.

Easily reaching the auction sales (which are replacing the old time markets), and accustomed to the wireless and all the news of the world market and the weather reports that it brings to him, the farmer is now to be persuaded "to do it by electricity."

In the South, the South-West, and the East of England, as, indeed, in the main everywhere outside of the immediate neighbourhood of city, borough, and town, the electricity supply services are in the hands pre-eminently of the private company. A few short weeks before this Agricultural Credits Bill was brought before Parliament, Samuel Insull, of Chicago, the "big noise" in the Middle Western Utilities Company, secured effective financial control of the Greater London and Counties Trust Limited, and, through it, commenced to acquire extensive interests in electricity supply companies in and all around the London area, in East Anglia and up the Thames Valley.

Samuel Insull is a great advocate of the extension of electricity to agriculture. It is a theme never long absent from his lips. Eager as is Sir Alfred Mond that the farmer should economise on artificial feeds and graze his livestock on the long, lush grass fertilised by "nitram," is Samuel Insull enthusiastic about the replacement of gas and oil engines by electric drive for "stationary farm power."

Two years ago he was going all out at the Convention of the National Electric Light Association at Atlantic City on the "future potential farm market for power."

He saw eventually in the United States "a potential farm market for electrical energy at 18,700,000,000 kilowatt hours per year." He was on the same theme in the same year at the Electric Association of Chicago, and the year before, at Purdue University, stated that:—

"The two most revolutionary developments in the business (in 27 years) have been (1) development of mass production by means of large generating units in large central stations; and (2) the development which has taken, and is increasingly taking, electric service of metropolitan character to

the small cities and villages, and to the farms."

Such is the outlook of the man who has come to dominate the electricity supply services of the South of England.

Relieved of his rates, made readily available to him bank credit and mortgage loan capital, supplied on the instalment purchase system with machinery and equipment, and canvassed, as he will be, according to the Insull plan, to take current and to take stock in the electricity companies, the farmer is going to contribute no small part of the custom to the makers of fittings and to the contractors who will lay in his cables, put in wiring, and furnish him with all manner of new-fangled utensils and gadgets about the buildings. The farmer is going to be aroused from his apathy. The banks, the landlords, and the chemical and electricity undertakers have need of him. He is to be helped to help himself in order that he may become, in the process, more and more a source of surplus-value.

(To be continued.)

ORDERS FOR THE **Industrial Review**

(ENLARGED TO 16 PAGES)

should be sent to

THE LITERATURE DEPARTMENT,
— TRADES UNION CONGRESS —
TRANSPORT HOUSE (South Block),
SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1

Annual Subscription :

Single Copy	. . .	2s. 6d.
10 copies	. . .	13s.
20 copies	. . .	25s.
50 copies	. . .	£3
100 copies	. . .	£6

THE INDUSTRIAL REVIEW

is the official publication of the Trades Union Congress, and gives official news of the activities of recognised Trades Councils and affiliated Trade Unions.

General Elections in France and in Germany

By
JOSEPH SAXE

THE two great electoral battles which, together with the coming General Elections in Great Britain, must determine the course of European history during the next few years have been fought. The result in France is commonly regarded as a distinct move to the Right, whilst that achieved in Germany is obviously a brilliant victory for the Left and, more particularly, for the Social Democratic Party.

In neither country has the result brought any very great surprises. Everyone in France expected a victory for M. Poincaré, and no one in Germany doubted that the Nationalist Party would suffer a setback. Yet the extent and insistence of success and failure in either country shows some unexpected features which it is worth while to notice. Moreover, notwithstanding the very different political and economic conditions obtaining in the two countries, certain features of the electoral campaign show a striking analogy particularly instructive for the Labour Movement.

In France the greatest successes were attained by the parties and groups that claimed to represent most faithfully the policy of M. Poincaré. But inasmuch as the head of the French Government never defined his future policy very clearly, it is difficult to say much more of the significance of the result than that it constitutes a personal vote of confidence for M. Poincaré.

The centre of gravity of the Parliamentary majority has shifted to the Right, but even that can only be said with certain qualifications. For one thing the Socialist Party, affiliated to the Zurich International, has lost practically nothing of its former strength. The Republican Socialist group, to which M. Briand belongs, has even gained several seats, whereas the frankly reactionary Monarchist Party remains as insignificant as ever. The Communist Party has lost nearly half of its seats, although, like the Socialist Party, it increased considerably its voting strength, but of that more anon.

What really happened is that within the Coalition which in the last Chamber supported M. Poincaré, the more progressive groups, especially the Radical-Socialist Party headed

by M. Herriot, have lost ground to the benefit of the more conservative group, the so-called Democratic Republican Party led by M. Marin.

To what extent remains yet to be seen, for in France parties and party organisations, with the exception of the Socialist and Communist parties, are not so well defined as in other countries. A candidate may describe himself as belonging to a party though he may never have been adopted by it or even have had any connection with it. He may also, when elected, join some other party or group without any formality or change sides according to his own fancy without attracting any particular notice.

This is what actually appears to be happening now, for a considerable number of M.P.s elected on the Marin ticket are reported to be joining or on the point of joining the Centre group, led by M. Loucheur, which stands in the middle between the Radical-Socialists of M. Herriot and the Conservative Republicans of M. Marin.

Broadly speaking, it may be said that M. Loucheur represents French "big business," with both its political qualities and effects, whereas M. Marin represents conservative and reactionary high finance, and M. Herriot the democratic and progressive, but rather timid, small farmers and petty bourgeoisie. It looks as though M. Loucheur's group were to become the dominant factor of the new majority, neither definitely allying itself to nor breaking with either the Marin group or the Herriot party, but governing with both of them when possible and either of them when necessary. This would no doubt also be to the taste of M. Poincaré. The general home and foreign policy of this government and majority would be very much like that of the now beaten Marx Government in Germany.

Everybody agrees that M. Poincaré's electoral victory is due to his success in stabilising the franc. Experience in several European countries has proved stabilisation of a shaken currency to be impossible without the loyal co-operation of big business and high finance, and these classes have invariably made a none too scrupulous political use of them. By stabilising the franc in fact, though not in law,

M. Poincaré and his capitalistic supporters exploited the fear of French bondholders and other classes of another breakdown of the currency unless M. Poincaré were given a fresh lease of power.

This calculation has succeeded admirably, but it is only fair to add that M. Poincaré, to whom the majority of the French electorate has thus given a vote of confidence, is not the same M. Poincaré we knew a few years ago. It is not M. Poincaré of the "Bloc national," and of the occupation of the Ruhr, but to the Poincaré of the Locarno treaty and of the Bordeaux and Carcassonal speeches that won the recent elections. For M. Poincaré's political attitude has changed considerably. Especially with regard to foreign affairs, he has practically adopted M. Briand's policy of reconciliation with Germany and of a reasonable settlement both of the reparations and inter-allied debts problem, and of the early evacuation of the Rhineland. In this sense it may be said with a certain amount of truth that it is not the French electorate that turned Right but M. Poincaré that turned Left.

There is, therefore, no reason to be very pessimistic about French policy in the new legislature. It is, however, beyond doubt that the result might have been infinitely better, both from the purely French and the international point of view, but for the treacherous behaviour of the Communists who, in the second ballot, upheld their candidatures everywhere as a matter of principle, not only in those constituencies where the results of the first ballot showed that they had no ghost of a chance of being themselves returned at the head of the poll but even in those constituencies where they could foresee with mathematical certainty that their policy would result in causing the victory of the reactionary candidates and the defeat of the Socialists. This actually happened in as many as 30 constituencies in the industrial departments of the North and of the Pas de Calais, of the Upper Vienne, and in some of the suburbs of Paris. Never before had Communist treachery and cynicism been pushed to the same point.

These tactics not only cost the Socialist Party 30 or more seats but was at the same time the principal cause of the Communist breakdown itself: they caused them a loss of some 20 seats. Had the Communists consented to some reasonable arrangement in the second ballot, April 29 might have been turned into a day of victory for the Extreme Left and the Left. But, in France at least, they do not

even trouble to say that they aim much more at the destruction of the Socialist Party than at achieving electoral successes themselves.

In spite of that the Socialists succeeded, as we have said, to maintain practically undiminished their Parliamentary strength, but it would be useless to deny that in France the split in the Labour Movement has reached a critical point. Out of the total Labour and Socialist vote, the Communists may now claim roughly two-fifths for themselves. Moreover, in certain industrial areas they have succeeded in ousting the Socialist Party from its dominating position and forced it to seek compensation in certain agricultural or half-industrial regions. If pushed much farther, this movement might to a certain extent affect the class character of the French Socialist Party, and in the end also its policy. The worst of it is that our French friends seem still incapable of agreeing on a clear and determined policy for meeting the Communist menace but have, in the main, to depend on the sanity of the working-class voter who will at last see through the Communist game and refuse to lend himself to it.

In Germany, also, the Labour split presents still a very serious problem, but it has not prevented the wonderful victory of the Social Democratic Party at the poll. Moreover, although the Communists may boast of just over one-third of the voting-strength of the Social Democratic Party, the position of this latter as the sole serious representation of German Labour is practically unchallenged.

Since the last General Election, fought in December, 1927, the German Social Democratic Party has increased its voting-strength by about 1,250,000, and its percentage of the total poll, as also of its representation in the Reichstag, has gone up from 26 in December, 1924, to 31.1 in May, 1928.

But even these figures give not the full measure of its success. It should be added that out of 35 electoral constituencies into which Germany is divided, the Social Democrats are now the strongest party in 23 as against 15 in 1924. In four constituencies they have ousted the Nationalists from the first place, and in four others the Catholic Centre Party. In one constituency, Wurttemberg, they jumped from the third place to the first. In only eight constituencies have they polled less than 20 per cent. of the total, and their lowest poll is 12.7 per cent.

The most striking feature of the election is, of course, the collapse of the Nationalist Party, which has lost well over 30 per cent. of its voting strength and of its seats in the

Reichstag. Its share of the total has gone from 22.3 to 15 per cent. The Nationalist and Monarchist ghost may be said to have been slain in Germany.

Equally significant, because rather unexpected, is the decline in the voting-power of the Catholic Centre Party. It has gone down from 14 to 12.7 per cent. The stability of the Catholic vote in Germany is proverbial, and never before has it suffered quite so great a setback. Its reputation of unassailability and its self-confidence have received a rude shock. Not only has the Party been discredited by four years of Coalition with the reactionary Nationalists but the social ferment is now working powerfully within the Catholic Party and sapping the basis of its power and unity. Many of the Catholic working-class voters of Rhineland, Westphalia, and Southern Germany have evidently gone over to the Socialists, whilst a new Catholic group, professing very extreme social views, has obtained votes enough to rob the Centre Party of two seats in the Reichstag, though it secured more itself.

The third partner in the Government coalition, the German People's Party led by M. Stresemann, has also lost considerably, though the Democrats, who had remained outside of the Government, have fared no better.

There is no doubt whatever as to the meaning and the probable consequences of the election result. The bourgeois Coalition Government is beaten. The Nationalists are driven from power. It is quite impossible to form now a stable Government majority without the participation of the Socialist Party. In view of the losses suffered by the Centre and the Democratic parties, a repetition of the so-called Weimar coalition, while it has been reaffirmed in its power in Prussia by the result of the elections to the Diet held simultaneously to those of the Reichstag, is not feasible in the latter Parliament. It would be several votes short of a majority.

The only practical solution would, therefore, seem to be a Government of the so-called "great coalition," that is, the inclusion of the People's Party in the Weimar majority of Socialists, Catholics, and Democrats. The Socialists, being stronger than the other three groups put together, would, of course, have the preponderating influence in the Government. As for the programme, foreign policy would raise no serious difficulty, but it would certainly not be easy for Socialists and People's Party, who represent chiefly the heavy industry and banking interests, to agree on a common policy, but the task is not impossible of achievement.

There exists within the Socialist Party a certain amount of opposition against Coalition policy, and especially against coalition with the People's Party. This opposition is particularly strong in Saxony, where the "Left Wing" has always been powerful and where, significantly enough, the Communists have been able to do the greatest mischief to the Labour Movement. But it is unlikely that this opposition will be carried to the bitter end. The Social Democratic Party, as a whole, had entirely concentrated its fight on bringing about the defeat of the bourgeois Coalition Government. Now that this purpose has been achieved, the Socialist Party cannot escape from the duty of providing the only conceivable alternative Government majority.

The Party, as a whole, certainly does not shrink from this responsibility. The German Social Democratic Party has deliberately set itself the task of conquering the State. It has actually gone a considerable distance along this road in Prussia, where, under the leadership of statesmen such as Otto Braun, Severing and Grzezinski, it not only has dominated the Government but gone a long way towards transforming both the spirit and the personnel of the administration, including, in particular, the police. In this way Prussia, once the bulwark of Kaiserism and junkerism, has become the stronghold of Republican and Socialist Germany.

The result of the elections offers the possibility of undertaking the same task in the government of the Reich. It is, perhaps, even more difficult, but given vigorous and capable leadership it can be accomplished.

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The American Offer

By

W. ARNOLD-FORSTER

“WAR is the supreme instrument of national policy, whereby one nation may impose its will upon another.” So wrote Clausewitz, the father of Prussian militarism.

“The High Contending Parties . . . condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.” So writes Mr. Kellogg in the draft treaty which the most powerful nation in the world offers to the world to-day.

What does the proposed treaty amount to, and what ought we to do about it?

The Treaty offers the opportunity for making a change of profound importance; it should not be decried as being merely another pious phrase, or discounted as being merely a declaration of what is in fact our practice already. Of course it deals only with one part of the prevention of war; it does nothing to provide the machinery of peaceful settlement or peaceful change; nor does it directly touch the problem of putting a stop to a breach of the common peace if it occurs, and it leaves untouched some of the main causes of war. But it does involve a great change, and clears the way for further changes.

For the right to use war and the threat of war “as an instrument of national policy” is a right that we do still retain, and have frequently exercised. The international history of the pre-war years is a story of a confused anarchic game in which bluff and counter-bluff, private war and the threat of war, were in truth “the supreme instruments of national policy.” That liberty to threaten private war was among the chief causes of war, as Lowes Dickinson, Morel, and others have shown. And we are still free to exploit those instruments to-day. True, the right of private war has been substantially curtailed; indeed, many countries have wholly renounced it in their relations with certain other countries. But the right still survives: we are still free in certain circumstances, if a certain procedure of conciliation fails, to break the common peace for our own private ends. And so long as this is so, for so long the way of arbitration, security and disarmament will be obstructed: for so long it will be possible for Ministers to say, as Mr. Bridgeman said at Geneva last summer, that if America insists upon building a lot of heavy

cruisers, we shall have to do likewise “in self-protection.”

We retain an ultimate right of private war in our relations with every foreign country in the world save one. With one State, Uruguay, we have, oddly enough, renounced that right, by means of an all-inclusive arbitration treaty (February 11, 1919); but with every other country outside the British Commonwealth, whether a member of the League or not, we remain free, if conciliation fails, to begin a private war.

Both of our existing Treaties with America maintain this freedom. The Root Arbitration Treaty of 1908 provides only for arbitration in legal issues, and only in those legal issues that are not held to affect the honour or vital interests or independence of the parties or the interests of third parties. This reservation has the effect, of course, of leaving the countries free to reserve from arbitration any issue to which they may attach importance. Moreover, the Treaty contains a second qualification: an agreement as to what is to be arbitrated, the powers of the arbitrators, etc., has to be made, “by and with the advice and consent” of the American Senate. Thus the Root Treaty, which falls due for renewal or revision on June 4, 1928, is really little more than an agreement to go to arbitration if the parties care to do so. The right of private war remains intact.

Much more valuable is the Bryan Conciliation Treaty of 1914, one of a series of American Treaties of which 21 are still nominally in being. This provides that disputes not otherwise settled must be referred to a Conciliation Commission for inquiry and report; the report must be made within a year, and pending this report the parties may not begin a war against each other. Thus both the Anglo-American Treaties leave the parties free in the last resort to use war and the threat of war as a legitimate instrument of national policy in their mutual relations.

So, too, in relations with League Members the notorious “gap in the Covenant” still leaves us free in certain circumstances to begin a private war. If the Council fails to reach a unanimous report as to a dispute submitted to it, then the parties are free, after three months further delay, to begin their mutual massacre.

Some countries—i.e., Germany and France,

Germany and Belgium—have now bound themselves by Article 2 of the Locarno Pact not to begin private war against each other, even if the Council should fail to reach an unanimous report. And other countries—e.g., Switzerland and Italy, and all the Scandinavian States—have gone further, binding themselves in advance by all-in arbitration treaties to accept a particular system of pacific settlement for all international disputes between them.

Now comes the Kellogg Treaty. The signatories would not be committing themselves to any particular method of pacific settlement, but they would be declaring that solution of international disputes must never be sought "except by pacific means," and they would be *renouncing the right to begin a private war, even if conciliation breaks down.*

What should we do about the offer now accepted in principle by the present Government?

The first thing, I suggest, is to urge that the offer should be accepted *without reservations* or amendments of the text. Any change made on this side the Atlantic, and especially any change proposed by this country, will be scrutinised with suspicion on the other side, and may easily imperil the acceptance of the Treaty by the Senate. What we should aim at—and what I venture to suggest—is that the Labour Party should seek to establish more clearly than ever before—is the general recognition of the distinction between private war and public coercion.

There is no point in putting in a reservation concerning the right of self-defence, for neither the British Government nor the American is at present willing to accept the consequences of any workable definition of defence or of aggression. There are strong reasons against making such a provision as the French propose, deferring the operation of the Treaty until it has been universally accepted. That would leave to any Power a dangerous weapon of blackmail, and the Treaty would be hung up for years, probably for ever.

The discussion about the proposed reservations will have served a valuable purpose if it brings out the fundamental opposition between the idea of a common peace respected and preserved in common and the idea of exclusive alliances. Such treaties of alliance as France has made with Roumania and Poland, or such as we recently discussed with Egypt, are really incompatible with the principles of the League and of the Kellogg draft.

And the whole discussion of the Treaty gives us a splendid opportunity for explaining Labour's policy, summarised in the Margate and Blackpool resolutions, concerning the complete renunciation of private war. That

anarchic "right" must be got out of the way.

* * *

P.S. (after publication of the British reply).

If only they had had the vision to accept the thing promptly and completely, without this miserable "British Monroe Doctrine." "There are *certain regions of the world*," the reply says, "the welfare and integrity of which constitute a special and vital interest for our peace and safety. . . . Their protection against attack is to the British Empire a measure of self-defence. It must be clearly understood that H.M. Government in Great Britain accept the new Treaty upon the distinct understanding that it does not prejudice their freedom of action in this respect." In other words, we are to keep our hands free to use war and the threat of war as a legitimate instrument of *national* defence policy in our dealings about, say, the Suez Canal. Again and again the Canal—it crops up every time that we are called on to join in making some move towards a new international order. We can't sign the Optional Clause, Conservatives say, lest we might have to submit the question of our legal rights there to impartial legal judgment. We can't accept without reserve the League's principle that the common peace is a common interest, because, they say, we must keep our hands free to make an *exclusive* Treaty of Alliance with Egypt.* We can't even, without a vague reservation, renounce "war as an instrument of national policy," because the defence of the Suez against attack is a "special and vital interest" to us. Why should not the defence of Suez, a great international highway if ever there was one, be recognised and treated as an international concern? Unless and until that is done, this Suez trouble—the importance of which in war-time is much over-rated—will continue to hamper our contributing effectively to international solidarity.

Still, when all the regrets have been expressed, there remains a very large matter for congratulation. Let us do our utmost to make it plain from Labour platforms that Britain, America, France, and Germany now renounce—if all goes well—the right to begin a private war against each other, even if conciliation fails. That should do something to clear the way, say for a rational solution of the old problem of freedom of the seas and many another problem.

* Article 6 of the abortive Anglo-Egyptian treaty requires Egypt, in the event of our being engaged in war, to put at our disposal her ports, aerodromes, etc., in the degree required of an ally. In other words, Egyptians might be required to abandon neutrality, and expose themselves to reprisals by our enemy, over some private quarrel of ours to which Egypt had had no say whatever.

Mr. Shaw as a Socialist*

By

HAROLD J. LASKI

IT will soon be 50 years since Mr. Shaw, in the now classic first essay of the *Fabian Essays*, showed that he could beat the economists at their own game of refined analysis. In the period since that time he has discussed every angle of Socialist theory and tactic, but he has never sought coherently to set out his considered view of the whole issue. His new book attempts just this thing, and there is no student of social philosophy but will be grateful for it.

It is, from every angle, a most interesting revelation of Mr. Shaw's mind. It is, in the first place, the book of a great humanist. The results of action are interesting to Mr. Shaw not as a revelation of this theory or that, but because they affect the lives of men. The second thing that is outstanding is Mr. Shaw's insistence that Socialism is the philosophy of life as a whole, and not of a part of life. To see it economically, he sees it politically; to see it politically, he sees it religiously; to see it at all, it is, for him, a necessary philosophy of education, of art, of science. Its postulates, that is, permeate our lives as we live them totally; it enters into them all, and gives them colour and quality by which each aspect becomes different and better. There is essential wisdom in this; for either a Socialist philosophy is an art of life as a seamless web, or it is nothing.

One or two other things are worth noting as an index to Mr. Shaw's habits of mind. The great playwright, like the great novelist, sees things journalistically; he exploits dramatic situations. It would be vain to look in him for a systematic philosophic exposition. He takes rather convincing aspects of his problem and presents them to his public as situations of inescapable interest. He is almost uninterested in the logic of his process; rather he is concerned with making the impress of that aspect, shown in its most dramatic significance, pierce the mind of the attentive reader. This Mr. Shaw accomplishes in a way that reveals his mastery as a dramatist. I do not think, for instance, that this book would stifle the doubts of a great economic logician like Cannan or Schumpeter. But I cannot conceive of anyone not a specialist in technique who would not be driven back, by the power of Mr. Shaw's rhetorical synthesis, to

the very foundations of his belief.† Again, it is clear that Mr. Shaw is less interested in administration than in principle. He sees with amazing clarity what he thinks ought to be done; he can put with unsurpassed vigour a convincing case for doing it; but he is, I should judge, almost without interest in what may be termed the institutional pattern of achievement. And it is curious to note the stability of his mind. He is still the man of *Fabian Essays*. He knows (none better) his Marx, his Mill, his Jevons, his Webb. But what has happened in economic and political theory since their time has not, I should judge again, come his way? There he seems to trust to his commonsense, on the one hand, and his personal contacts on the other. These are guides to be respected; but they do not always lead him to breast the most difficult mountains.

The pattern and the thesis of the book are admirably clear. He draws a picture of capitalist civilisation and its consequences which is one of the most effective indictments that have ever been written; indeed, in the last 70 years, only the first volume of Marx, and the Webbs' *Decay of Capitalist Civilisation* can challenge comparison with it. This indictment centres about the relentless analysis of the profit-making motive as the keystone of the arch in contemporary civilisation, and it is thereby revealed for the mean, nasty, corrupt thing that it is. That is Mr. Shaw's essential major premise. Let us know capitalism, he says in effect, for the thing it is in our daily lives: a system which deprives the rich of honour and the poor of self-respect. Thence Mr. Shaw passes to his fundamental conclusion. Socialism for him means equality of income, and the whole analysis of where we now stand is made to reveal the immense advantages which result from the disappearance of economic equality. It is a drastic conclusion; and from certain remarks near the end of the book I gather that Mr. Shaw would rest content with an approximation to his ideal. But he works out in detail the advantages, moral, biological, psychological, which result from such equality, and the general truth of his insistence seems to one reader, at least, beyond denial.

The argument, I think, can briefly be summarised in this way. If we rely on the profit-making motive as the essential incentive to effort in society, there can never be adequate

* *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*. By Bernard Shaw. (London: Constable. 15s.)

attention to the needs of men. Significance becomes attached not to the realisation of personality but to the response to the power of property. Any hope of a decently organised state then disappears. Law becomes the protector of rich men's luxuries and the preventive, sometimes formally, sometimes substantially, of poor men's needs. Liberty becomes meaningless because liberty has no meaning outside the context of equality. Differences of property act as a poison in the social system. Production is emphasised not in relation to what society requires but in relation to effective demand—a power exerted without regard to, often in defiance of, human wants as a whole. The only cure for this is to put men on an equal footing in the face of effective demand. Motives to effort can then be read in their social context. Institutions will operate to satisfy genuine needs; and the incidence of those needs is given its proper emphasis. In a society of economic equals, men become significant by what they do, and not by reason of the property of which they are an annexe. Poverty, with its evils of self-abasement, ignorance, dirt, and disease, will disappear. Co-ordination of effort for the planning of life as a creative whole becomes possible.

How is the transition to such equality to be effected? Mr. Shaw stands firmly by Parliamentary government as the safest vehicle of change. He accepts the "inevitability of gradualness" in its full implications. The cut and thrust of party interests will, he believes, drive even the Conservative Party to the increasing adoption of Socialist measures. Not, of course, that Mr. Shaw is blind to the danger of revolution. He realises that impatience of reaction, or a plunge into war, may easily release catastrophic forces. But, even were that to happen, he denies that revolution in itself would be creative. All the spade-work would still have to be done, and only government by discussion would enable it to be done at all effectively. So insistent, indeed, is Mr. Shaw on the value of constitutionalism that he rejects such methods as the general strike as simple folly. Here, it may be urged, the problem is more complicated than a good dialectician like himself is prepared to admit as a basis for argument. And even the case for revolutionary change rests on argument stronger than he finds room for. Its undesirability is, I agree, quite patent; but it is not clear that the class of owners will embrace equality as simply and easily as he seems to think.

It would require a small book to indicate at all adequately the vast area upon which

Mr. Shaw dwells. Religion, marriage, children, the toleration of dissident opinion, upon these he discourses with point and insight. One is not always certain about what he really thinks, and, sometimes, the best part of the discussion is what he says by the way rather than his treatment of the central theme. Sometimes, too, he gets his effects, like the superb controversialist that he is, by making his words mean what he wants them to mean. Sometimes, also, as in the discussion of the transition, he reveals a surprisingly feeble sense of institutions. But the book as a whole is great because of its saving commonsense. It shows how completely a rigorous analysis of capitalist method necessary puts the protagonists of that system upon the defensive. It reveals its fundamental inability to build a society in which there is a due proportion between consequences and justice. It is not a utopia; it is rather a penetrating critique of the present so made as to lead logically to alternative social foundations.

Upon one other aspect it is worth while to dwell. Mr. Shaw's great gifts as an expositor have been often praised; in parts of this book they appear at their very best. On the nature of capital, on the functions of the employer and the banker, on women in the labour market, on the nature of money, his discussions are models of elementary analysis. As always with Mr. Shaw, they make the problems seem more simple than they are; and there are some observations which would make Mr. Snowden on matters like the theory of bankers' credit look like a wild extremist by Mr. Shaw's side. But if every Trade Union, every Co-operative Guild, every section of a Labour Party were set to study these sections, the resolutions of annual conferences would show much more relation to reality than they always do.

I do not profess to know how the middle and upper classes will receive Mr. Shaw's book; but I hope the working-class will give it a warm welcome. It is a great service to draw the attention of the thoughtful public to the fact that the central plea of Socialism is a plea for equality. For the power with which that is done there should be nothing but gratitude from Socialists; and compared to that service the faults of the book do not seriously matter. It is likely to remain for many years the classic statement of Fabian Socialism as it was shaped by the forces of its origin; and whatever the dissent from its principles, it will compel many people who now take its inadequacy for granted to seek ground for their conviction.

In the "Eight-fifteen"

THE MENTAL ABERRATIONS OF THE FAMOUS YES-NO TRIBE

By

T. S. DICKSON

"TWO-LEGGED contradictions, I call 'em—don't know where they are. Make me ill, they do." Knocking the ashes of his pipe into the cup of his left hand, the Man with the L. M. S. Badge in his Cap screwed his face in wearied disgust.

The argumentative compartment of "the Eight-Fifteen" had got well into its stride a few seconds after leaving the platform of Propriety Suburb *en route* for Grubtown. Mr. Hesitant, the Liberal, had noted a news item, wherein a co-operative society was protesting against the Co-operative Union having a working arrangement with the Labour Party, and declaring that strict neutrality should be observed towards all political and religious parties and organisations.

"A most reasonable attitude," nodded Mr. Hardphace, with an air of sublime impartiality. "They are not declaring against the Labour Party, nor declaring for it, but simply saying, let us be neutral. Nothing could be fairer."

"Or more potty," added the Man with the Badge, puffing smoke vehemently.

"Nonsense," Hardphace retorted.

"Reminds me of mice and mousetraps," said the Badge, returning to the attack. "The mice are not declaring against mousetraps (mimicing the tone and manner of Hardphace), nor declaring for them, but simply saying: Let us be neutral. Nothing could be fairer." He spread his hands with a comical pretence of broad-mindedness.

Hardphace frowned, and rustled his "Morning Insurer" noisily, while the Young Man with the Purple Socks twittered that the analogy was all wrong.

"The *idea* is all right, anyhow," countered the Badge.

"I think you will agree that the Co-operative Movement ought not to associate itself with one particular religious organisation," suggested Mr. Hesitant, executing what he thought rather a clever flanking movement as a prelude to an attack on the main position—association with one particular *political* organisation.

"I agree most heartily," said the Man with the Briar Pipe, to whom the question had been addressed.

"Well, then doesn't it follow," pursued Hesitant, with the smile of a man who had gained an important point.

"Wait a moment"—the Man with the Briar laid down his "Daily Herald" and raised an arresting hand—"We haven't finished with the religious question just yet. So far as I know there is no particular religious denomination which, in principle, is against the Co-operative Movement; so far as I know, there is no one religious denomination which, in principle, is separate from all others in support of the Co-operative Movement. Therefore, it is quite unnecessary for the Co-operative Movement to declare for one religious denomination as against another. But if one religious movement declared in favour of the Co-operative Movement, while all others maintained that it should be fought, opposed, and, if possible, extinguished, then, clearly, the Co-operative Movement, as such, would have to take cognisance of that position. Co-operators would have to consider whether the Co-operative Movement was wrong, or whether the opposing religious organisations were wrong, and would have to act accordingly. That position does not exist, so the Co-operative Movement is not called upon to deal with a situation that isn't there. Therefore your parallel falls."

The Man with the Briar looked at Hesitant for acquiescence in his deduction, and the latter smiled rather wanly, and admitted: "Yes, I think that is right." But added: "I think, however, that a good deal of that argument applies also to the political side, so that the Co-operative Movement shall also refrain from declaring for one *political* party."

"I think, sir, that you are most decidedly wrong," answered the Briar emphatically.

"That is only your opinion," cut in the Young Man with the Purple Socks, as if propounding a profundity worthy of Solomon.

"I think I can prove it," replied the Briar quietly. "Whether we like it or not, politics touch us at every phase of life. Politics, and the legislative reflection of politics, touch us even before life."

The Man with the Purple Socks burst out laughing, and the Man with the Badge glared

at him: "You've got as much imagination as a boiled rabbit, you have."

"They touch us even before life," repeated the Briar. "They determine in great measure the housing and hygienic conditions into which we are born, how mothers are treated before we are born. Legislation, which is crystallised politics, decides when our birth shall be registered, when we shall be vaccinated, or under what conditions we can escape vaccination; when we shall go to school, when we may leave school. It decides the conditions under which we shall work, and how long we shall work. In fact, politics and legislation not only touch us at every phase of life, but they touch us at death. They decide how we will be buried, and if our relatives are too poor to bury us they actually decide *who* shall bury us. So we can lay it down that a man can as soon get away from his shadow as from politics."

"But what," blustered Hardphace, "what has all this got to do with the Co-operative Movement allying itself with the Labour Party?"

"I'm coming to that," smiled the Briar. "I'm merely laying the foundations before I get on with the super-structure. The trouble to-day is that so many people arrive at conclusions without examining the bases on which their conclusions must rest. As it is with individuals," continued the Briar, "so it is with movements. They cannot escape from politics and legislation. Why is it that the overwhelming mass of the members of the Federation of British Industries vote Liberal and Tory? Obviously because they believe that Liberal and Tory politics will suit their own interests best. Why are the great coal-owners, steel magnates, and so on, Tory to a man almost? For the same reason. Politics affects them as capitalists; they know it, and they act upon that knowledge."

"But the Co-operative Movement," snapped Hardphace in exasperation.

"Yes, yes," returned the Briar placidly. "In the factories of the Co-operative Movement legislation decides the minimum conditions under which employees shall work, and how long they shall work; it lays down the quality of materials, regulates weight, and so on."

"Legislation does the same for all traders whether they are co-operative or not," shot in Hardphace.

"Quite so," agreed the Briar, "and therefore co-operators have as much right to concern themselves with politics as the National Union of Manufacturers."

"But the National Union of Manufacturers," countered Hardphace, being a member himself, "is not concerned with parties; it asks that

certain things be done, that certain laws be passed—it doesn't care who passes them."

"Precisely, but there are certain laws which a Tory or a Liberal Government would enact and that a Labour Government would not. Both Liberal and Tory stand for what they call 'private enterprise and competition' and the Labour Party stands for the co-operative principle. What is the position of the co-operator—who really is a co-operator, and knows why he is a co-operator—to be in such circumstances?"

"Surely," protested Mr. Hesitant, "all co-operators know why they are co-operators."

"I am afraid that while all know why they are co-operators in the matter of distributing goods, many do not permit their knowledge to work out to its logical end."

"No?" queried Hardphace cynically.

"No," echoed the Briar. "But the thinkers in the Co-operative Movement know that co-operation does not consist of little retail distributive islands entirely surrounded by seas of 'private enterprise' and capitalism. They know that if the elimination of the middleman in distribution saves money for the customer, it is also true that elimination of the middleman and private profit-taker in every process from the point of production onward would further benefit the ultimate consumer. The co-operative principle pursued logically demands the elimination of unnecessary middlemen whether in distribution or in production. If not, I'll be glad if anyone can tell me why a principle is right in distribution, but wrong in production?" He paused for answer, but none came. Hesitant, the Liberal, did not want to be found guilty of illogicality, and Hardphace hesitated to declare his conviction that co-operation was wrong right through.

"If co-operators are right when they say that distribution should not be in the hands of a few for profit, but in the hands of all who use the goods, how are they wrong if they say also that the *production* of the goods should not be in the hands, and under the control of the few, for private profit? The co-operator who says so is guilty of a stupid contradiction. He belongs to that Yes-No tribe that does not know the implications of what it professes to believe."

"But if we grant all that, why should the Co-operative Movement be associated with one particular party—that was the original point of difference," came the reminder from Hesitant.

"The answer, I think, is easy," said the Man with the Briar. "We have seen that the Co-operative Movement cannot escape politics, and that co-operation stands essentially against either production or distribution being carried on for the profit of a few individuals at the expense of the many. It has therefore to

decide whether it should allow its members to run about like sheep in political camps that may be against the co-operative principle, or whether these should be advised and guided in the direction of a political party that stands for the co-operative principle. What party stands for the elimination of private profit-making both in production and distribution? What party stands for the elimination of unnecessary middlemen that eat up the substance of the national life without contributing to that substance? What party advocates the co-operative principle of ownership and control as against private ownership and capitalist control? The answer is, of course, the Labour Party. So that a co-operator who is not a supporter of the Labour Party and definitely against the capitalist political parties is a political contradiction—he opposes at the ballot box what he fights for as a co-operator."

"I'm a co-operator," said Mr. Hesitant, "but I'm no Socialist."

"Hear, hear," chirruped the Young Man with the Purple Socks.

"What you mean is that you are a Socialist in distribution, but not in production, forgetting that whatever advantages you may have as a Socialist in distribution can be nullified unless you carry your principle through into production and transport. In fact, you think that co-operation is a good thing, provided you only get a little of it."

"What I'd like to know"—the Man with the L.M.S. Badge came in—"is where co-operation stops and Socialism begins?"

"The one is voluntary, and the other would be compulsory," Hesitant answered.

"Don't you come that on me," flared out the Badge. "I want to know where one begins and the other stops in the economic sense. Whether a thing is voluntary or compulsory doesn't affect that side of it, matey. If I'm sittin' in this train it doesn't matter whether I came in of my own free will or whether two coppers brought me, I'll get to Grubtown just the same."

"I'm afraid I don't follow you," said Hesitant with puzzled brows.

"Well, if you wipe out unnecessary blokes what are scooping the pool, you'll save money whether you do it voluntarily in a co-operative society or by law, see? And as for the chap what wants to wipe out middlemen in distribution but not in production—what believes in co-operation in one thing and not in the other—is like a fella that says he believes in eggs—but only in small eggs."

"A terrible man, a terrible man," muttered Hardphace, as he lifted his little black bag from the rack and stepped out at Grubtown.

25,000,000 Sweated Indian Workers are A Menace to European Wage Standards

For an exhaustive review
of this grave problem and
an indication of the lines
on which it can be solved
read the

REPORT ON LABOUR CONDITIONS IN INDIA

By A. A. PURCELL, M.P., and
J. HALLSWORTH

♦ ♦ ♦

British Trades Union Congress
Delegation to India,
November, 1927, to March, 1928

♦ ♦ ♦

Published by
THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS
GENERAL COUNCIL

Price One Shilling Post Free.

THE

LABOUR MAGAZINE

*Official Journal of the Trades Union Congress
and the Labour Party*

Editorial Offices: TRANSPORT HOUSE (SOUTH
BLOCK), SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W. 1.

Telephones: VICTORIA 8016-7-8

Telegrams: LABREPCOM, CHURTON, LONDON

SIXPENCE MONTHLY, by post 7d.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION 7s.

BY bringing to the notice of the House of Commons the action of the police in taking a young woman away from her place of business to Scotland Yard, and there subjecting her to a five hours' interrogation, Mr. Tom Johnston, M.P., rendered a very valuable public service, for the question is one which strikes at the very root of what has been regarded, for hundreds of years past, as the rights relating to the liberty of the subject. The House of Commons, too, has acted wisely in immediately setting up a tribunal to inquire into the incident. The tribunal, whose constitution and terms of reference were approved by the House of Commons without a division, will be presided over by Sir John Eldon Bankes, a retired Judge of Appeal, and the other members will be Mr. J. J. Withers, the Conservative member for Cambridge University, and Mr. Lees Smith, the Labour Member for Keighley. The terms of reference, as finally and unanimously agreed upon by the House of Commons, are as follows: "That it is expedient that a tribunal be established for inquiring into a definite matter of urgent public importance, that is to say, the action of the police in connection with their interrogation of Miss Savidge on May 15th, 1928." As the allegations contained in the affidavit to which Miss Savidge swore and which Mr. Tom Johnston read to the House are now the subject of inquiry by the tribunal, it would not be proper to offer any comments. These must be reserved until the tribunal has submitted its report.

THE Labour Party rendered a very good day's service to the country when, a few days before the Whitsuntide recess, it drew the attention of Parliament to the question of the wireless communications between this country and the dominions. For some time past there have been rumours—which the statements of Government spokesmen in the House have done nothing to dispel—to the effect that the Government had already committed itself to handing over the Post Office cables and beam wireless service to the big private interests represented in the recent merger of the Eastern and Associated Telegraph Companies and Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Company. The Labour Party's action, however, drew from the Government an undertaking that before any definitive action is taken on the future control of inter-imperial wireless and cable communications, the matter will be brought before the House. Mr. W. Baker, himself an ex-telegraphist, whose speech initiating the debate was a masterly analysis of the situation, pointed out that, apart from the necessity for State ownership and control of the beam wireless service on grounds of national safety, it was making a profit of about £500,000 a year for the State, and had already succeeded in making the cable companies reduce their charges for inter-imperial communications by 4d. a word. By a curious reversal of the ordinary course of things, he said, the case was one in which the unsuccessful competitor wanted to take over the business of the successful one, so as then to be in a position to exploit the world. His case for the retention of the service by the State, from a financial point of view, was unanswerable. And as to the considerations of national safety, he quoted the announcement which Mr. Baldwin made in 1923 to show that that was unanswerable too. Here are the actual words which Mr. Baldwin used on that occasion: "It is necessary, in the interests of national security, that there should be a wireless station in this country capable of communicating with the Dominions, and owned and operated by the State." If that statement was true in 1923, it is no less true to-day. And if the Tory Government do dispose of the wireless installation to a combine of private capitalists, they will be

guilty of an act of treachery toward the national interests almost unequalled in our time.

* * *

WHEN the Government of the United States of America put forward the Kellogg proposals for the outlawry of war and its elimination from national policy, the National Executive of the Labour Party adopted a resolution welcoming the proposals, and urging the British Government to accept them in principle without delay. A few days later the Labour Party raised the question in the House of Commons, and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald repeated Labour's request that the Government should announce its acceptance of the proposals. After some delay, the Government have handed a note to the American Ambassador stating that they will "support the movement to the utmost of their power." Unfortunately, however, in addition to indicating its willingness to accept the proposals, the British Note makes a number of comments which appear to be in the nature of reservations. Before we can judge whether the Government's reply to the United States is a satisfactory one; therefore, it will be necessary to have from Sir Austen Chamberlain an explanation as to what the comments contained in his Note exactly mean.

* * *

THE following statement with regard to the recent Egyptian crisis, pointing out that Labour's policy is one of negotiation—and not ultimatum—was issued by the Parliamentary Labour Party at the beginning of May, viz.: "The Parliamentary Labour Party notes with satisfaction that the differences between the Egyptian and British Governments have been temporarily allayed, but is still disturbed regarding the relations of the two countries. It is of opinion that so long as the *status quo* remains and the four reserved points are outstanding differences between Egypt and ourselves, such incidents as have arisen may at any moment plunge us into conflict. This apprehension is increased by the fact that the method adopted by the British Government to enforce its views upon Egypt was that of an ultimatum and a threat of armed force, which the Party strongly condemns as wholly unsuitable to the situation, and calculated to leave feelings

behind it which are inimical to the growth of the relations desired with the Egyptian people. The view of the Party is that the British Government should repeat the assurances contained in the Declaration of 1922 that the four reserved subjects were "by free discussion and friendly accommodation" to be made the subject of an agreement; that the Egyptian Government should, accepting that Declaration, enter into the negotiations which would conclude in such an agreement; and that Egypt should, as quickly as possible, be put into a position to become a member of the League of Nations, when the security of Imperial communications—of which the Suez Canal is an essential part—may be put on an international and unassailable foundation."

* * *

THE wonderful success of the German Socialists in the recent General Election will be a source of considerable satisfaction and encouragement to the Labour Movement, not only in this country, but throughout the world. The Socialists are now not only the strongest party in the Reichstag, but they have more than twice as many members as any other single party, and their poll has increased from 7,895,000 in the elections of 1924 to over 9,000,000. In the big cities the working-class majorities were overwhelmingly large. In the new Reichstag, the strength of the various parties, arranged in their various groups, will be as follows: *Working Class*—Socialists, 152; Communists, 54. *Right*—Nationalists, 73; Agrarians, 26; Fascists, 12. *Middle*—Centre, 62; People's Party, 44; Economic Party, 23; Bavarian People's Party, 16. *Left*—Democrats, 25. The party that sustained the heaviest loss was the Nationalist Party, whose vote went down from over 6,000,000 to about 4,300,000, whilst the poll of the Catholic "Centre Party" went down from 4,121,000 to 3,700,000.

* * *

THAT the Labour Party was well justified at the Liverpool Conference in adopting the resolution which refused to accept the affiliation of the Communist Party, is shown by the reply which appears in the Communist *International Press Correspondence* to a suggestion which the I.L.P. made two or three months ago

for the establishment of "unity" between the Socialist and Communist Movements. According to the Communist reply, fusion between the Communist and Labour Parties is "as impossible as the mixing of fire and water." It states: "It is not the first time the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain (I.L.P.) has tried to arrest the decline of its influence on the British Labour Movement by affecting before the masses sympathy for the revolution, and by making proposals for the creation of one single international, that is to say, for the fusion of the International of social traitors and social imperialists with the Communist International. This reformist manœuvre is explained by the development of the Labour Movement in Great Britain. Indeed, the Independent Labour Party is threatened with dissolution THE UNION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL WITH THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL OR FUSION BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE SOCIALIST PARTY IN ANY COUNTRY IS JUST AS IMPOSSIBLE AS THE MIXING OF FIRE AND WATER The assembling of the working masses for the proletarian struggle can only be done against the will of the leaders and reformist parties and solely by the Communist International and its sections. The Manifesto of the Independent Labour Party reaches the height of insolence and ignominy when it speaks of the Communist parties outside the Soviet Union and of the Trade Unions and 'opposition' Trade Unions not affiliated to the Amsterdam International as 'dissentient minority movements, reflecting still further division.' In this way the Independent Labour Party is giving the reformists of the Right the slogan for their disruptive activity in the Trade Unions. The I.L.P. thus exposes itself as the ally of these leaders." The issues of the Communist *International Press Correspondence* in which this reply to the I.L.P. appeared were the German edition dated March 23, 1928, and the French edition dated March 28, 1928. For some reason—which will not be difficult to understand when it is remembered how keen the Communists are on trying to trick advanced Labour people into collaboration with them—the statement was not inserted by the Communists in the British edition of the

International Press Correspondence. But if any further evidence were needed of the utter futility and absurdity of proposals for "unity" between the Communists and the Labour Party, it is to be found in the fact that the Communist Party of Great Britain has just decided—in accordance with instructions received from Moscow—to put up candidates at the next General Election to fight against a number of leading Labour M.P.'s, many of them, incidentally members of the I.L.P.

* * *

IN another part of this issue we give a summary of the report on "Labour Conditions in India," issued by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress over the signatures of Mr. A. A. Purcell, M.P., and Mr. J. Hallsworth, who visited India as representatives of the General Council (in conformity with a resolution passed at the Edinburgh Congress) in order to obtain first-hand information with regard to conditions which, it was felt, ought to be more thoroughly understood in this country than they actually have been hitherto. The result of the investigations of this delegation is a document calling for the most serious attention from Trade Unionists in this country. Messrs. Purcell and Hallsworth found an opportunity—and where they did not find one they made it—to examine every aspect of the life of the Indian worker. The discoveries which they made reveal conditions which it is hard for the Western worker to envisage. No slaves on the ranches or in the households of the ancient world, no serfs in the Middle Ages, were treated with a greater contempt for their status as human beings than these millions of workers, the victims of a system which cuts their wages down to a mere pittance, and degrades their conditions to a level little above that of domestic animals, and decidedly inferior, from some points of view, to that of the beasts of the jungle. The way of escape is no easy one to find. The path of education is made hard by a policy, barbarous in its implications, which denies to the native Indian reasonable opportunities of enhancing his economic value; more than 30 times as much money per head is allocated in the populous province of Bengal

for the education of Europeans and Anglo-Indians as is provided for the instruction of Indians. One of the worst consequences of this discrimination is that the native workers lack the most effective kind of leadership; the Indian Trade Union Movement, still in its infancy, is unable to find officers from among the rank and file of the workers and has to rely upon the good offices of friends of the Movement who, though their services are freely acknowledged, are quite removed from the actual experience of working-class life.

* * *

FROM the point of view of the Western Trade Unionist the situation could hardly be more disquieting. The report points out that the enormous material resources of India, a sub-continent 25 times as large as England, are as yet only just beginning to be tapped, while the organisation of its man-power is a problem which the interests in command of the economic situation have not yet begun to solve. With capitalism in complete control of the fully developed resources of the country the most dangerous results may be looked for. Cheap labour—and it takes from six to eight Indian workers to earn as much as one of the lowest paid of British workers—will enable the Indian capitalist to wage a successful predatory war on the industries of this and other countries, with a steadily depressing effect on wages and conditions in this country. The textile industry, which is already feeling the strain, will, in the words of the report, experience an even more severe shock. Iron and steel is faced with an equal menace. There is, in fact, hardly any industry that can feel itself secure against the release of the tremendous forces which the delegates divined to be at work beneath the turbid current of Indian life, and which hitherto has only been held in check, as the report accurately says, by the early stupidities of capitalist rivalry.

* * *

IN the view of the delegates the attitude of the British Movement cannot be the subject of a moment's doubt or hesitation. There is, indeed, little that is optional in the choice of a line of action where evils so extensive and so clearly inevitable are in question. "The problem," says the report, "is so urgent that it cannot wait upon the caprice of various international units each wondering what its

advantage is likely to be, and then moving swiftly or slowly as suits the individual case. That is not the right thing to be done." And it goes on to declare boldly for the rendering of positive aid to the Indian workers in their attempt to organise on the lines that have brought such a large measure of industrial freedom to the workers of the west. There would indeed be a dramatic kind of historic justice in the reclamation of India from its industrial, social, and economic degradation by the emancipated workers of a country which in the course of three centuries has sent to the great eastern dependency too many imperialistic adventurers, whose doings have furnished many shameful pages in the annals of our race. The call of the Indian working-class is a call for the redress of many ancient wrongs, as well as a plea for a place in the rapidly changing pattern of historical evolution to-day.

* * *

WE heartily congratulate the General Council of the Trades Union Congress on their decision to nominate Mr. Walter M. Citrine, their General Secretary, for the Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and thus bringing to a highly satisfactory conclusion a situation which was not without its uncomfortable aspects both for the British and Continental Trade Union Movements. Mr. Citrine's position in the British Movement, though it has been achieved in a remarkably short space of time, is by now well understood, both here and abroad. Everybody recognises in him the able exponent of those realistic theories of Trade Unionism which, while setting no limits to the horizon of the movement recognise pretty accurately the practical limits of a day's march; it is not for nothing that his views are anathema to our modern impossibilists. Apart from questions of policy, however, the unanimity of the General Council's choice was a tribute to personality and character, and a "safe bet"—to use a topical terminology—all round, for Mr. Citrine possesses a very full measure of the confidence and esteem of Continental Trade Unionists. It is no disparagement to the claims put forward on behalf of Mr. A. A. Purcell, M.P., and Mr. George Hicks, neither of whom, however, felt able to accept nomination, to express our pleasure that the choice has now fallen so worthily in another direction.

The Economics of the Case for the Surtax

By

ALFRED PLUMMER, M.A., LL.D.

Vice-Principal of Ruskin College, Oxford

IT would be fruitless to discuss whether the term "surtax" is a good one, or whether it was really necessary to choose any special word at all. The ship is now launched and it is for us to test its seaworthiness by every legitimate means. Stripped down to essentials the surtax proposals mean that the Labour Party proposes to levy (when it has the power to do so) increased taxation upon large unearned incomes because it wishes to carry out reforms that will "cost money."

While there is no need to "earmark" the probable proceeds of the proposed taxes, no need to tie useless knots about any future Chancellor of the Exchequer, it is necessary to state and justify fully the objects of the proposed extra taxation, viz.: (1) The abolition of the "breakfast table" taxes, chiefly those on tea and sugar; (2) the extension of social services; and (3) the reduction of the national debt. As far as possible, I shall confine myself to the economics of the matter.

The regressive nature of the tea and sugar taxes is sufficient condemnation of them. A family's consumption of these commodities does not increase as its income increases. Tea and sugar are articles of universal consumption, more necessary to the poor who have few alternatives than to the rich who have many. The burden of the taxation levied through these commodities lies very much more heavily upon the poor man than upon the rich; and there are no exemptions and reliefs such as we find in the Income Tax laws. The larger one's family the more one pays, because more tea and sugar are consumed. The minority members of the Colwyn Committee reminded us "that the Customs and Excise duties, of which far the greater part is paid by the relatively poor sections of the community, still account for over one-third of our total tax revenues." Immediately, some idea of the pressure upon the families of the unskilled workers presents itself. Let us make it more exact, and therefore more striking. The Colwyn Committee drew up an elaborate table relating direct and indirect taxation to a number (ten, in all) of specimen incomes ranging from £100 to £50,000 per annum. Assuming a taxpayer

to be married and to have three children under sixteen years of age, he will pay approximately the following sums if he earns the whole of his income:—

Income.

PERIOD—1925-6.

Percentage of Whole
Income.

Income p. ann.	Indirect taxes paid.*	Total taxation.	Indirect.	Direct.	Total
£	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	
100 ...	11 17 6	11 17 6	11.9	—	11.9
150 ...	17 9 3	17 9 3	11.6	—	11.6
200 ...	20 7 9	20 7 9	10.2	—	10.2
500 ...	20 19 0	31 2 4	4.2	2.0	6.2
1,000 ...	29 2 0	110 5 4	2.9	8.1	11.0
2,000 ...	40 9 0	304 19 0	2.0	13.2	15.2

*Indirect Taxes.—Taxes on tea, sugar, tobacco, alcoholic drinks, entertainments, cocoa, coffee, chicory, dried fruits, patent medicines and table waters.

If the tea and sugar taxes* be considered separately we have, on the basis of the Colwyn Committee's table, the following figures for the same period (1925-6):—

Income per annum.	Tea and Sugar Taxes.	Per cent. of total Income.
£	£ s. d.	
100	2 8 6	2.4
150	2 15 9	1.8
200	2 18 0	1.45
500	3 0 3	0.6
1,000	3 0 3	0.3
2,000	3 0 3	0.15

No person with the least conception of what is meant by the principle of equality of sacrifice can fail to realise the significance of these figures.

The economic argument in favour of further provision of social services is soon stated. Expenditure along this line is in the nature of an investment—an investment in the human resources of the nation. To increase the real incomes of the working classes; to raise their standards of life; to improve their housing and their health, is to add to the real wealth of the nation. Wise expenditure upon these objects is highly productive of economic welfare both in the present and the future.

All this, it may be said, is clear enough; but why bother to repay the national debt? Let future generations help to bear the burden, it may teach them not to engage in war. Besides, the internal debt does no harm, since in effect

it merely transfers purchasing power within the country. In any case, it is sometimes argued, the debt is now so large that the most that this impoverished generation can do is hardly worth mentioning. Finally, from within the Labour Party itself comes the objection that present holders of British Government Stocks will gain greatly if repayment commences now, because of the differences between the present price level and that existing when the debt was incurred. In other words, it is suggested that the value of money is greater now than it was when the loans were raised. All of these objections can be met with weighty economic arguments.

From the viewpoint of the present generation it may be well to point out that approximately every 20 years an amount equal to the whole of the present national debt (some £7,600,000,000) is paid by the general body of taxpayers, including the poor as well as the rich, to Government bondholders, *and still the principal of the debt is passed intact to posterity*. Surely future generations are rather less responsible for the great war than the present generation. Whether they will have their own wars to finance, only a prophet can say; but it is certain that in the past two centuries the existence of large public debts did not prevent wars.

The easy and comfortable view that the existence of internal public debt is not economically harmful is as mischievous as it is mistaken. It is a plausible half-truth. The national debt services stand in the nation's account as "expenditure"; in round figures:—

Interest and Expenses	£300,000,000
Sinking Fund	£60,000,000

and these items make a budget of £480,000,000 into one of £840,000,000. Few persons will be disposed to deny that the size of the budget is frequently used as an argument against further public expenditure. Thus we have the dead hand of past wars holding up schemes of constructive reform: the follies of previous periods perpetuating the miseries of the present and jeopardising the possibilities of the future. The minority of the Colwyn Committee found that:—

"The transfer of purchasing power from the taxpayer to the individual debt holder is injurious in two principal respects. In the first place, it is reasonable to suppose that these debt holders represent mainly the wealthier classes of the community, and that the transfer accordingly aggravates the already great inequality in the distribution of ownership of wealth throughout the community Of the total property liable to Estate Duty left at death in 1923-4 in the form of British Government securities issued since 1914, approximately four-fifths was the property of persons having estates worth more than £500 In the second place, the service of that

part of the debt which is in the hands of individuals (*i.e.*, approximately one-third) seems to us to involve a transfer from the active to the passive elements in the community."*

It would be futile to belittle the task of reducing the British national debt. A sinking fund of £100,000,000 per annum would effect complete repayment in 76 years; and even if the sinking fund could be raised to £150,000,000 per annum, complete repayment would take half-a-century. But if the argument that because the heap is very large it is useless to begin to shovel it away applies to a sinking fund of £100,000,000—£150,000,000, it applies *a fortiori* to a smaller sinking fund. The truth is that any sinking fund is better than none, because as every year passes the recurring item—interest on the debt—becomes steadily and permanently smaller.

The fall and rise in the value of money during the war and post-war periods can be traced with tolerable accuracy with the aid of the Ministry of Labour Cost-of-Living Index Number, and by comparing the growth of the principal of the national debt during that time with the changing value of money it is possible to show that approximately one-half of the debt was borrowed *before* money fell to its present value. The following table may make this point clearer:—

		Ministry of Labour Index No.	
Total Debt at Mar. 31.	£ millions.	Increase over preceding year.	Mean for at Mar. 31. the year. (July, 1914 = 100).
1914 ...	649.7	—	—
1915 ...	1,104.9	455.2	117
1916 ...	2,133.1	1,028.2	137
1917 ...	4,011.4	1,878.3	172
1918 ...	5,871.8	1,860.4	192
1919 ...	7,434.9	1,563.1	210
1920 ...	7,831.7	396.8	232
(Mean for 1925 — 176)			

Therefore it appears that £4,011,000,000 of the national debt, or over 51 per cent. of the total borrowings, were borrowed *before* the price level rose to 72 per cent. above that of July, 1914; and of this amount £2,133,000,000 were borrowed before the index number reached 137. Clearly, if repayment of the national debt proceeded while the index number stood round about 170, no bonus would be paid upon sums lent before March 31, 1917. On sums borrowed after that date some bonus would, in effect, be paid.

A closer examination of the details of the proposed surtax may now be undertaken. The discrimination which is made in favour of

* Colwyn Report, pp. 360-1.

earned incomes is economically sound. Incomes which are derived from work should be distinguished from those derived from property because the former cease when the wage or salary earner has to cease work for any reason such as ill-health, loss of employment, or death. This is not true of incomes derived from property (*e.g.*, investments), since by prudently "spreading" their risks, property owners can enjoy the income in comparative safety, and still have and pass on to others the actual property. Clearly the *need* for saving is greatest among the class whose incomes are relatively more precarious, *viz.*, those whose incomes are derived wholly or mainly from work of one kind or another. This is recognised in the present Income Tax regulations; and the surtax would add nothing to the tax burdens of those who earn their incomes, however large those incomes might be.

The argument that the receivers of unearned income will not be able to bear the additional burden is not a strong one. The assurances that there will be an exemption limit of £500 and that the surtax will be graduated, mean that only upon persons who own very large fortunes will the surtax fall with any appreciable weight. And even this is offset by the fact that since the date when the Income Tax was 6s. in the £, the price level has fallen over 80 points; which means that from 1920 to the present time the *real* incomes of bondholders have steadily increased. Therefore it may fairly be argued that persons whose incomes have increased in this way are not less able to bear a tax of 2s. in the £ than they were in 1920-21.

The steepness of the graduation of the proposed surtax cannot be discussed with any advantage at this stage because the final form of a graduated scale must depend upon the distribution of the taxable incomes of various sizes in relation to the total sum that it is desired to raise. In a similar manner a fairly free hand must be allowed to a Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer and his advisers when he comes to work out detailed regulations for the application of the surtax to the profits of joint stock companies. Since relatively few persons would pay surtax, it may be doubted whether the principle of deduction of tax at the source could be applied to the distributed profits of companies without loss of economy in collection. But the existing machinery for the collection of Income Tax and super-tax could readily be extended in a suitable manner, at little extra cost, to deal with the collection of surtax. If distributed profits of companies going to persons who have unearned incomes in excess of £500 per annum are to be surtaxed, undistributed profits can hardly be

allowed to escape. Whether any portion of such profits ought to be exempted from surtax; and, if so, whether £500 or some other exemption limit more suitable to this particular class of income shall be fixed, is a matter that will no doubt be settled in due course after the business interests concerned have had an opportunity of stating a case. (It must be remembered that the undistributed profits of companies are at present subject to Income Tax at the full standard rate of 4s. in the £.)

The opponents of the proposed surtax urge that its chief economic effects would be the reduction of spending and saving among surtax-payers, and, as a consequence, an increase of unemployment among the working classes. But to say that persons who pay surtax will have to spend or save less by the amount of extra taxation that they must pay is not to assert that the amount in question has completely disappeared. In fact, a portion of the revenue so raised will be spent by the Government and the remainder will be paid over to the holders of the national debt, who will almost certainly regard it as *capital*, and take immediate steps to find another investment for their money. Even the expenses of collecting the surtax and paying off the national debt would really be payments made to somebody. There is no reason to suppose that Government expenditure upon social services is less productive of economic welfare than the expenditure of marginal portions of the incomes of wealthy persons. Neither is there greater reason to think that repayment of the national debt would diminish the aggregate volume of new capital available for industry, foreign loans, etc. As I have shown, debt repayments would return capital sums to the hands of bondholders, who would seek to reinvest them. Since the total amount of British Government Stock would be diminishing, there would be a tendency for these released savings to flow towards other types of investments. British industries would doubtless get a share and, in my view, a fall in interest rates would not be unlikely. Mr. J. M. Keynes has even gone beyond this by stating his belief that the existence of a sinking fund for the repayment of the national debt tends to *stimulate saving*.

"I quite foresee," he said at the Annual Meeting of the Royal Economic Society on May 7, 1925, "a time arising when there will again be an outlet on a large scale for capital at home, and I think it would be good policy to hasten it by Governmental activities on a much greater scale than at present. There would then be a reason for converting the dead weight debt into productive debt. That would be my

criterion rather than the repayment of debt as such. The other ground, namely, the stimulation of saving, was mentioned by Dr. Dalton. I quite agree with him that by no means all the money which is taken from the taxpayer in taxes for use in the sinking fund would be saved if those taxes were removed; whereas, on the other hand, almost all the holders of the debt will re-invest their money when they are paid off. If, therefore, there is reason for thinking that saving is on an inadequate scale, that is an argument for the sinking fund."*

If this view be correct the tables are completely turned upon those who urge that the economic effects of increasing the sinking fund would be diminished saving and a decline in industry and trade. But even if we do not press the point beyond my more moderate conclusion that there will be at least as much new capital available after the adoption of the surtax proposals, the case is sufficiently strong.

At this point it is only fair to say that Mr. Keynes is not at present prepared to advocate a larger sinking fund unless the proceeds are to be devoted to productive expenditure in the form of "increased capital expenditure on public utilities."† But loans to finance public utility works can be raised without much difficulty in the normal course. On the other hand, special efforts are necessary to promote economic welfare by the abolition of regressive taxation and the provision of further social services. Moreover, I submit that the contention of the minority of the Colwyn Committee that the payment of interest upon the national debt is an injurious transfer of national income is substantially true and should not be lightly dismissed.

Finally, a forgotten fact may be recalled. From the Report of the Select Committee on the increase of War Wealth (1920) it appears that the representatives of commercial and industrial interests were much afraid that a levy upon fortunes accumulated during the war would have "dire results." "One and all they were of opinion that reduction of debt should be secured by taxation of current profits and current income." Undeniably, the surtax is of this type, having, moreover, very liberal exemption limits and promising not merely the reduction of public dead-weight debt, but a substantial increase in the aggregate economic welfare of the nation.

* *Economic Journal*, September, 1925, p. 359.

† *Economic Journal*, June, 1927, p. 210.

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THE Directors of the Prudential Assurance Company, Ltd., have declared, in respect of the year 1926, an increased Reversionary Bonus payable on all participating Policies in the Ordinary (Life) Branch of the Company. The new rate of Bonus is

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P.P. 107.

A Diary of Parliament

April 25 and 26.

Budget proposals considered in Committee. Mr. Snowden explained the Labour Party's objections to most of the Chancellor's proposals.

April 30.

Mr. Shinwell, on behalf of the Labour Party, moved the reduction of the Ministry of Labour vote in order to draw attention to the Government's inaction with regard to unemployment. The Industrial Transference Board, he said, had not yet done anything, and the Government ought to set up a Committee to consider schemes for the provision of useful work for the unemployed.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour said that no report had yet been received from the Industrial Transference Board.

May 1

The Chancellor of the Exchequer admitted, in reply to a Labour question, that the amount of super tax due but not paid at April 1, 1928, was £14,500,000.

Budget proposals continued. Labour amendment to reduce tea duty from 4d. to 1d. per pound defeated by the Government.

Labour had an amendment down to abolish the Paraffin Duty imposed by the Budget, but Mr. Churchill rose when this amendment should have been called, and announced that in view of the opposition to the duty he had decided to abolish it. Mr. Snowden, who followed the Chancellor, said that the reason why the tax had been abolished was because the Government could not conceal from the country voters the fact that they were having to pay this tax, and that the Tory M.P.'s who sat for rural constituencies were being inundated with complaints.

May 3.

Budget resolutions continued.

May 7.

Equal Franchise Bill read third time, after Labour amendments to reduce the maximum election expenses in towns from 5d. per elector to 4½d., and to delete from the Bill the extension of the plural voting system, had been defeated.

May 8.

The Scottish Education Estimates were set down for discussion, but as a protest against the fact that the latest information that they could obtain from the department was that contained in the report for 1926, Labour Members moved to report progress. The Government accepted the motion, and the House was subsequently adjourned, no debate taking place. Labour Members had in previous years complained at the absence of up-to-date information to enable the Scottish Estimates to be effectually discussed, and this time they came to the conclusion that a drastic process was necessary.

May 9.

Government's Agricultural Credits Bill, read a second time after the following Labour amendment had been defeated, viz: "That this House, while sympathetic to all sound schemes for the encouragement of British agriculture, cannot assent to the Second Reading of a Bill which, in its financial provisions, involves further subsidy from the taxpayers without ascertaining, in terms of ordinary Income Tax return, the precise economic position of agriculturists, establishes unnecessary machinery for dealing with the problem of credit, enforces conditions which many of the most necessitous applicants would not be able to fulfil, and otherwise is quite inadequate for the objects which are in view."

May 10

Foreign Office Vote. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald raised question of Egypt, and stated that Labour's policy was one of negotiation and not ultimatum. He also asked the Government to announce its acceptance of the Kellogg proposals without delay.

May 11

Dog Racing Bill (introduced by a private Member, Mr. Buchan, with the support of Members of all parties) read a second time. It proposes that dog racing tracks must be licensed by local authorities, who may attach what conditions they choose to the licence.

May 14

Currency and Bank Notes Bill read a second time, after Labour amendment, calling, amongst other things, for "an investigation into the powers of the Bank of England in the light of modern developments in finance and industry," had been defeated.

May 15.

Ministry of Health Vote. Labour moved reduction of the vote to draw attention to the inadequacy of the Government's policy in regard to housing. Minister of Health said, in regard to rural housing, "I admit that the progress of reconditioning old cottages in the country under the Housing Rural Workers' Act has been, up to the present, disappointingly slow." In regard to housing generally he said, "I have never felt any anxiety about this slump in house building that has taken place during the last few months."

May 16.

Education Estimates. Labour criticised the Government's "economics," which were operating to the detriment of the children.

May 17.

Mr. Tom Johnston drew attention to the fact that Miss Irene Savidge (who, with Sir Leo Money, had been acquitted of a Hyde Park charge), had been taken away from her place of employment to Scotland Yard, where, after the woman police chaperon had been ordered from the room, she was interrogated by two C.I.D. men for five hours. Home Secretary promised that there should be an inquiry.

May 21.

Mr. W. Baker, on behalf of Labour Party, drew from the Government an undertaking that before any definitive action is taken on the future control of inter-imperial wireless and cable communications, the matter will be brought before the House.

May 23.

Following resolution introduced by the Home Secretary and adopted without division, viz: "That it is expedient that a tribunal be established for inquiring into a definite matter of urgent public importance—that is to say, the action of the police in connection with their interrogation of Miss Savidge on March 15, 1928"—he announced the constitution of the tribunal as follows: Sir John Eldon Bankes, a retired Judge of Appeal (chairman); Mr. J. Withers, Tory M.P. for Cambridge University; and Mr. Lees Smith, Labour M.P. for Keighley.

May 24.

House adjourned for Whitsuntide, after Labour Members had urged the Government to take steps to help the mining industry, and relieve the distress in the mining areas.

Liberal M.P.'s Still Neglecting their Duty

WHILE the Liberal Party in the constituencies still continues to proclaim its importance and its enthusiasm from the propaganda platform, the Liberal Party in the House of Commons remains as ineffective as ever. Just as in the seasons of 1925, 1926 and 1927, a large proportion of the Liberal M.P.'s were absent from most of the important divisions, and just as those who did turn up to vote usually went into opposite lobbies and voted against one another, so are they making the same sorry exhibition of themselves in the present session.

One of the worst examples of their absenteeism, perhaps, was in connection with the motion which a number of Labour Members brought forward on February 22 for the annulment of the Minister of Health's Order reappointing the "tame" Guardians at West Ham for a further period of office. In the division on this motion *only one Liberal M.P. voted out of the total of 43.* He supported the Labour Party. The remaining 42 Liberals did not vote at all.

The same thing took place when a similar motion in regard to the Bedwelty Guardians was introduced on February 28. *Again only one Liberal voted* with the Labour Members against the Minister of Health's Order, *and the remaining 42 did not vote at all.*

The following are a few further examples of the way in which the Liberals have voted—or not voted—in some of the important divisions that have been taken in the House of Commons during the 1928 session.

MINES EIGHT-HOUR DAY.—On the Labour Party's Bill to repeal the Mines Eight-Hour Act on March 23, only fourteen of the Liberals voted for the Bill. The remaining 29 did not vote at all.

RURAL HOUSING.—On a Labour amendment to a rural housing motion, demanding that "local authorities should be encouraged to make such provisions as would free agricultural labourers from the tyranny of the tied cottage system," the Liberal Party was again divided. Only five Liberals voted for the Labour amendment, two voted with the Tories against it, and the remaining 36 Liberals did not vote at all.

DISARMAMENT.—On a Labour amendment to the Navy Estimates, on March 15, calling

for a substantial all-round reduction in naval armaments, and asking the British Government to initiate a proposal for the abolition of submarines, the Liberal Party was badly divided. Only ten Liberals supported the Labour Party, five voted with the Tories, and the remaining 28 did not vote at all.

SINGAPORE NAVAL BASE.—On the Navy Estimates on March 22, on a Labour amendment opposing the establishment of the Singapore Naval Base only six Liberals voted with Labour. Four voted with the Tories, and the remaining 33 did not vote at all.

ECONOMY.—On a Diehard Tory amendment to the King's Speech on February 13, 1928, "regretting that the Government had not pursued an economy policy," nine Liberals voted with the Diehards. The remaining 34 Liberals did not vote at all.

MUNICIPAL BANKING.—On a Labour motion on February 22, urging that power should be given to local authorities to establish Municipal Banks, no Liberals supported the motion, and nine voted with the Tories against it. The remaining 34 Liberals did not vote at all.

PLURAL VOTING.—On a Labour amendment to the Equal Franchise Bill on May 7 to prevent the extension of plural voting, only 19 Liberals voted with Labour. The remaining 24 did not vote at all.

HOUSING.—On the consideration of the Ministry of Health Estimates on May 15, Labour moved a reduction of the vote in order to call attention to the inadequate consideration given by the Government to the housing conditions of the people. Only five Liberals voted with Labour. Three voted with the Government, the remaining 35 did not vote at all.

If the three Liberals who voted in the one lobby are set off against the five who voted in the other, it will be seen that the net effective voting strength of the Liberal Party in this important division on the housing of the people was only two votes out of a possible 43.

EDUCATION.—On the consideration of the Education Estimates on May 16, Labour moved a reduction of the vote in order to call attention to the "economy" policy of the

Government which was having ill effects upon the educational system. Sixteen Liberals voted with Labour, five voted with the Government, and the remaining 22 did not vote at all.

Once again if the five Liberals who went into one lobby are set against the 16 who went into the other, the net effective vote of the Liberals is seen to be only 11, or about one quarter of their possible strength.

CURRENCY AND BANK NOTES BILL.—On this important Bill, which proposed to amalgamate the Treasury Note issue with the note issue of the Bank of England, and to confer certain additional powers on the Bank of England, the Liberal absenteeism was particularly marked. On division No. 131 seven Liberals voted in one lobby, three voted in the other, and 33 did not vote at all. In some of the other divisions on the Bill there were even more Liberal non-voters, viz. :—

Division No.	Liberals Voting.	Liberals not Voting.
136	8	35
137	8	35
138	7	36

Even during the Budget debates the Liberals could not manage to pull together or to pull themselves together. It was the same story—some voting in one lobby, some voting in another, and the remainder not voting at all. The following are a few of the Budget divisions in which this Liberal characteristic once more asserted itself.

TEA DUTY.—On Division No. 94, on a Labour amendment against the tea duty, 25 Liberals voted with Labour, one voted with the Tories, and 17 did not vote at all.

PETROL TAX.—On Division No. 95, on a Labour amendment against the petrol tax, 18 Liberals voted with Labour, eight voted against, and 17 did not vote at all. If the eight Liberals who voted in one lobby are set against the 18 who voted in the other, the net effective Liberal vote on this important question was only ten votes out of a possible 43—less than one quarter of the possible vote.

On Division No. 96, to exempt from the petrol tax the glove industry, which uses a large quantity of petrol in its manufacturing processes, 20 Liberals voted with Labour in favour of such exemption, eight supported the Government, and 15 did not vote at all.

On Division No. 97, to exempt the cattle feeding stuffs industry from the petrol tax on similar grounds, 20 Liberals voted for the exemption, five supported the Government, and 18 did not vote at all.

SUGAR TAX.—On Division No. 99, on a Labour amendment to effect certain technical readjustments with regard to the sugar tax, nine

Liberals voted with Labour, seven voted with the Tories, and 27 did not vote at all. If the seven Liberals who voted in one lobby are set against the nine who voted in the other, the net effective vote of the Liberals in this Division was only two votes out of a possible 43—less than one-twentieth of their full voting strength.

Even on Division No. 100, on a Labour amendment on the straight question of reducing the sugar tax, less than one half of the Liberals voted with Labour, although the abolition of the Food Taxes is supposed to be one of the traditional planks in their platform. Only 21 of them supported the Labour amendment, whilst three voted with the Tories, and the remaining 19 did not vote at all.

PIPE LIGHTERS AND BUTTON TAX.—In the divisions on these two less important questions, the Liberals managed to do a little better, though not so well as they ought. On Division No. 102, on a Liberal amendment to exempt certain forms of mechanical lighter from the tax, 27 voted for the amendment, one voted against, and 15 did not vote. On Division No. 103, 23 voted against the button tax, and while none voted for it, no less than 20 did not vote at all.

THE SINKING FUND.—On the important question of the Sinking Fund and the redemption of the National Debt, however, they were as bad as ever.

On Division No. 106, on a Labour amendment to put the Sinking Fund on a more satisfactory basis, only fifteen Liberals voted for the amendment, one voted against, and 27 did not vote at all.

On Division No. 108, moved by one of their own leaders, the man who is regarded as their greatest financial expert, Mr. Runciman, their record was even worse. Only 14 of them supported him, and the remaining 29 did not vote at all.

On Division No. 109, on another Labour amendment, moved by Mr. Philip Snowden, with a view to putting the the Sinking Fund on a more satisfactory basis, eleven of the Liberals supported Labour, four voted with the Tories, and 28 did not vote at all.

Whatever the Liberals may boast about in the constituencies these facts and figures show that in the House of Commons they are useless. Their attendances—not merely on isolated special occasions, but generally—are disgraceful, and on most of the important questions that come up for discussion they are all at sixes and sevens. The more the electors know about the record of the Liberals in the present Parliament, the fewer Liberals will they send there in the next.

C. E. L.

The Tory Rating Proposals

WHEN the Whitsuntide recess is over the House of Commons will lose no time in coming to grips with the new rating proposals that are associated with the Budget. There are two Bills on which the discussion will arise, the Finance Bill and the Rating and Valuation (Apportionment) Bill. The former will provide the means whereby the money needed for the rates subsidy will be raised, and the latter will single out those ratepayers who are to be the beneficiaries under the scheme.

Briefly speaking, it is proposed to raise the 16 million pounds a year which will be required for the subsidy by means of the tax of fourpence a gallon that has been placed on petrol. The beneficiaries will be: (1) Agriculture, which will be relieved of all rates; (2) Productive industry, which will be relieved of 75 per cent. of its present rates; and (3) Railways and canals whose rates will be reduced by approximately four million pounds a year. These three classes of ratepayers will be classified in their various categories in the new valuation lists which will be drawn up when the present Rating and Valuation (Apportionment) Bill is passed.

A third Bill—to complete the programme of legislation required to put the rating scheme into operation—will be introduced towards the end of the year, and it will lay down the basis upon which the extra money raised under the Finance Bill is to be granted to the various local authorities to recoup them for the loss of income that they will sustain from the rate remissions conferred upon the three classes of beneficiaries described in the Rating and Valuation (Apportionment) Bill.

Attractive though the proposals may appear at first glance, they will not bear close examination. Labour's objection to them has already been provisionally indicated in the amendment which Mr. Philip Snowden will move to the second reading of the Finance Bill, proposing its rejection on the ground that it "gives no relief in the heavy burden of taxation borne by the wage-earning class, imposes new indirect taxes, and proposes to raise revenue from national taxation for the relief from local rates of a particular class, irrespective of individual need, instead of promoting a fundamental reform of the rating system by levying rates upon the site values which are created by the industry and enterprise of the community." A Bill for the Rating of Land Values, incidentally, has just been presented to Parliament by Colonel

Wedgwood, Mr. Philip Snowden, Mr. Arthur Henderson and a number of other Labour Members.

One of the outstanding anomalies of the rating scheme is that its doles or subsidies from Exchequer funds are to be bestowed on depressed industries and prosperous ones alike. It is possible to understand a scheme, which in order to relieve a distressed industry like coal, proposes to excuse it from the payment of three quarters of its rates. But it is absolutely impossible to understand a scheme—especially in these days when the Tories are fond of telling us that expenditure from the national exchequer must be cut down in every way practicable—which proposes to give huge grants to prosperous industries like motor car, artificial silk, and gramophone manufacturing, and, to quote an even less defensible example, brewing and distilling. Yet this is what the scheme proposes to do.

Moreover, whilst these undertakings that are rolling in money are to have more given to them, the subsidy that is to be paid to the coal industry will not be anywhere near large enough to put it on its feet again. On 8th May, for instance, Labour Members pressed the President of the Board of Trade to give an indication of the amount of relief that the coal industry would receive under the scheme. They were told that the relief from three-quarters of the rates, for the year 1927, would have been equivalent to 2½d. a ton on the saleable coal raised, and the proposed freight reduction (due to the subsidising of the railways) would have amounted to about 4d. a ton on all coal carried by the railways. The relief to the coal industry under the scheme therefore would only have amounted to 6½d. a ton, while the industry is losing more than a shilling a ton in many areas.

That, however, is typical of the anomalous nature of the proposals all through. The concern engaged on fashioning fancy fripperies will get the subsidy; the undertakings which furnish the community's lifeblood—gas, electricity, water—will not. The multiple bakery firm with a big machine bakehouse will get the subsidy; the little village baker who lives over his bakehouse will not. The depressed areas that are staggering under deadweight loads of debt caused by unemployment will not get any special relief to meet their special needs. Whitehall will look on West Ham and Westminster, on Kensington and Chester-le-Street, through the same pair of spectacles.

Religion and Revolution

By

C. DELISLE BURNS

A REVOLUTIONARY change would be achieved if we could abolish war and the preparation for war, and give all men a fair share in the benefits of civilisation.* Mr. Wells has always worked for that change, and ever since the days of the "New Utopia" he has hoped for it through the activities of a small group of "Samurai" or a religious order on a new basis. He speaks now of an open conspiracy, although he confesses that the conspirators are not conscious of the plot, but since he has "given away" the plot in so many recent books, it is not his fault if the conspiracy is not "open." The new version of the service to men which a select few is to render begins with a suggestion that the older religions are inadequate, but when Mr. Wells comes to describe the new religious enthusiasm, which he is right in supposing to be active to-day, he writes in the terms of politics and economics.

True, the politics and the economics of this new gospel are not the academic nor the electoral versions. The real factors of social life are well expressed in Mr. Wells's analysis, and such crude conceptions as "the class war" are corrected by reference to modern psychology. Mr. Wells is right in saying that apart even from the fact that as a policy the "class war" is absurd, even as a description of existing antagonisms the "class war" does not allow for the acquiescence and even admiration with which most men view those who are more fortunate. Happily the majority, even of the victims of a social system, are not embittered. Mr. Wells is also right in emphasising the need for individual differentiation and thought as contrasted with "mass action" and the crowd mind. The action of a mass may be destructive of evil, but it has no constructive ability. There is an even greater value in his conception of the grouping of men and women in active companionships for the common end—the making of civilised life. This point Mr. Wells makes as to grouping: A society or association which simply attends between or passes resolutions is of very little value. The

better future must be brought about by groups whose members all contribute to the common thought and action of these groups. One could have wished for more development of the idea of the group, for I at any rate feel sure that it is "good fellowship" and not the acceptance of any common theory which will make the revolutionary group most effectual. In fact it is the club and not the association in which the revolution must be hatched, but the curse of all clubs is the bore and the hanger-on, and that is the curse of all revolutionary movements, too.

The great issue, however, which Mr. Wells raises and does not really discuss is the question of the force which is to bring about the revolution he desires. He confesses to believing that the force may be called by the old name "religion," and he rightly says that the older forms of this force are quite inadequate. The reason why the older forms of religious belief and custom seem to the modern mind inadequate is not clearly stated by Mr. Wells, but I think what he implies is correct. The situation, we must remember, is not peculiar to Christianity, for at this moment all the other contemporary forms of traditional religion are being questioned by those who belong to the non-Christian traditions even more drastically than orthodoxy is being questioned here. Indeed the criticism of the religious tradition, which occurs periodically in human history, is having less destructive effects upon Christianity than upon other religions.

I discount the attacks made by those who belong to one tradition upon the adherents of other traditions. The important factor in present life, both for morals and for practical politics and industry, is that in each tradition complacency has been shaken. Probably, as Mr. Wells suggests, this is due to the fact that the scale of thought and action to-day is much too vast for the conceptions of the religious tradition. The consequence is that what once seemed noble and universal now seems childish and trivial. This is not the place to discuss whether any tradition can be developed fast enough or far enough to fit modern circumstances. The need of the modern world for some sort of enthusiasm,

* *The Open Conspiracy: Blue Prints for a World Revolution.* By H. G. Wells. (Victor Gollancz Ltd. Price 5s. net.)

such as was once called "religious," is undeniable; the only question is whether that need can be supplied.

So far I find myself in agreement with Mr. Wells's argument. But he proceeds to describe the character of that enthusiasm which will supply the modern need, and here I part company. He is undoubtedly on strong ground, and his argument should be read by all who desire to make the world a better sort of place. I disagree, while retaining my admiration for his idealism and for his clearness of vision. But I do disagree. My reason is this: Mr. Wells seems to me to take some results of religion for the characteristics of religion. He gives his game away by assuming that a simple "communism" was what was characteristic of early Christianity. Now I am perfectly certain that is not so. The mere sharing of possessions or income, the mere "charity" of the company of friends, even the rearrangement of their relationships—these were incidental results of a new life. Similarly—to omit discussion of history—to-day, there may be a need for the abolition of war and poverty, and a new religious enthusiasm would, no doubt, effect that abolition, but the need of the modern world lies deeper down.

All discussion of these matters may tend to vague sentimentalism, and therefore I prefer to avoid such words as "spiritual," or the "inner" life. Even the word "religion" is misleading, because it is connected with going to church and other social customs not essentially "religious" in my sense of the word. But with all due reserves, I may, perhaps, state the "religious" need in this way. What we lack is not merely knowledge of economics or politics, nor even the unselfish desire to use knowledge and ability for the community. To lack these things is a moral, not a religious, defect. We lack more. We lack that fine quality of character and perceptiveness which reacts to the more subtle factors in experience. We do not see or hear or feel keenly and clearly enough to see the sort of visions that revolutionise the world. Even men keenly alive to social evils may not have enough perceptiveness. Now a perceptiveness of certain qualities or characteristics in the world, and in fact I should call "religious," and the fact perceived by anyone who has that ability, I should call "the divine." We need that perceptiveness in the modern world.

Secondly, it is not a case of passivity. Religion is an activity. You cannot have that

perceptiveness by standing and staring; but only by action; once again, however, it is not merely action in reforming the world. The more subtle action is a moulding of one's own character and mind by adjustments or vivid interactions with other persons. Some people develop these interactions not with persons, but with nature, but in any case it is a life of which I am speaking. It has, of course, its "outer" results. It may abolish war, or only reform the drains. But its value is not to be estimated in terms of its external results in politics and industry, just as one should not estimate the value of a piece of music merely by reference to the question whether it makes you feel happier or not. Perhaps Mr. Wells will accuse me of the Lutheran heresy, since he believes in "works," and what I have said seems to imply "justification by faith."! But I do not deny that there must be some "works." I do not believe in the religion which preaches contentment to the victims of a system, nor in the religion which is so much aloof from the actual world as to have it evil. On the other hand, I think that the Christian tradition was correct in conceiving "the kingdom of God" as somehow "within." Not even Mr. Wells can make a religion out of the desire for better drains. Much as I admire drains, I think we have been "externalising" too long. Nor would I advocate any form of religious enthusiasm because of its possible results on war or poverty. Those results should follow, but it is not for that reason that the modern world lacks religion. However, perhaps I am wrong in raising this issue, for Mr. Wells touches upon it and does not discuss it. My reason for raising the question is that I suspect Mr. Wells's revolution of lacking a motive force—not indeed a purpose, but an impulse.

There is abundant matter for thought and discussion in Mr. Wells's little book. He has added to his admiration for the competence of industrial organisers a perception of the contribution which "Labour," in the modern sense, must make to his Utopia. He rightly says that "Labour," in the sense of mere muscle, "the breeding swarm of hefty sweating bodies" has no important function to perform. Its place, in a society which has abolished slavery, would be taken by machines. But there still remains the skill and vigour of "responsible and individually efficient" labour. That has a very great place in a civilised society, and some of us believe that it is from that section of society and not from among the intellectuals that "the open

conspiracy " will develop which will bring about the true revolution. Perhaps because Mr. Wells has written only a summary, he has omitted details of very great importance. He sees indeed that the factors in industrial life which are most important are psychological, and are not the factors with which the traditional economists deal. And he sees that education is a crucial problem. But he has not dealt with the large problem whether industrialisation involves the dehumanising of "Labour," or whether on the contrary it will compel the union of hand and brain in every man. If society depends upon reducing more and more of its members to the status of instruments of another will, even the enlightened will of Mr. Wells' open conspiracy, then democracy is an illusion. But if the responsibility of each individual in society increases and does not decrease as the scale of organisation grows, then we may hope for a society of interesting and differing individuals in a world full of different nations. The world-State and world-organisation are dangerous conceptions. We may make out of them a world which is perfectly peaceful and perfectly dead.

I admit the need for a general plan of action, and for what Mr. Wells calls "the whole hog." But in practice the "limited

offensive " has proved most successful until the enemy's front line has been broken. Therefore I should prefer more detail as to the methods by which different nations are to share responsibility for order and liberty in the world. I do not like to transfer from distinct peoples the responsibility for peace, not even in the hope of placing that responsibility on the shoulders of a world citizenship.

But perhaps this is a question of temperament. I prefer "a sweet disorder." I do not like people or nations who are copies. And I fear that in a world Republic, responsibility would be so attenuated for the common man that we should be ruled by excellent fellows—no doubt, but by no one I ever had a chance of influencing. Of course, Mr. Wells implies that everyone who reads his book is in the conspiracy, but I suspect that people who are in "groups" for reforming the world spend too little time in improving themselves. That is why I confess to feeling that what is needed is a finer quality of character and perceptiveness, and not merely knowledge and ability or even public spirit. But I agree with Mr. Wells's implied suggestion that the finer type of character and perceptiveness can only be developed by action.

Book Reviews

Outlines of Local Government of the United Kingdom.
By John J. Clarke, M.A., F.S.S. (Isaac Pitman and Son. 4s)

This book is a revised and enlarged edition of an earlier work entitled "The Outlines of English Local Government," published in 1916 by the North Western District of the Workers' Educational Association. In the author's note it is stated that the book is primarily intended for students of local government and citizenship in connection with the classes conducted by the W.E.A., adult schools, and local educational authorities, and for the University Schools of Social Science and kindred bodies. But this is not merely a textbook, and will be of considerable assistance to all those interested in questions of local government, or who act in any capacity on municipal bodies.

The book is divided into sections, which deal with every side of local government, and clear explanations are given of the various questions discussed. Two very interesting sections are

those dealing with education, and with housing, town planning, public health, etc., and anyone who takes an active part in connection with these developments should consult these sections.

In addition, a clear and helpful account is given of the working of the various Acts of Parliament, as for example, the Unemployment Insurance Acts, the National Health Insurance Acts, the Pensions Act, etc.

There is a very good index, and an excellent bibliography which will be most useful to those who wish to study any branch of the subject in greater detail.

A Century of London Co-operation. By W. Henry Brown. (Education Committee of the London Co-operative Society. 2s.)

This is a very interesting little book, dealing with the history and growth of the Co-operative Movement in London. It is the first history of this movement to be published, and contains

a vivid account of the early struggles and the efforts of the pioneers to establish it on a firm foundation.

The book is well and clearly written, and should be useful, not only to students, but also to all those interested in social questions. The account of the development of the movement during the war period is particularly interesting, as is the story of the building up of the London Co-operative Society as it exists to-day. The post-war period has been one of very rapid expansion in the Co-operative Movement, for within the last ten years the London Co-operative Society has extended its activities over the whole metropolitan area, and the book contains a full account of how this was brought about.

An account of all the many activities of the Society are given, as for example in connection with education and politics, and in fact the whole history shows that the Society is not only an effective force in commercial life, but has a great influence on the educational, civic, and political lives of its members.

The Economic System. By G. D. H. Cole. W.E.A. Outlines. (Longmans, Green & Co. 2s. 6d.)

Works by Mr. G. D. H. Cole need no introduction to members of the Labour Movement. This is one of the series which is being brought out by the W.E.A. to meet the growing demand for inexpensive introductory books on subjects studied in elementary classes. This little book, to use Mr. Cole's own words, is not a text-book, but rather an essay intended for beginners and designed to encourage in them a sceptical approach to the ordinary text-book treatment of economic questions. In this it succeeds admirably. It gives a short but clear account of the industrial system under which we live, and deals with such questions as wages, costs and profits, and the part played by the investor.

To deal with so great subject in such a small volume means, of course, that many gaps are left, but the treatment of the matter is very stimulating, and to those who already know something of it it will prove a useful "refresher." Those who know nothing, or very little, will, we are sure, feel impelled to read further on the subject.

A Study in Public Finance. By A. C. Pigou. (MacMillan. 16s.)

Professor Pigou's modestly named volume is just as lucid, reasoned with just as stern logic, and certainly couched in just as abstract language, if one dare say so, as its recent predecessors. No economist, that is to say, can

afford to read it carelessly, while no politician will have the grit to try to clothe its abstractions in the realities of the market place.

Part III.—Finance by Borrowing—and the last chapter especially, on the War Debt and a Special Levy, will be of most interest, perhaps, to Labour readers. With great clarity and forceful argument Professor Pigou restates his case, *for* the Capital Levy if the question is considered in vacuo, *against* it if the psychological reactions are taken into account. Part I., treating Public Finance generally, will probably be the easiest of comprehension, as far as the average reader is concerned, while Part II., on Taxation, is the most technical in treatment, as it must necessarily be.

The entire volume is packed with richly valuable material and reasoning for those who are prepared to work soberly through it. There is some controversial matter, but none that is not suggestive of fruitful lines of thought. Professor Pigou is a cautious radical, and will not always follow his own logic far enough, but perhaps the student may be left to do that for him!

Private Bill Legislation. J. J. Williams. (2rs. Whitehead Morris Limited.)

The Town Clerk of Oldham has produced a useful volume explaining the principal stages through which a Private Bill of a local authority has to pass on its way through Parliament, including matters relating to preliminary procedure and opposition after introduction. The treatment is not intended to be exhaustive as regards precedents, but is full enough for general guidance, and the work will be of considerable value and convenience to local government officials and members.

It is a regrettable state of affairs that local authorities should have to spend considerable time and money in applying to Parliament for necessary powers, to say nothing of applications for boundary extensions. The existing local government areas were determined nearly half-a-century ago when conditions were very different. A great mass of new general legislation has been allocated haphazardly, while in many instances special local powers have been obtained. Far greater general public utility powers should be conferred on the lines, say, of the Labour Party's Local Enabling Bill, while existing legislation should be periodically revised and kept up to date. On these and similar matters there is some discussion in the book, which is well worth looking at even from a general reader's point of view.

G. McK.

The Problem of Awaking India

APPALLING revelations are contained in the Report of Labour Conditions in India* by Mr. A. A. Purcell, M.P., and Mr. J. Hallsworth, who, in conformity with a resolution passed at the Edinburgh Congress, spent nearly four months last winter in a tour of investigation, opening with a fraternal visit to the All-India Trade Union Congress.

The two delegates, the first official representatives of the British Trade Union Movement as a whole to visit India, covered an itinerary of 14,000 miles in India itself (including the voyage to and from India the total distance covered was nearly 28,000 miles), and in the course of their tour they inspected every kind of industrial undertaking, including tea gardens and rubber plantations, peasant villages, seamen's lodging houses, bazaars, hospitals, dispensaries, and other places, and made a special point of inspecting social conditions at first hand. A full description of their inspection is contained in the report.

In their conclusions they emphasise strongly the view that the British Trade Union movement must take the step of linking up the British and Indian Trade Union movements for the purpose of positive and sustained organising work. They point out that unless this is done, India, with its incalculable material resources and its intense reservoir of labour, will be exploited by big business to the detriment of the workers throughout the world—more especially the workers in Britain. The problem to be settled by the Trade Union movement is, according to this report, whether this exploitation is to be allowed to go on, or whether India is to be helped to take its rightful place in the ever advancing line of working class evolution.

"No opportunity was lost," says the report, "of visiting Trade Union offices, executives or conferences, or of addressing meetings of workers, colleges and universities and others on the need for and the value of Trade Union organisation. Everywhere the message of unity was listened to eagerly at meetings varying in size from a few hundreds to several thousand of persons, some reaching 10,000 to 20,000 in big centres of employment."

The report is divided into seven sections, the first being a general review of labour and

social conditions and the state of Trade Union organisation. Five sections are devoted to the various industries, and finally the report discusses the problem from the point of view of the British Movement. Selected photographs illustrating various aspects of Indian life—including the infamous "bird cages" in which women are exposed for sale—are given at the end of the report.

In the first section valuable and carefully digested statistics are given in which the total of persons available for Trade Union organisation is shown at the amazing figure of 21,676,107. By far the greater part of these workers are illiterate, largely owing, as the report shows, to the invidious policy of the Government, which not only starves the educational services in favour of military and police expenditure, but discriminates between Europeans and Anglo-Indians, on the one hand, and Indians on the other, at the expense of the latter.

"Educational discrimination in favour of the European finds expression in other quarters. It is alleged that on the railways Europeans and Anglo-Indians are allowed grants-in-aid for the education of their children, but this consideration is denied to Indians."

It is not, therefore, surprising to find that in Bengal (to quote a typical example) only 9.7 of the male and 2.1 of the female population are literate.

"From a labour standpoint," says the report, "it is obvious that widespread illiteracy is a serious obstacle to Trade Union organisation, and the attempt to free the people from the economic and social oppression prevailing throughout India. For this reason alone the Labour Movement must lose no opportunity of pressing for the institution of a public system of education for all."

The indictment of the housing conditions which prevail everywhere in the sub-continent is one of the most terrible passages of the report; despite the restraint and moderation which characterise the descriptions given, the picture presented of the conditions under which many millions of men, women, and children are forced to live is revolting in the extreme. Overcrowding intensifies the horror of the situation. In one of the largest cities more than a million workers are packed into noisome tenements a single room of which may be made to accommodate as many as twenty people. Sanitation is practically unknown. Exposed gulleys choked with garbage serve as sewers—and too often as latrines—in

* *Report on Labour Conditions in India.* By A. A. Purcell, M.P., and J. Hallsworth, British Trades Union Congress Delegation to India, November, 1927, to March, 1928. (Published by the British Trades Union Congress General Council, Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1. Price 1s., post free.)

the villages. In the towns open gutters flow by the thresholds of shops in which food is exposed without any attempt at protection against flies, dust, or the abominable exudations from the stagnant stream of liquid filth. It is not to be marvelled at that in Bengal alone 408,000 children died, in 1926, before reaching the age of five years, according to the report of the Director of Public Health for that year, while the same authority estimated that between 60,000 and 70,000 mothers died in childbirth, or from conditions directly related to childbirth.

Here are some examples of the sort of "dwellings" found by the delegation wherever they went :—

"Outside all the houses on the edge of each side of the strip of land between the 'lines' are the exposed gulleys, at some places stopped up with garbage, refuse, and other waste matter, giving forth horrible smells repellent in the extreme. It is obvious that these gulleys are often used as conveniences, especially by children, and right in the open earth 'street' can be seen women up to the elbows in coddling preparing it for making-up into cakes, which, after being plastered on the walls of the houses and dried in the sun (a custom common in all parts of India), is used as a cheap form of fuel.

"In another place the floors of the houses are beneath the ground level, and it is only by crouching low down that ingress to the room can be gained. In the flood season these houses are water-logged and sometimes altogether destroyed, only to be substituted by others equally bad. These dwellings are very overcrowded and the people very poverty-stricken indeed."

The wage position of the Indian worker is gone into exhaustively :—

"Speaking generally," says the report, "the wages question can be reduced here to a fairly simple statement. All inquiries go to show that the vast majority of workers in India do not receive more than about 1s. per day. In the province of Bengal, which includes the largest mass of industrial workers, investigators declared that as far as they could ascertain, 60 per cent of workers were in receipt of wages of not more than 1s. 2d. a day in the highest instance, scaling down to as low as 7d. to 9d. for men and 3d. to 7d. in the case of children and women.

"Our own inquiries support these figures and, as a matter of fact, many cases have been quoted to us of daily rates in operation which descend to 3½d. for women and 7d. or even less for men. Even mining, dealt with in a separate

section of this report, accounts for workers who are paid much less than 1s. a day. Answers to inquiries made at railway stations on the various systems and statements made in union reports and meetings reveal a similar state of affairs."

An oppressive system of fines and deductions plays havoc with these miserable pittances. In certain textile mills two days' wages are deducted for one day's absence from work, while in one district advances against wages *earned* are granted and made recoverable on pay day with interest, which in certain instances is as high as 150 per cent.!

Despite all these unfavourable concurrences, the delegation was impressed by the progress made by Trade Unionism, in view of the fact that Trade Union organisation cannot be said to have started in the country until 1918. It is estimated that the total strength of the various Indian Trade Unions, including those not yet affiliated to the All-India Trade Union Congress, is 200,000. This may seem a pitifully small fraction of the many millions of organisable workers, but the delegation rightly take the view that the greater the task the greater the possibilities.

"It may well be," says the report, "that a common understanding or policy on the part of the employers in the various industries will result in the amalgamation of the local or line unions, as the case may be, into national organisations of all grades, and if that takes place we believe that the Indian Movement will develop at a pace that will enable it to exercise a profound influence for the upliftment of the Indian working-class, and give it a high place in the International Trade Union world."

The industries dealt with in Sections 2-6 of the report are the railways, mining, textile and jute, tea, and a group of miscellaneous industries including building and woodworking, electrical trades, printing, tramways, municipal employees, seamen and dockers. Of these the railways form the largest and most comprehensive industrial undertaking, the number of employees totalling 762,553 persons, whose status may be gauged from the fact that there are no negotiated or agreed rates of wages, these being determined by the employers and enforced without any reference to the views of the workers. In theory the eight-hour day obtains, but in practice employees are often required to work long overtime, including Sundays, without pay. Complaints have been made regarding cases in which porters have been employed for stretches of 48 hours without a rest. Pointsmen have been on duty for periods of nearly 40 hours.

The mining industry employs about 260,000, of which about 170,000 are employed in the coalfields. Wages in this industry also are shockingly low, scaling down in some instances to 3½d. a day. The position is complicated, though not to the advantage of the workers, by the system of community working which obtains in some districts, where members of a village or clan work under their own headman, who takes all pay on behalf of the group.

In their investigations the delegates inspected the oilworkings in Assam, where they found that a large part of the labour force drawn is from the neighbouring hill tribes, a fact which gives an idea of the grave need for Trade Union "missionaries."

Similarly in the tea planting industry the delegates found that large numbers of recruits, "for the most part primitive and illiterate, are lured from the villages situated hundreds of miles away, in the belief that in the tea gardens the struggle for a living will be less grim than in their usual places of abode." These "recruited" workers are during their term of service practically slaves kept in bondage by punitive regulations. "Practically nothing is done for the social welfare of the labourers or for the education of their children. Fourteen shillings a month is reckoned a good wage for a man; women get about 11s. and children about 7s. a month. It can scarcely be wondered at that in his report for 1927 the Chief Secretary to the Assam Government noted as a "disquieting feature" a "sudden epidemic of strikes."

"The story of the poor labourers in the tea gardens of Assam," says the report, "is about as sordid a one as could possibly be related. We witnessed a group of men, women, and children working away together, while about five yards away was a planter's young assistant proudly hugging a whip. This we regarded as good proof of the 'contentment' prevailing among the tea garden population."

Among the other occupations the delegates found the same story of starvation wages, long overtime without pay, and bad conditions generally. Seamen and dock-workers are the victims of a wholesale system of bribery and corruption; seamen are charged as high as 25 per cent. of their wages merely for the brokers' recommendation for service, while there is collusion between the brokers and lodging-house keepers to mulct them still further of their scanty pay. Wages of dockers scale at a trifle over 1s. a day for a ten-hour day; as an item of relief in a dark picture it is related that at one port strong Trade Union

organisation resulted in the wages being raised to 2s. 7½d. per day of nine hours.

The concluding section is a powerful plea for the help needed to bring to the millions of Indian workers the consciousness that the way of salvation lies open before them, and a plain and convincing statement of the dangers to the workers of this and other countries outside India of a policy of neglect.

"In travelling from point to point in the great sub-continent of India," says the report, "we felt growing upon us very strongly an apprehension that we were in the presence of tremendous forces which sooner or later would be applied to a great expansion of manufacturing activity.

"If India really settles down to the production of textile and kindred machinery not only the working class of Great Britain but that of Europe and America also will feel the severe shock of a very great change.

"The question for our great Trade Union Movement is; Can we afford to sit still while this stupendous industrial expansion takes place, having regard to the fact that in most trades, occupations, callings and industries in India it takes six to eight workers to obtain as much in wages as one of the lowest paid workers in Great Britain?

"The problem, such as it is, must be faced by the British Trade Union Movement . . . Our view is that we must take the mighty step of linking up the British and Indian Trade Union Movements for the purpose of positive and sustained organising work, followed by joint action wherever conceivable and immediately practicable, with the object of lifting Indian workmen and workwomen out of the filthy and ghastly conditions, socially, morally, and physically, into a new stage of constantly improving wages standards, giving them hope for the immediate future, and enabling them here and now to have what is the first essential to all Indian workers, namely, a firm grip on the means of life by the necessary increase of purchasing power at present kept out of their reach.

"Indian workers can be won for Trade Unionism. They are in frightful distress just now. Is it too much to expect that out of Great Britain—the one land which has made so much profit from its associations with India, no matter what the history books may say—a really practical and lasting form of help may be afforded to over three hundred millions of human beings, who, if they had the wherewithal, are sufficient in number to set going the wheels of world industry at high speed?"

Industrial Developments

Wage Movements in April

According to the *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, wage changes in the industries for which statistics are compiled by the Ministry resulted by the end of April in a net reduction of £9,350 in the weekly full-time wages of 204,000 workpeople, and a net increase of £1,500 in those of 9,000 workpeople.

The principal group of workpeople affected by the reductions were textile bleaching, dyeing, printing, etc., operatives in Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Scotland, whose wages were reduced, under cost-of-living sliding scales, by about 1½ per cent. on current rates in Yorkshire and by 1s. and 8d. per week, in the case of men and women respectively in Lancashire and Scotland.

Other groups affected included blastfurnace workers, iron puddlers and millmen, and workers employed in the seed crushing and oil milling industry. Increases occurred in the wages of shale miners and oil workers in Scotland, and in those of furniture trade operatives at certain towns in Yorkshire.

* * *

Summary of 1928 Wage Statistics

During the first four months of 1928 the changes reported to the Ministry in the industries for which statistics have been compiled have resulted in net reductions of £115,100 in the wages of 1,114,500 workpeople, and net increases in those of 105,000 workpeople. Of the total reduction just over one-half was accounted for by the coal-mining industry. In the corresponding period of 1927 there were net reductions of £99,800 in the wages of 685,000 workpeople, and net increases of over £33,500 in those of 517,000 workpeople.

* * *

Statistics of Trade Disputes

During April 16 trade disputes, involving stoppages of work, were reported to the Ministry as beginning in that month. In addition, 24 disputes which began before April were still in progress at the beginning of the month.

The number of workpeople involved in all disputes in April, including those thrown out of work at the establishments where the disputes occurred, but not themselves parties to them, was about 2,900, and the aggregate duration of all disputes during the month was about 30,000 working days. These figures compare with totals of 38,000 workpeople involved and 168,000 working days lost in the previous month, and with 10,200 workpeople involved and 79,006 days lost in April, 1927.

The aggregate duration of all disputes in progress in the first four months of 1928 was about 360,000 working days, and the total number of workpeople involved was about 63,000. The figures for the corresponding period of 1927 were 520,000 days and 34,000 workpeople respectively.

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Situation in the Cotton Industry

As stated in the last issue of the *LABOUR MAGAZINE*, negotiations between the United Textile Factory Workers' Association and the Federation of Master Cotton Spinners were resumed on April 30, but unfortunately the two sides were unable to arrive at any understanding, and the proceedings ended in a deadlock.

The Federation of Master Cotton Spinners then decided to ballot their members on the proposal to enforce wage

reductions in the industry by means of a lock-out, and the result of this ballot was declared on May 23. This ballot resulted in the proposal being definitely defeated. The voting on the question is as follows: In the American section of the industry 66·68 per cent. were in favour and 24·10 per cent. against, while 9·22 per cent. did not vote at all. In the Egyptian section 28·39 per cent. were in favour and 64·50 per cent. were against, while 7·11 per cent. did not vote. The rules of the Federation require a majority of at least 80 per cent. on such a question, and as this requisite majority has not been obtained, it has been decided to take no further action.

The Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Association representing mainly the weaving section of the industry—has also canvassed its members on the same proposal, through its district associations, and this body has also rejected the proposal to give notice of a wage reduction.

* * *

Railway Clerks in Conference

The 31st annual conference of the Railway Clerks' Association was held at Bridlington, beginning on May 20. In the course of his opening address, the Chairman, Mr. T. H. Gill, stated that 82 per cent. of the members of the union had agreed to contribute to the political levy, and he was of opinion that the passing of the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act would have the effect of making members take more interest in the political activities of the union than they had ever done before.

In dealing with the difficulties in which the railway companies found themselves at the present time owing to the competition of road transport companies, he stressed his opinion that the most effective solution of the railway problem was to be found in nationalisation, with representatives of the workers taking their share in the management and with the co-ordination of the railways and other forms of transport.

Approval of the conferences now being held between the Trades Union Congress General Council and the representative group of employers was expressed, while resolutions against industrial co-operation were heavily defeated by the conference.

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Communists and Labour

There was considerable discussion on the question of Communist affiliation to the Labour Party, and a resolution instructing the delegates to the Labour Party Conference to support any motion having as its object the strengthening of the Liverpool decisions re Communists was passed with only six dissentients. Condemnation of the activities of Communist and Minority Movements within the union was also expressed.

In the course of a discussion on the question of the co-ordination of all transport under the Ministry of Transport, Mr. Walkden, the secretary, made an attack on the Government for its proposal to close down the Ministry. A resolution was passed reaffirming that the community could be adequately served only by the linking up of all forms of transport under the Ministry of Transport, and expressing satisfaction at the setting up of a joint committee of railway and transport workers' unions, in conjunction with the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress General Council, with the object

of promoting greater safety on the roads, and proper regulation of the hours and conditions of the road transport workers.

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Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades

At the annual conference of the Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades conditions essential to the success of the various efforts to secure a better understanding between employers and their workpeople were considered.

In the course of the discussions it was declared that there was need for better organisation in industry, particularly on the technical side and in the sales department. A further extension of payment by results was advocated, with a guaranteed wage and security against unemployment along the lines of insurance within the industry to supplement State unemployment insurance.

There was considerable discussion on the question of the position of craftsmen and many speakers emphasised the danger arising from deterioration of craftsmen due to unemployment and under-employment, and the view was expressed that craftsmanship would suffer as a result of the decreasing number of youths offering themselves for craft training. In this connection, the President, Mr. Sherwood, stated that the Federation believed this to be a question which should receive urgent national attention, and one into which the Government should institute special inquiries at an early date.

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Amalgamated Engineering Union

The Annual Conference of the Amalgamated Engineering Union began on May 22nd, and at the time of going to Press, is still sitting. The most important question so far considered has been in connection with methods of payment of wages. A resolution was carried by a large majority to the effect that as 75 per cent. of the membership were working under some system of payment by results, the Union should recognise this and negotiate for a national agreement of control. This decision denotes an important change in policy of the Union, as it has hitherto consistently opposed all systems of piecework and payment by results, but despite this opposition, various systems have been forced on the men, and are now being operated. The growth of this movement has been so great that the object of recognition was to secure uniformity and control of these systems in the interest and for the advantage of the members.

A further resolution was passed instructing the Executive to secure all information as to methods of payment for submission to the next national committee.

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Amalgamation in Distributive Trades

By 295 votes to 12, the Annual Conference of the National Union of Co-operative Insurance Society Ltd. employees, decided in favour of amalgamation with the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers.

The membership of the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers is now 99,640, and the amalgamation with the insurance employees will bring it up to nearly 102,000. Mr. Jagger, the President of the Distributive Workers' Union, has stated that this fusion is regarded as a step towards the one big union for the whole of the allied trades, and is in accordance with the policy enunciated at successive conferences of N.U.D.A.W.

P.O. Controlling Officers' Gesture

It is reported that when the Post Office Controlling Officers' Association dealt, at their annual conference, with the resolutions to rescind the rules relating to the political fund, every delegate refrained from voting and the resolutions were carried by the single vote of the chairman.

This procedure was adopted to mark the protest of the conference against the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act, which made the resolutions necessary.

* * *

General Council Meeting

At the monthly meeting of the General Council, held on May 23, it was unanimously decided to nominate the General Secretary, Mr. Walter M. Citrine, as the General Council's representative on the Executive of the I.F.T.U., and Mr. A. Hayday, M.P., as substitute member for Mr. G. Hicks on the General Council of the I.F.T.U. Mr. A. A. Purcell, who had been nominated, withdrew, and Mr. George Hicks also declined nomination.

The General Council received a report on the position in the Notts mining area, and discussed the action of Mr. A. J. Cook during the campaign. It was agreed to seek a meeting with the full Executive of the Miners' Federation at which this subject, and other matters which had given rise to complaint, could be considered.

The Council also considered a letter from the Miners' Federation referring to the pamphlet published by Mr. Cook entitled, "Mond and Moonshine." In the letter it was stated that the Executive dissociated itself from the issue before the Nottingham pact. The letter also authorised Mr. T. Richards to continue to attend the meetings of the Industrial Conference.

The assistant secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress was present at the meeting, and the Lilloah railway dispute was discussed. It was decided to ask the High Commissioner for India to receive a deputation on the subject.

The Council also agreed to appoint five representatives on the Railway Rates Tribunal.

* * *

General Council and Industrial Conference

The General Council had under consideration a letter from Sir Alfred Mond, relative to an interview given by him in Italy in which he was alleged to have supported Fascism.

Sir Alfred stated that the report contained an abridged and entirely incorrect version of a lengthy interview, in the course of which he had dealt, among other things, with the question of co-operation in industry. His references to Fascism were entirely restricted to its application in Italy, and he did not believe that Fascism, as a political ideal, was in any way suitable to the British method or British sentiment. He also pointed out that it had been mutually agreed that the fact that the Representative Group of Employers and the General Council of the T.U.C. were meeting together to discuss industrial reorganisation and industrial relations, did not debar either side from expressing their individual opinions publicly on all other matters.

The General Council decided to hold a special meeting to consider the whole subject of their relations with the Mond group, when the recent reports of the industrial committee will be discussed.

International Trade Union Notes and Labour Abroad

(Specially contributed to the LABOUR MAGAZINE by the International Federation of Trade Unions.)

Giovanni Bensi

Giovanni Bensi, a member of the Executive Committee of the Italian National Centre, and a substitute member of the General Council of the I.F.T.U., died at Paris on April 26. Bensi was only 36 years of age, but had already been a member of the Executive Committee of the Italian National Trade Union Centre at the time when this centre was still at Milan.

Fascist persecution then forced him to leave Italy, and, like so many of his countrymen, he settled in Paris. He was a zealous worker for the Italian Trade Union Movement, and his early death will be sincerely deplored not only by the Italian working-class, but by all who came into contact with him.

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The Latvian Trade Union Centre

The report of the Latvian Trade Union Centre shows that the membership of the affiliated unions had increased during the year 1927, being 15,818 in 1926 and 18,732 on December 31, 1927.

At the beginning of this year two new unions joined the centre, so that the national centre consisted at the time of the Congress of 22 unions and a membership of about 22,000. In 1927 the affiliated unions conducted 36 strikes, of which 32 were successful, and only 4 failed. The funds of the Trade Unions on January 1, 1928, amounted to 160,911 Lats (1 Lat = 10d.), besides which the Trade Unions have real property, furniture, etc., to the amount of 56,000 Lats. The financial position of the centre has improved considerably.

In general, the unions have shown much activity during the year 1927, and have consolidated their influence in many spheres.

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Growth in Sweden

In 1927 the membership of the unions affiliated with the Swedish National Centre rose from 414,859 to 437,974, an increase of 23,115, or 5.6 per cent.

The affiliation to the centre on September 1, 1927, of the Electricians' Union has increased the number of the affiliated unions to 36 and the number of local branches to 4,247.

* * *

Baltic Trade Unionism

Following immediately upon the Latvian Trade Union Congress, there was held in Riga a Baltic Trade Union Conference, attended by delegates from Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The Conference was also attended by the Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions and by fraternal delegates from various neighbouring countries. Comprehensive reports were given of the situation of the Trade Union Movement in the various Baltic countries, and ways and means of promoting it discussed. There was

complete harmony among the delegates on all the questions discussed, so that there is every reason to look for valuable results in the way of co-operation.

The projected Baltic Committee was created, and consists of two representatives each of the three countries, the management being in the hands of the Latvian National Centre.

* * *

World Trusts and Publicity

The "I.G. Farbenindustrie A.G." (International Dyes Industry Company), the largest chemical trust in the world, has just issued its report, which says so little that even capitalist newspapers are annoyed at its haughtiness, frankly averring that from the information given it is impossible to form any idea of what has been done and of the factors entering into the fixing and raising of dividends.

Hardly anything is said about the real purpose of a bond loan taken up last January and amounting to not less than 250,000,000 marks, and no more about the course of business during the present year and the sale figures. On this point the Berlin "Vörrwarts" comments: "What has publicity to do with a concern which at the end of 1927 was employing 108,000 persons, so that its Executive is in reality the arbiter of the destinies of some 600,000 souls?" The really interesting point is that the net profits have risen from 70.5 to 103.2 millions—which means that almost every employee of the firm has brought in 1,000 marks of net profit for the Trust. And what can the workers possibly want to know about the way in which this is done?

* * *

Progress in Switzerland

According to a provisional computation, the Swiss Trade Union Centre comprised on December 31, 1927, some 164,000 members, an increase of some 10,000 or 11,000 in comparison with last year. The increase chiefly affected the large unions of the metal and clock workers (about 5,600), the building and woodworkers (about 3,000), and the commercial, transport and food workers (about 1,000). The other unions have remained at much the same level.

The largest unions at the end of 1927 had in round numbers the following memberships: the metal and clockworkers, 50,000; the railwaymen, 36,700; the building and woodworkers, 21,000; the commercial, transport and foodworkers, 12,000; workers in public services, 12,600; postal, telephone, and telegraph employees, 8,300; and typographers, 5,800.

* * *

Women and the Eight Hour Convention

The Executive of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom passed at its recent meeting a resolution expressing its "indignation that certain Governments refuse to ratify the Eight Hour Convention at a time when unemployment is taking on disquieting proportions in all countries."

International Labour Office Notes

Luxemburg's Record

The Government of Luxemburg has formally notified the League of Nations at Geneva that it has ratified all the 25 Conventions adopted by the various annual Sessions of the International Labour Conference, and therefore heads the list of nations which have ratified.

At the same time, the Hungarian Government has announced its ratification of a further seven Conventions, bringing its total to nine. There have now been 300 ratifications by various States of different Conventions as compared with 248 at the beginning of the year.

* * *

The Hours Convention

The Governing Body of the International Labour Office met at the end of April at Geneva, and decided to adjourn to its next meeting the discussion of the British Government's proposal to place the revision of the Washington Hours Convention on the agenda of the 1928 Conference.

The British Government representative stated that the attacks which had been made on his Government on account of its revision proposal were unjustified. The British Government had no intention of attacking the International Labour Organisation, or the best interests of the workers. It was a sincere friend of the Organisation, and it believed that its proposal would result in clearing up the situation.

* * *

Revision of Conventions

The Governing Body also discussed the question of the possible revision of Conventions. The Director of the Office, M. Albert Thomas, pointed out that the real question at issue was whether the Governing Body, after examining the position as regards each Convention, could propose to the Conference to amend certain specified articles of it, or whether the possibility of total revision would be implied. He was in favour of a procedure for limited revision, since general revision procedure would destroy the stability of international Labour legislation. It seemed difficult to understand that, after undertaking constructive work for ten years, they should, at the end of that period, run the risk of compromising all that had been achieved.

Proposals which make it possible to limit the revision of a Convention to certain definite points were adopted by eighteen votes (all the Government and workers' members) to six (all the employers' members).

* * *

Intellectual Workers' Committee

The Governing Body decided that the Advisory Committee on Intellectual Workers should be composed of five permanent officers, three representing the Governing Body of the office and two the League of Nations' International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and of representatives of the most important national and international organisations of intellectual workers, the list of such organisations being revised periodically by the Governing Body.

The following items were included in the agenda of the coming meeting of the Advisory Committee: termination of employment of journalists in the event of a change occurring in the policy of their newspaper ;

stipulation concerning the acceptance of other employment in the case of engineers and technical staff leaving an establishment ; finding of employment for theatrical artists ; and inventions by employees.

* * *

Representation of Native Workers

The Director was instructed by the Governing Body to suggest to the Governments in the letter of Convocation for the 1929 Conference that they might draw the attention of the most representative workers' organisations to the desirability of including in delegations to the Conference representatives of workers in colonies and mandated territories, particularly when questions affecting their conditions of work appeared on the agenda of the Conference.

* * *

Simplifying World Meetings

At the present meeting of the Conference further experiments are to be made with a system of interpreting speeches simultaneously with their delivery from the platform, which was tested on a limited scale last year with considerable success. A number of interpreters are placed close to the speaker where they can see and hear him, and they repeat his speech in a given language in a low voice into a specially constructed microphone. Each of these transmissions is electrically amplified, and each member of the Conference can hear the speech in any language through special earpieces, resembling in principle a doctor's stethoscope.

Experiments are also being made in the automatic recording of speeches and interpretations without the intervention of shorthand reporters.

* * *

World Industrial Library

The number of publications received by the library of the office has increased by 136 per cent. in four years, the figure for 1927 being 24,174 as against 10,288 in 1923. The number of books and brochures received in 1927 was 15,463 against 13,359 in 1926. There was also a steady increase in the number of outside persons who came to work in this library in 1927, permission being given to 222 persons for this purpose.

These included 40 from the United States, 40 from Switzerland, 32 from Germany, 18 from Great Britain, 16 from Poland, and 9 from France. Of the total 80 were students, 19 of whom were using the "I.L.O." library for the preparation of their theses.

* * *

A Year's Work

The Director has just issued his report on the work of the "I.L.O." for the year 1927, and this contains an interesting and valuable account of the progress of world Labour legislation. In his general conclusions, the Director draws attention to the fact that even unratified Conventions exercise considerable influence on national legislation.

"Although it will no doubt take many years to build up by ratifications a single code or a uniform international system," he says, "it is noteworthy that the different States are gradually coming to base their national laws on common principles."

Co-operative Activities

Co-operative Congress

The Congress Report to be presented to the Co-operative Congress at West Hartlepool during Whit-Week shows that the British Co-operative Movement continues to grow.

At the end of 1926, the latest complete official figures, there were 5 186,728 members compared to 4,910,983 at the end of 1925, sales totalled £184,879,902 compared to £183,584,049, and shares of members had increased from £85,564,198 to £87,909,381. There were also increases in loans, profits, and employment.

* * *

Peace and Progress

The first resolution to be considered by Congress bears on the work of the League of Nations. Recognising that the increase of armaments is a menace to peace, and the cost of armaments is a burden on everybody, the Congress will be asked to give effective support to the work of the League of Nations in the direction of reducing armaments and encouraging arbitration and national security.

* * *

Co-operative or Municipal Trading

There is to be placed before Congress a report of a Municipal Trading Committee. The position of a co-operator in respect to municipal trading has been always in doubt. The Committee investigating the subject has come to the conclusion that in relation to distributive trades the policy of the development by co-operative societies offers the most practical and satisfactory way of extending collective principles in meeting the needs of the community.

To do this, however, there needs to be more local co-operative development, and societies are urged to extend their distributive facilities and provide goods as near cost price as possible. This is good advice. The recommendations of Congress on this subject are to be communicated to the Labour Party and discussed with them. There is no mention, be it noticed, of any other political party, which shows which way the co-operative wind is blowing.

* * *

Seeking Expansion

Another resolution speaks favourably of the new conciliatory machinery for dealing with labour conditions in the movement. But a further resolution is new to Congress. This is put forward by a joint committee of the C.W.S. and the Co-operative Union on propaganda and trade. It is to give the C.W.S. the opportunity of opening retail stores in districts where there is not much chance of a retail society making a venture.

This would help to carry co-operation into places where it is still unknown, and any such enterprise would have behind it all the financial and organised resources of the C.W.S. The Scottish Wholesale Society is permitted to do this. To give the English C.W.S. the same permission would create a further step towards increasing the links in the geographical co-operative chain throughout the kingdom.

In establishing stores in these benighted places the C.W.S. would have to work in consultation with the Co-operative Union. Local and territorial prejudice may be brought against the proposal, but it is hoped that Congress will be convinced of its necessity and the value of it from a progressive point of view. Whilst

extending co-operative trade it would be good propaganda, and the C.W.S. can afford to foot the bill in the interests of co-operative principle and education.

* * *

The Political Squabble

There are several other resolutions of more or less importance. The Co-operative Party desires to give up the idea of a capital levy and substitute this for a surtax on high unearned incomes to relieve the interest on the National Debt. This, again, is going the way of the Labour Party. But no doubt the most contentious resolution will be the one of the Great Horton Society (Yorkshire) to upset the decision of the Cheltenham Congress last year to permit the Co-operative Party to make working arrangements regarding elections with local Labour Parties or with the National Labour Party. The society will move that the Cheltenham resolution, carried by a small majority, be rescinded.

Leeds Society, in another resolution, will ask Congress not to permit the Co-operative Party to run a candidate in any constituency covered by the Co-operative jurisdiction of a society, and has declined to subscribe to membership of the Co-operative Party. Where a society votes against membership with the Co-operative Party, a voluntary Co-operative Party may be set up. This has occurred in Leeds, and this voluntary body is running a candidate in North-East Leeds Division. Leeds Society is asking that this candidature be abandoned. The Great Horton motion demands that in future no alliance or working arrangement be made with any political or religious body.

* * *

International Co-operators' Day

For the sixth time the annual International Co-operators' Day will be held this year on July 7. This is usually celebrated in this country by local distributive societies, who hold demonstrations with the object of furthering the cause of co-operation and international peace. Other countries have their various methods of recognising this international event and the objects for which it stands.

This Co-operators' Day is promoted by the International Co-operative Alliance, which now comprises 45,000,000 shareholding members, mostly heads of families. A call has been made to co-operators the world over to mobilise their forces, and make their voice heard and felt in the present Government of each country to pursue actively international, economic unity, and universal peace.

* * *

Co-operative Schools

The Co-operative Union Educational Department have fixed up a number of schools which will be held during the summer for educational purposes. This method of getting co-operators to hold concourse one with another on subjects of interest to the movement appears to be increasing.

It is noticeable that a new department is to be made this year in so far as the education committee have arranged a week's school for salesmen to be held under the auspices of the Co-operative College; also a week's school for general, departmental, and branch managers. These will be held at the Co-operative College, Kersal, Manchester. Other schools have been organised for educational secretaries, committeemen, and organisers, as well as for the ordinary member of societies of the movement.

The Labour Library

(These notices do not preclude a fuller review in the pages of the LABOUR MAGAZINE or its allied publications.)

Cotton Year Book, 1928. Industrial Newspapers Limited.
(7s. 6d. ; 8s. post free).

The present difficulties of the cotton industry make this year book more than ever indispensable. Here are facts about production and trade, mill finance, costing and wages, and innumerable technical matters. Of particular interest are the comprehensive "Review of the Industry" and the section on artificial silk.

With this work for general reference and a current review in the form of, say, the *Manchester Guardian Commercial* (2d. weekly), those interested can hardly fail to be thoroughly and accurately aware of the true economic position of the industry.

Le Trade Unionisme. A. Pini. (Boccard, Paris.)

This most interesting study of British Trade Unionism and its place in the Labour Movement, written by an acute but friendly French observer, comprises an historical and a legal survey as well as a commentary upon present-day policies and practice. It is but natural that M. Pini should sometimes get astray in his facts; many writers nearer home do that! In general, however, the trend of events, and their interpretation, will be found portrayed with judgment and accuracy.

In recounting the story of the national strike of 1926, it is especially important—and especially difficult—to be correct in detail, and here one hopes M. Pini will revise his section on this topic, for his account has a good many inaccuracies in it. He is to be congratulated, however, on his insight into British conditions, and on the production of one of the most interesting works on our movement that have been written in recent years.

An Australian Looks at America. H. G. Adam. (Allen and Unwin. 4s. 6d.)

This is a lively and entertaining account of an Australian's impressions of the United States and its labour movement. Mr. Adam finds some things to admire, but many more to detest. He does not hide either his likes or his dislikes, and for the crudities and cruelties of American conditions he has nothing but scorn. He is certainly right in emphasising the fact that America is not like any other country, and that literal imitation, even of good things, is, therefore, unwise.

But he is, one feels, decidedly unfair to the American Trade Union Movement, and for the reason just referred to—that American conditions and difficulties are not like those encountered elsewhere. We have to judge the unions in the light of their environment and their own peculiar problems. The European reader can gain a highly interesting picture of the United States in Mr. Adam's rainy volume.

The Reign of Terror, 1793-4. W. B. Kerr. (University of Toronto Press. 16s.)

It is seldom now that the enormous literature of the French Revolution is enriched by a really original contribution, one that throws fresh illumination on the history of that world shaking series of events. Dr. Kerr has achieved this difficult result. He has added both to our knowledge and to our understanding of the culminating conflict that settled the fate of the revolution.

The familiar, yet never old, story is re-told in vivid phrases, with new facts, the fruit of recent research, and with a fresh point of view, which cannot fail to hold the reader.

Despite the somewhat forbidding format—page after solid page of unbroken type—Dr. Kerr's work is as interesting as a best-selling novel. To the student of history it is much more valuable than the text that too often comes his way, for it is learned, original, and never dull.

Social Economics. By F. von Wieser. (Allen and Unwin. 20s.)

The death of von Wieser in 1926 removed not only the leader of the Austrian school but one of the world's most stimulating economists. This is his great work, and it very well repays a close study to-day, even though most of us feel the Austrian school has done its work and has exercised all the influence it is ever likely to upon economic theory. But as Professor Mitchell remarks, the time devoted to studying von Wieser is a time of "contact with a living force in the world of thought," and such study must therefore be fruitful by its stimulation and suggestion.

The translation, by Professor Heinrichs, has been admirably carried out.

THE Labour Woman

EDITED BY DR. MARION PHILLIPS

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Published by the

PUBLICATIONS DEPARTMENT, LABOUR PARTY,

Transport House (South Block), Smith Square,
London, S.W. 1.

THE LABOUR MAGAZINE

Incorporating The British Trades Union Review and the Labour Party Bulletin

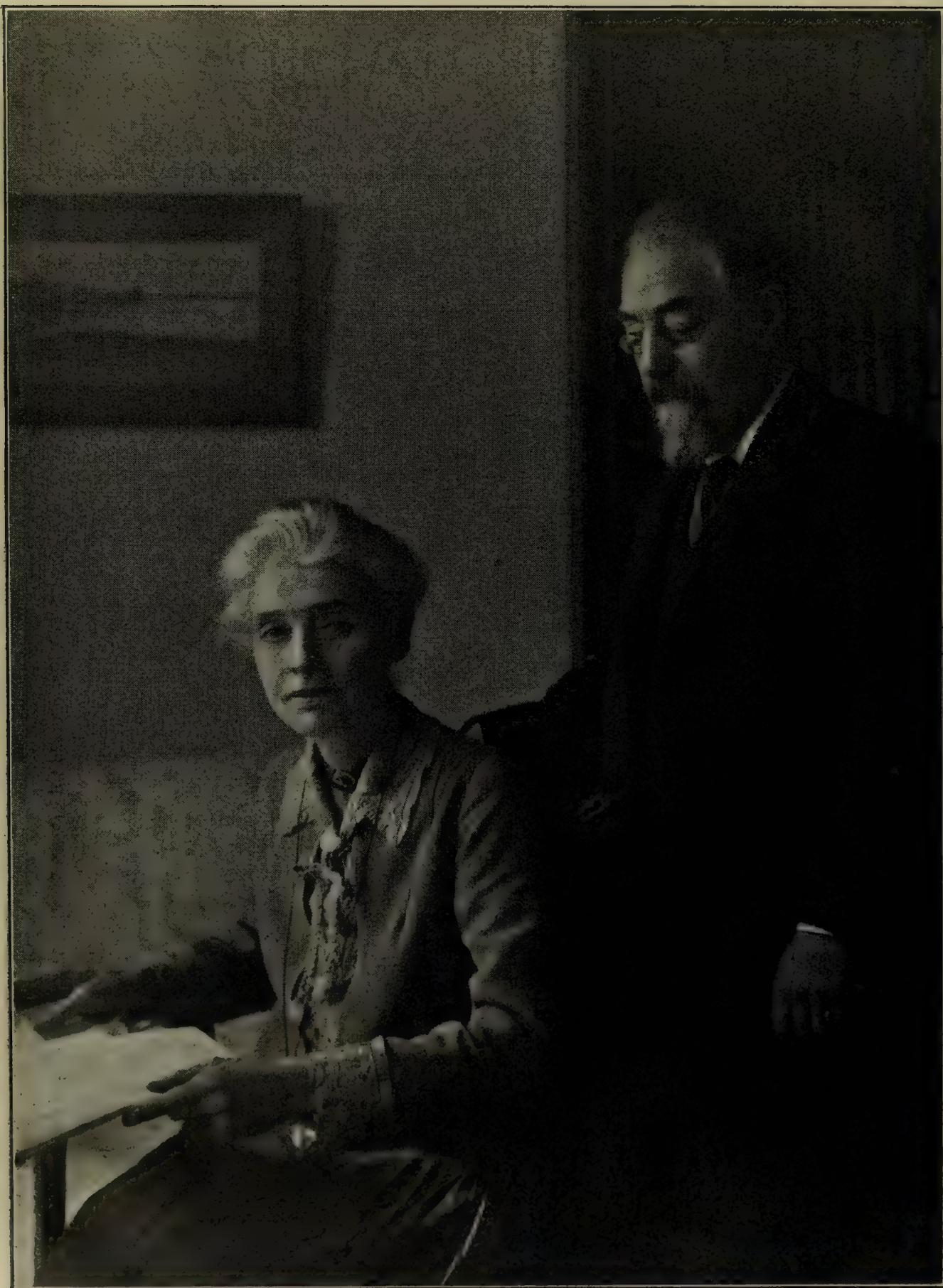
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MR. AND MRS. SIDNEY WEBB

The Work of the Webbs

A TRIBUTE

By

WM. STEPHEN SANDERS

TO make a complete survey of the work of Sidney and Beatrice Webb and to appraise adequately their contribution to the thought and action of the Labour and Socialist Movement would be a formidable task, one which obviously cannot be undertaken in a few pages of a magazine. It would require the space afforded by a stout volume to do anything approaching justice to the results of the unique intellectual collaboration of the distinguished couple who are now celebrating their 140th birthday. Here it is not possible to do more than indicate what I consider to be the salient features of their remarkable creative energy which has displayed itself in so many departments of social science and public life.

Before the inception of the partnership which, as we know from Beatrice Webb's fascinating biography, has always been one and indivisible, both members of the alliance had a splendid record of service to their credit. Those of us who were members of the modern British Socialist Movement in England in its feeble and unruly childhood know how much the development into its present sound and healthy manhood is due to the knowledge, industry and wisdom of Sidney Webb.

Let us consider for a moment the position of the movement when he joined it in 1885 by becoming a member of the Fabian Society.

The Democratic Federation formed in 1881, assumed in 1884 a definitely Socialist title, when it became the Social Democratic Federation. It represented and expounded what it considered to be the pure milk of the Marxist gospel with enthusiastic persistence, monotonous vehemence, and often vitriolic vituperation; a style and method of propaganda which has been renewed, but with less skill, by the Communists of to-day, who draw their mental and material inspiration from Soviet Russia.

The Social Democrats, although a mere handful of zealots, were led by earnest, and in several instances gifted, men; but in spite of their energy, talents and enthusiasm, they were unable to appeal successfully to the masses of Great Britain. Marxist economics handled in such a way as to prove the inevitability of a complete breakdown of the capitalist system, followed by a violent revolution on the part of the revolting

proletariat was no doubt excellent dramatic stuff, but the average British worker evidently thought that it belonged more to the theatre or to the novel than to life as he knew it. Anyhow, he declined to accept the invitation to help swell the ranks of the "millions" who, according to H. M. Hyndman, in his more eloquent and optimistic moments, were marching behind the Social Democratic banner.

Moreover, the Social Democratic leaders were incurably quarrelsome. Differences upon abstract economic theory and political policy or tactics led to heated argument and then to disruption. William Morris went one way with the Socialist League, which died of an overdose of anarchist doctrine; H. M. Hyndman with the Social Democratic Federation went another, and entered upon a parliamentary electoral adventure in 1885, the outcome of which in London was deplorable. Two Social Democratic candidates who stood at Hampstead and Kennington respectively polled less than 60 votes between them. From this fiasco, the Federation never really recovered. The comfortable classes were reassured. The Red Peril of the time had proved to be only a hollow-turnip bogey. The men of property were convinced that revolutionary sentiments would never strike root in the conservative soul of Great Britain.

While the Social Democrats were doing their utmost to evoke terror in the hearts of the bourgeoisie by their revolutionary stage-thunder, a modest little band of middle-class men and women who were discontented with the existing conditions of society had founded the Fabian Society with the object of discovering the best means of establishing a new and better social order. They had decided to form "an association whose ultimate aim should be the reconstruction of society in accordance with the highest moral possibilities," and came to the conclusion "that the competitive system assures the happiness and comfort of the few at the expense of the suffering of the many, and that society must be reconstituted in such a manner as to secure the general welfare and happiness."

At first, it was not certain whether the Fabian Society would devote itself to individual moral culture or the inculcation of new social principles. The question of the society's destiny was,

however, settled by those members who looked for social salvation through "the cultivation of perfect character in each and all," and "the subordination of material things to spiritual," agreeing to create another body with a definitely spiritual basis, called the Fellowship of New Life. Thus the Fabian Society was left free to concentrate upon the task of reconstructing society by political and social action.

It was essential that the Society should first of all obtain a clear idea of what was actually wrong with the social system and what were the most efficient methods of promoting the desired reconstruction. Theories and opinions were as yet in the formative stage. The differences between anarchism and socialism were not fully understood and Radical prejudices were rife among the small Fabian membership. It is noteworthy that the claims and aims of the working people were as yet unrecognised. Fabian Tract No. 2, entitled *A Manifesto*, contains a number of interesting propositions and it ranges over a wide field. But nowhere does it touch Co-operation or Trade Unionism, wages or hours of labour. "We were," says E. R. Pease, the historian of the Society, "still dealing with abstractions—Land and Capital, Industry and Competition, the Individual and the State." This is the customary manner in which young and idealistic reformers begin their activities. Unless they acquire the capacity to proceed from the abstract to the concrete they become mere word-spinners and futile choppers of logic. Individualists usually run to seed in this way. That is why we have seen a whole series of individualistic and sometimes bellicose anti-Socialist societies rise, fade, and disappear during the last 40 years.

Bernard Shaw joined the Society in 1884, and his brilliant wit soon added sparkle to its publications and discussions. But it is doubtful whether even his genius was of the kind which alone could have given solid and permanent life to the band of eager reformers. Be that as it may, the records of the Society show that after Sidney Webb joined it, seven months later, a change began to manifest itself in the attitude of the group. Although the scientific spirit had not become immediately predominant, there were signs that it was gradually permeating the counsels of the Society and shaping its aims, objects and policy. An examination of the list of Fabian publications and the dates of issue would produce ample evidence of the influence Sidney Webb was beginning to exercise.

In January, 1887, appeared Fabian Tract No. 5, *Facts for Socialists*. This tract has undoubtedly been the most effective Socialist pamphlet ever published in Great Britain. Although the idea

was not original, it was carried out in a new and striking fashion. The exact facts relating to the distribution of wealth were quoted from accepted sources and illustrated by simple diagrams. Statements were collected from the writings of the foremost professors of political science which demonstrated that every charge made against the capitalist system by Socialism could be justified from these sources. Opponents of Socialism were shown that according to their own principles they were logically bound to be Socialists, and must agree to the Fabian solutions for social problems.

This new method of attack, far more searching and deadly than discharging against the enemy dubious Marxist theories of surplus value and questionable conclusions drawn from a narrow economic interpretation of history, was invented and carried out by Sidney Webb. "No other Fabian," says E. R. Pease, "possessed anything like his knowledge of economics and statistics."

Facts for Socialists, proved from unassailable authorities that "the poverty of the masses results, not as the individualists argue, from deficiencies of individual character, but, as John Stuart Mill had declared, from the excessive share in the national dividend that falls to the owners of land and capital."

Following *Facts for Socialists*, came a steady stream of pamphlets from Sidney Webb's pen, constructive, practical and easy to understand. Only a few can be mentioned here: *Facts for Londoners*; *An Eight-Hour Bill*; *The Workers' Political Programme*; *English Progress towards Social Democracy*; *Socialism True and False*; *Practical Land Nationalisation* and *What the Farm Labourer Wants*, all dealing with immediate political and social questions and always from the Socialist standpoint.

The other Fabian pamphleteers followed the lead given by Sidney Webb. The Fabian Society rapidly shed its amateurism and earned the reputation of being an organisation composed of talented, level-headed, constructively-minded people, who had no use for sloppy rhetoric, who possessed an insatiable appetite for reliable information, and a realistic outlook upon life and politics, but who, nevertheless, were entirely sincere and single-minded in their loyalty to the Socialist faith.

Meanwhile, the other partner was busily engaged in acquiring that wide and deep store of knowledge which later on she used so effectively on behalf of the workers.

There is no need to recall the investigations carried on by Beatrice Webb in the sweating dens of the East End and in the homes of the poorest of the poor in that region, her co-operation in the giant survey of London's Life and Labour

associated with the name of Charles Booth, and her illuminating study of the Consumers' Co-operative Movement, the significance of which had hitherto been largely overlooked by social students. All these and other experiences of a similar kind are they not related in *My Apprenticeship* with that clearness and impressiveness for which the writer is justly celebrated?

Such severe and unsparing training, guided by an unusually gifted and unswervingly honest intellect embodied in a most attractive personality, produced a singularly happy and fitting complement to the exceptional qualities of Sidney Webb. By joining forces they increased enormously not only the scope of their activities but also their power to render the services they have given unstintingly to the Labour and Socialist Movement.

It is almost impossible to over-estimate the value of the first big result of the partnership, the universally known *History of Trade Unionism*. It did more than all the writings of Karl Marx to make the British workers "conscious of the dignity of their political history," and gave middle-class Socialist sympathisers a real picture of the working-class industrial world. It taught the Socialists that it was impossible to ignore organisations which the workers had built up in their own way and by their own efforts. After the publication of the *History* one heard no more sneers from Socialist platforms at the feebleness, impotence, and uselessness of Trade Union action. To those of us who were capable of understanding it was made clear that the foundations of political, industrial, and economic reconstruction by and on behalf of the working-class and already been laid in the twin movements of Trade Unionism and Co-operation. All that was required was to infuse the two movements with new energy and new hope, and the Socialist aim could be achieved.

Industrial Democracy supplemented the *History*. It analysed and threw light upon every phase of Trade Union theory and practice. It is not too much to say that this book and the preceding one completely revolutionised the attitude of the intelligent and thinking public towards Trade Unionism and collective bargaining. The two volumes gave the unions their rightful place in the sun.

Then followed the monumental works on *Local Government History*. Here, again, the aid they gave to our movement was immense. Not only did they show that persons endowed with intellectual capacity of the highest order, and possessing profound insight and knowledge, could be convinced Socialists, but that the history of our own country demonstrated that

State and communal action had secured great benefits for the people and that our local institutions could be developed as the organs of a Socialist Commonwealth. In a word, *Local Government History* gave a historical background to the Municipal Socialism which the Fabian Society had popularised and the Social-Democratic Federation had satirised as "Gas and Water Socialism."

The subject was not approached simply from the standpoint of the student or the academic historian entirely dependent upon books and documents as sources and guides. Having been a London County Councillor for eighteen years, and largely responsible for the policy of the Council during its early and most successful and progressive days, Sidney Webb had obtained a store of experience which enabled him and his coadjutrix to treat the story of the organised life of the parish and the Borough in the spirit of a trained specialist, and at the same time to make it live.

To this tremendous output must be added that amazing example of unwearying and penetrating research, coupled with extraordinary literary ability—the books on the *Poor Law* and *Poor Law History*, beginning with the famous *Minority Report*. It is in these works that one feels that the Webbs have made their greatest effort. It is worthy of note that one of Sidney Webb's earliest Fabian tracts published in 1890 was on the *Reform of the Poor Law*. It is a subject they have refused to allow the country to forget. We recall with gratitude and admiration the work of Beatrice Webb on the Poor Law Commission of twenty years ago, when she eclipsed all the other members by her masterly handling of the intricate problems of Poor Law administration and, together with her partner, produced proposals for preventing destitution and dealing with unemployment so excellent and reasonable that they completely overshadowed the conclusions and recommendations of the majority of the Commission.

The Webbs were not satisfied with exposing on paper the hideous failure of British methods of dealing with the problems of the poor. When the Poor Law Commission finished its deliberations they organised a big campaign for the Abolition of Destitution and the institution of ways and means of preventing instead of relieving poverty. It was a great effort. For several years speakers and writers from all camps were drawn into the job of denouncing the Poor Law from the platform and in newspapers and pamphlets. It was a genuine social crusade inspired by the creative imagination of Beatrice and Sidney Webb.

Owing to the political circumstances of the time the main object of the campaign was not

achieved; but the Poor Law has never recovered from the attack made upon its principles and administration. It lingers on disliked and discredited, waiting for an energetic and capable Minister of Health to finish the task begun so ably by the Webbs, and to carry out the full scheme of reform they have given to the country.

It was not mere intellectual interest which caused the Webbs to devote so much of their time to the task of exposing the futilities and cruelties of the Poor Law system; it was a heartfelt desire to abolish poverty, the causes and ghastly effects of which they knew at first-hand. Whatever the subject may be which occupies them, whether it be "Local Government," "Trade Unionism," "Liquor Licensing," "The King's Highway," "Problems of Modern Industry," "Education," "The New Social Order," or "Factory Legislation," it is the great evil of poverty which really moves them, and how to abolish it is the question which interests them above all others.

In formulating their Socialist philosophy, the Webbs have taken great care to limit their horizon. They have never assumed the role of world-prophets or world-reformers. They have written, generally speaking, for the British people concerning British social conditions; their plans and schemes and constitutions have been drawn up in harmony with British history, tradition, and character. They have never advised Socialists of other countries to try to establish bodies similar to the Fabian Society, or even the Labour Party which are typically English growths and most probably would not flourish if planted in any other land. According to the Webbs, each nation must find its own road to the Socialism which suits its own peculiar genius. Socialists of the world should certainly unite in a common purpose, but they must use their brains upon the varying circumstances which confront them, and not act as if all necessary thinking had been accomplished by leaders now dead. And they must make up their minds that they cannot all go the same way to the same ideal home.

Nevertheless, in spite of their refusal to take the whole globe as their field of operations, the teachings of the Webbs have modified profoundly the doctrines held by Socialists in other countries. Without attacking or criticising Karl Marx, by their scientific examination and presentation of the modern developments of capitalist society they have gradually replaced the catastrophic theory of social change which used to be prevalent in continental Socialist circles by a belief in steady, gradual evolution towards a new order, owing to the resistless logic of social and economic events. Revisionism,

which, outside of Russia, reflects the views of the majority of European Socialists, owes its origin to the influence of Fabian doctrines for which the Webbs are largely responsible.

Another side of the work of the Webbs must not be overlooked: the intellectual guidance they have given to individual members of our movement, notably the young. In the past an impression was abroad—it has now disappeared—that both Beatrice and Sidney Webb were cold, unapproachable, and inclined to treat the ordinary mortal as a negligible quantity, especially in the matter of brains. Why this opinion should ever have been current it is difficult to understand. It is true they have no particular use for those persons who mistake their facile "private emotions for public causes" and who substitute strong language for argument and clear thinking, but they have always been ready to assist earnest seekers after the way towards the Socialist faith, and those who were sincerely desirous of learning how best to aid the Socialist movement. They have positive minds, and are ever ready to listen to hazy suggestions, improve upon them, and show how they can be changed into practical plans. At times, as with all busy people occupied with important affairs, they may be impatient at stupidity or malice; but their tolerance of human weakness, waywardness, and whimsicalities is proverbial. They give advice freely, but are wise enough not to expect it to be followed. In short, to know them is not only a liberal but a real Socialist education.

There is no space left to deal with the many other spheres, including those of lecturers, politicians, administrators, educationalists, and the like, in which the Webbs have deserved well of the Commonwealth they are endeavouring to create. They have set us an outstanding example of disinterestedness and absence of personal ambition; they have taught us the necessity of undergoing the "intolerable toil of thought" if we wish to do work of a permanently useful nature; they have demonstrated without polemics the unprofitableness of the habit of purely destructive criticism which is so easy to acquire and which soon proves to be not only uninspiring but a cause of cynical pessimism. They have done more than anyone else to give a solid and truly scientific basis and method to British Socialism, and thereby earned the proud distinction conferred upon them by our opponents of being the most dangerous Socialists in the British Empire because of their knowledge, their grasp of fact and detail, their facility of expression, and their persuasiveness in expounding Socialist doctrines.

May they live many years yet and continue to add to the vast debt we owe them!

The Maxton-Cook Manifesto and Keir Hardie

[The following article on the "Class War," written by the late James Keir Hardie and published in the "Labour Leader" in 1904, is of special interest in view of the issue of the Maxton-Cook Manifesto.]

IS there such a thing as a "class war," and, if so, should our Socialist propaganda be based primarily on its recognition? The question would not be one of much moment were it not for a tendency on the part of a small knot of Socialists to, mentally at least, ex-communicate all from the Socialist ranks who do not base their advocacy of Socialism on its recognition. They do not seem to see that a movement having nothing more substantial as a basis than a determination to overthrow one class in order to supplant it by another, contains within itself all the elements for its own destruction. That it is necessary to have a clear-cut conception of what Socialism is and means is at once granted; and, further, it is incumbent upon everyone to make the movement firm, strong, and self-reliant.

But I claim for the Independent Labour Party that its Socialism is above suspicion, and its independence unchallenged and unchallengable; and yet in the platform speeches or in the writing of its leading advocates the terms "class war" or "class conscious" are rarely if ever used. For my own part I have always maintained that to claim for the Socialist Movement that it is a "class war" dependent for its success upon the "class consciousness" of one section of the community is doing Socialism an injustice, and indefinitely postponing its triumph. It is, in fact, lowering it to the level of a mere faction fight. Socialism offers a platform broad enough for all to stand upon who accept its principles, and, fortunately, these are being freely accepted by many leaders of thought and opinion whose "class war" and "class conscious" interests and instincts would lead them into the opposite camp. It is a quaint spectacle to see a top-hatted, frock-coated member of the prosperous middle class sweating on a platform to prove his "class consciousness" with the poor worker. Do these men de-class themselves when they become Socialists? Or, are they traitors to their class, sort of "hand-uppers," Boers who have earned the contempt of friend and

foe by deserting from their own side and joining the fighting ranks of the enemy? I don't think so, although that is the logical outcome of their own teaching. Like others in varied walks of life they are usually better and broader than their creed.

For some reason, which I have not been able to fathom, the impression has gained ground with a section of Socialists that the leading fundamental of their creed is the proclamation of the "class war," and that no Socialist can be regarded as sound whose Socialism is not founded on his "class consciousness." I have endeavoured without success to discover upon what grounds this dogma has been imported into the Socialist propaganda. Is it of the essence of the Socialist teaching, or is it the work of commentators doing for Socialism what the schoolmen did for Christianity in the middle ages? A great principle may be so overlain by dogmatic interpretation as to be unrecognisable; nay, the dogma may in course of time come to be considered of greater importance than the principle itself. It is well, therefore, to examine with care all formulas and phrases which we are told are not only part and parcel of the true doctrine, but the only real interpretation thereof.

Now, it is not disputed that there is a conflict of interests between those who own property and those who work for wages. The tenant and his landlord and the worker and his employer have interests which lead to inevitable conflict and antagonism, and the object of Socialism is the removal of the causes which produce this antagonism, so that the human interest may at all times be the dominant one. The enlightened capitalist will be as anxious to bring this about as the enlightened workman. Both stand to gain from the change. But two points need to be emphasised here: The first is that the conflict of interests is not necessarily a class one; and the second is that the "propertyless proletariat"—to borrow William Morris's phrase—is not a class at all. It is the whole

community, minus only the propertied parasites who prey upon it.

Let me make these points clear if I can, since everything depends upon them. Capitalism is the product of selfishness, and so long as selfishness, or, as it is falsely named, individualism, continues, the evils of the present system will also remain. But selfishness is not by any means a monopoly of the rich. The same causes which lead the rich employer to lower wages or the rich landlord to raise rents operate quite as freely with working men when opportunity and self-interest dictate a like course. For example, when a co-operative store employee is overworked and underpaid—quite a common occurrence, by the way, in many parts of the country—it is not a war of “classes” we are witnessing. The shareholders in the store are all wage-earners, and the Committee of Management is very likely composed of Trade Unionists. Here it is a conflict of interests between members of the same class. When the collier sweats his haulier, the weaver his piercer, the rivetter his holder-up, and so on, it is not a “class war,” but an internecine strife between workers of the same class which has its root in selfishness.

If it were possible for the ownership of land and capital to be transferred from the rich to the poor to-morrow, but in such a way that each trade would have an interest in oppressing every other, the change would be for the worse rather than for the better.

Socialism makes war upon a system, not upon a class.

It is a mere incident of the system that it pits one class against another; and one of the dangers of a magnifying of the class war dogma is that it tends to lead men's minds away from the true nature of the struggle in which they are engaged, and to raise a totally false issue. We want to awaken in the worker a consciousness of his manhood, not of his class, since, as a matter of fact, the term “class” is a misnomer when applied to him.

My second point is so universally admitted that it only requires to be stated to be accepted. The working class is not a class; it is the nation. This being so, it is a degradation of the Socialist Movement to drag it down to the level of a mere struggle for supremacy between two contending factions. We don't want “class conscious” Socialists; we want conscious Socialists, men and women who are conscious of their Socialism, and why they are Socialists. This “class war” and “class conscious”

phrasing is, then, I submit, harmful to the cause of Socialism; harmful because it misrepresents the movement; harmful because it makes it impossible for other than working people to join the Socialist ranks without being accused by their fellows of treachery and of wearing the uniform of the enemy; harmful because it distracts attention from the real issue, and fosters a belief that mere class hatred will transform society. The less a person knows about Socialism the more likely is he to cover up his ignorance by shouting “class war” in lieu of sober argument.

Again, as Belfort Bax so ably states in his *Men versus Classes* (“The Ethics of Socialism,” page 99, *et seq.*): “All class character is bad. . . . The particular class qualities in the character of the modern capitalist may be roughly indicated by the definition, *vulgarity is a solution of hypocrisy*; the particular class qualities in the character of the modern proletarian as *brutality is a solution of servility*.” To emphasise the class war is to emphasise these qualities, because as the same writer observes in an argument directed against the class war dogma, “Mere class instinct, which *per se* is necessarily anti-social, can never give us Socialism. That is why the most degraded section of the proletariat are, to a large extent, useless for the cause of Socialism.” I commend Mr. Bax's article to the consideration of those who are for ever elevating the class war and class consciousness into a cardinal article of Socialist faith.

Socialism declares war upon a system, not upon a class; to carry it forward successfully we want to enlist conscious Socialists irrespective of class. Further, I hold the opinion strongly that the insistence upon the class war and class consciousness is an injustice to the Socialist Movement.

These terms may be fittingly used in connection with Trade Unionism, which assumes the permanence of employers and employed as two distinct classes with divergent interests; but since Socialism aims at the blending of the classes into one human family such catchwords should not be used dogmatically as part of the Socialist faith, but solely, when used at all, as illustrations of the need there is for the application of the principles of Socialism to modern industry.

The class war dogma is admittedly based on the theory of Socialism set forth in the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels, which was written in 1847, when Europe was a seething, turgid mass of revolutionary

enthusiasm. It is an exposition of Socialism from the Materialistic or Hegelian point of view, which was then much in vogue. It does not touch one human sentiment or feeling. However correct it may be as a form of words, it is lacking in feeling, and cannot now be defended as being scientifically correct. It entirely leaves the human element out of account. Evolution is not all class struggle; and even where it assumes that form it is but the outward expression of an inner fact. The Materialistic theory, as expounded in the Manifesto, makes no allowance for the law of growth or development. Right throughout creation there is a principle at work which ever seeks to find expression for itself in some higher or more perfect form of individual life or social organisation.

On no other theory is evolution explainable; and when we seek to narrow progress down to a mere struggle between contending factions, we are mistaking the outward form for the inward reality and overlooking the most important factor in the situation.

But the main thought underlying the class war theory is that Socialism is revolutionary, and can only be accomplished by means of a revolution. The "violent overthrow" of the bourgeoisie by means of "open war" is ever the goal in view. As a necessary corollary to this, reforms proposed by Governments are merely intended to cloak the true nature of

the war of classes, and meant to "secure the continued existence of bourgeois society." Again, I dissent from both these propositions. That Socialism is revolutionary is not in dispute, but that it can only be won by a violent outbreak is in no sense true. Nor do I admit that reforms are made from any such sordid motive. There is a growing social conscience which counts for much in these reforms. Take child labour: here we have the "bourgeoisie" actually legislating in advance of the opinion of the "proletariat," although the latter stand to gain and the former to lose from the change. I can imagine one reform after another being won until in the end Socialism itself causes no more excitement than did the extinction of landlordism in Ireland a year ago. No revolution can succeed which has not public opinion behind it, and when that opinion ripens it, as we have seen over and over again, breaks down even the walls of self-interest.

As a matter of fact, the whole thesis upon which the class war was formulated is now antiquated and out of date. As Engels himself states: "The practical application of the principles (of the Manifesto) will depend on the historical conditions for the time being existing." If only modern Socialists would keep this truth in mind, the movement would be freed from some of its dogmatic cerement and make more headway.

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Rates, Productive Industry, and Labour

By

THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM GRAHAM, M.P.

THE broad object of the Government's rating proposals is to afford relief to productive industry. To that end a fund will be constituted, amounting in the aggregate to £25,000,000 to £30,000,000 per annum, made up of the proceeds of a petrol tax of 4d. per gallon, plus certain other revenues. That fund, however, will not be available for practical assistance until the late autumn of 1929. Meanwhile, steps will be taken in legislation to define the classes of establishment entitled to relief of local rates up to three-quarters of the annual burden. The Rating and Valuation (Apportionment) Bill distinguishes agricultural, industrial, and freight-transport hereditaments. The Government proposes to complete the scheme of the Agricultural Rates Acts by removing the remaining one-quarter of local rates on agricultural property, that is, land and other elements in cultivation. For all practical purposes in the rural areas local rates will remain only on dwelling-houses and such parts of an agricultural hereditament as are not used for strictly agricultural purposes. Industrial hereditaments must be definitely productive in character, in the sense of falling within the category of mine, workshop, or factory. In such cases relief will be given to the extent of 75 per cent. of the burden of local rates. All distributive, luxury, and other establishments will be excluded, together with municipal enterprise, the buildings of public utility societies, and similar industrial effort.

As regards the industrial hereditaments entitled to relief distinction will be drawn between their definitely productive side and that devoted to administration. If the latter is less than 10 per cent. of the whole, the complete hereditament will be entitled to 75 per cent. relief; if the administrative or official side is more than 10 per cent. of the whole, rates will be imposed upon the excess. Freight-transport hereditaments are in a peculiar position. They include railway undertakings and forms of dock transport; but the object is merely to secure a reduction in the charges for the carriage of certain classes of merchandise, including coal, iron and steel, agricultural products, and others, the railway companies and transport agencies covered being merely a channel through which this relief will be afforded to such sections of productive industry.

Finally, this scheme will be supplemented in the autumn of 1928 by legislation designed to recast part of the relationship between national and local finance. In substance the Government intend to introduce a scheme of block grants for certain services. These block grants will be in effect an allocation of certain sums from the National Exchequer for a period of years; so far they will be of the nature of a guarantee or promise of at least that amount to the local authorities. Within the block grants the ordinary percentage system will operate. It is also intended to make special provision for necessitous areas by a formula which will increase the amounts payable to them within the block grant system, probably up to a point at the expense of more highly-favoured districts with lower rates. This part of the scheme is at the present time quite vague and general in character; presumably it is intended to supplement the Government's proposals as applied to productive industry; but there can be little doubt that from another angle it must be regarded as a safeguard for the National Exchequer, in that the main idea is to determine the amount for which year by year the Exchequer will be responsible.

The local authorities will probably be soothed by the promise of rather greater freedom in administration; that is, a smaller measure of the tolerably complete central control which is an essential part of the percentage method. The Government's plans fall, therefore, into three stages: (1) The ingathering of the necessary resources from petrol tax and other revenues, designed to yield in the near future a sum exceeding £25,000,000 per annum; (2) the legislative definition of the industrial undertakings, devoted to production, to be entitled to the 75 per cent. relief from local rates; and (3) the inauguration of what is apparently a partial plan of readjustment in the relations of national and local expenditure. The three stages are closely related to one another, and, strictly speaking, the scheme should be considered as a whole. Its economic and other weaknesses are plainly apparent. And the Government probably recognises that much of it is definitely experimental in character.

In summary these objections are: (a) the distinction between productive and distributive

is artificial and unscientific ; (b) with an aggregate national burden in local rates of approximately £160,000,000 per annum, a scheme covering only £25,000,000 per annum touches but a corner of the field ; (c) to be effective in the case of the distressed industries, it should be concentrated definitely upon them, whereas the relief is to be given to prosperous and poor alike, the Government contending that they cannot pick and choose, and that any other policy would "penalise efficiency," a confusion of profit and efficiency which must be amusing to leaders in the distressed industries ; (d) much of the difficulty in the export trades (a large part of the present problem) is due to international economic and other restriction, which the mere readjustment of a domestic rate liability cannot substantially affect ; and (e) in practice the concession is simply a contribution mainly from the prosperous motor industry and from motor vehicle users in Great Britain to subsidise certain phases of productive industry exposed to heavy weather and other phases which on their own showing have no need of assistance whatever ; and (f) householders (who in fact contribute the great bulk of the local rates), shopkeepers, and others get no concession of any kind.

As regards the necessitous areas the plan, still somewhat obscure, clearly intends nothing more than limited concession on a formula within a block system of national grants ; and that concession also does not begin to operate until practically the beginning of 1930, by which time the industrial problem of Great Britain may have concluded that it had better try to take care of itself. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, feeling the force of much of the criticism on these lines, selects typical lists of industrial establishments, especially in the heavy trades, and suggests that for them the relief must be substantial. Within limits that is true ; but the recovery of productive industry cannot be built on such a foundation, for the anomalies created by the scheme very soon get the upper hand of its advantages. Further, the plan adopted by the Government has not been recommended by any of the Royal Commissions or Departmental Committees entrusted with the analysis of national and local taxation within recent times. These included the Royal Commission of 1896, the Departmental Committee on Local Taxation which reported in 1914, and the Meston Committee on the percentage grant system, which sat from 1922 to 1924, but did not present a formal report.

By way of alternative there is little doubt

that the Labour Movement would prefer the plan which appears to emerge from an impartial review of the evidence tendered to these bodies. That plan would transfer to the State certain services plainly national in character, such as Poor Law relief, especially as related to the care of the unemployed. Economically there is the advantage of transferring duties to national taxation, which goes nearer to the principle of ability to pay and removing them from local rates, which only in the roughest possible fashion have any relation to ability to pay. In that way the benefit would be spread over the whole of the community ; at best the Government scheme is an attack on only a corner of the field, and an ill-directed attack at that. But to such a transfer must be added a comprehensive plan for the reconstruction of national and local finance. If block grants are arranged in such a way as to encourage the development of local social services they may have advantages as compared with an unreformed percentage grant system ; but the Labour Movement must exercise the greatest care as to the form in which the change is made. Such a readjustment could, rightly handled, provide for greater freedom from the present meticulous central control exercised over the local authorities by the Ministry of Health and other Departments ; give the locality a greater chance of imaginative effort ; free the central department for more important tasks, such as the grading of areas for the purposes of national contribution, the working out of costing schemes in the various services wherever possible, the establishment of a national standard of efficiency, comparison of the efforts of the various areas to ascertain their relationship to that standard, and, in short, the statesmanship in such tasks which should be true of a central department rather than the present triumph (or substantial triumph) of routine.

In all probability that is the general line which the Labour Movement would follow. One of the greatest dangers of the local government aspects of the present scheme is that the system of block grants which is contemplated may either tend to increase the burden of the local ratepayers or restrict the development of essential services. Block grants as pursued by a Labour Government must be of definite encouragement to the locality in such progress ; rightly understood, that is not the waste that our opponents allege, but a definite economy of the right type, especially in so far as the development of these services is, in spheres like public health, of high preventive value.

Slavery in India

By

A. A. PURCELL, M.P.

A MOST degrading and oppressive system of slavery exists in India: a slavery as cruel and abominable as any that has ever been practised in the history of the human race. That may appear a strong statement to make, but its truth can be proved by facts, and I am convinced that a thorough investigation of those facts will make that statement appear mild and colourless. No words can be found in the English language to fully express the detestation which an ordinary free, sensible, normal humane person must feel in regard to such a system.

In the report* of the Trades Union Congress Delegation to India, we—that is, my colleague, Mr. Joseph Hallsworth, and myself—have set out, in the space available, the results of our investigations into the living and working conditions of the Indian toilers. Our investigations were concerned, principally, with conditions appertaining to industry. During the comparatively short time at our disposal we devoted most of our attention to the effect of the rapid development of Western industrialism in India. We visited mills, mines (coal and gold), factories, workshops, and plantations run on capitalist lines, and noted how the Indian workers were employed, their hours of labour and working conditions, their housing conditions and standards of living. We have stated the plain facts of the position in our report.

There is no doubt whatever that the Indian wage-earners are hideously exploited, receiving in wages just sufficient to sustain their hungry existence from day to day. *But there is a background to this. The human fodder for Indian industrialism could not be found unless their previous condition was equally as miserable or more so.*

India is overwhelmingly an agrarian country. The vast majority of its people are agriculturists: tillers of the soil. The Indian workers would not leave the land to go into the mills, factories, and mines unless there were inducements, attractions, economic advantages. The degraded conditions of the Indian industrial wage-earners are, in a measure, consequent on the degraded conditions of the agrarian workers: it is the poor peasantry which provides the great reservoir of

Indian industrial labour. And it follows from this that to effect really substantial improvement in the standards of the mill and factory workers, miners and railwaymen, attention must also be given to improving the conditions of those engaged in agriculture.

India is a vast territory, and has probably as many nationalities as there are in Europe. These different peoples are in varying degrees of economic and cultural development. It is difficult, except on broad lines, to indicate the precise condition of the agricultural workers in a general way. One can say, however, with absolute truth, that the main bulk are very poor and on the border-line of famine. Then the landowner and the moneylender play a very important part—a cruel and tyrannical part—in the lives of the peasantry all over India. The moneylender is an unmitigated curse.

A student of pre-capitalist economic conditions would, no doubt, find many points of similarity between the conditions of the peasantry everywhere, beginning perhaps with India and China, including Russia, and concluding with France and Germany. There is the same grim struggle with the soil; the same lifelong gamble with the forces of nature. Peasant conditions represent a certain stage of historical development. The French peasant village of to-day is not so far removed—economically and socially—from the remote Russian peasant village, and that in its turn is not so very different—making allowances, of course, for climate and racial character—from the primitive peasant communities of India or China. The hunger for land is common to all. Very much the same problems crop up, in regard, for instance, to landowning and the division of the land amongst the relations on the death of the original owner. And we suppose that the moneylender and the petty trader have always been equally in evidence as have the priest and the big landowner.

But in certain parts of India, the landowner and the moneylender, sometimes they are one and the same person, have made their power practically absolute. The peasants are serfs, and in some cases slaves.

In certain Indian States, where the Rajahs exercise their sway as of old and indulge in their traditional pomp and splendour, a system of medieval despotic autocracy prevails. Begar or forced labour is common.

* *Report on Labour Conditions in India.* By A. A. Purcell, M.P., and J. Hallsworth. Published by the Trades Union Congress General Council. Price 1s.

Then there is the long-standing institution of Kamiauti, or the system of a peasant borrower working for a moneylender until the amount of the loan is repaid.

The usurer has always had a way with him, but in those districts where Kamiauti or the Kamia system obtains, the "Shylocks" are not satisfied even with a pound of flesh, they take the lot, and that for generation after generation.

My friend Mr. C. F. Andrews, the Chairman of the All-India Trades Union Congress, has supplied me with a copy of the *Report on Survey and Settlement of Hazariburgh District (1908-1915) in the Chota Nagpur Division*. In order to explain just precisely what the Kamiauti system is, I cannot do better than quote from this report:—

"There is spreading over the district a most dangerous tendency to do more than keep the raiyats (peasants) in a *proper state of subjection* (italics mine—A. A. P.), and to eliminate them altogether by means of the system known as Kamiauti, and to substitute serf cultivation for cultivation by a free peasant class.

"Kamias are bond servants of their masters; in return for a loan received, they bind themselves to perform whatever menial services are required of them *in lieu of the interest due on the loan*. There is found to be in every district a constantly fluctuating proportion of landless labourers among the agricultural classes: men who have fallen into the hands of moneylenders and lost their holdings. Such men may emigrate, or remain free labourers—or become Kamias. The least enterprising amongst them commonly fall to the last position. The demand for free labour is not constant in any locality, and the labourers must be frequently changing their homes.

Landlords employing labour for the cultivation of their private land prefer to have first call on the labourers they require, hence the practice arose of binding the labourers by means of an advance, given conditionally upon their services remaining always at the call of the landlord for purposes of agriculture. Such labourers get a daily wage in kind, for those days on which they work for their creditor. But in practice the system leads to the absolute degradation of the Kamias. In the first place the Kamia cannot bargain about his wages. He must accept the wage that is customary for the landlords to give to his class, which is $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers of unhusked paddy, yielding about $\frac{3}{4}$ seer of rice, or its equivalent in some other grain. The wages are invariably paid in grain and not in cash, and represent only one-third of a day's wage for free labour, paid, for example,

by a contractor for 'road repair' work. If the Kamia's wife also works for his master, she receives a slightly smaller remuneration, and their joint wages are not sufficient to feed properly themselves and the normal family of children which they are certain to possess. Secondly, the Kamia never sees any money, unless it be the occasional few pice he may earn as a palki-bearer in his spare time, which he naturally spends on drink. Consequently, he has no chance of ever repaying the principal of his debt and becoming a free man again. *A Kamiauti bond therefore involves a life sentence.*

"Thirdly, the condition becomes hereditary. Although the son is not responsible for his father's debt after his death, *a new debt is always contracted on behalf of the son, on the occasion of his marriage, which renders him also a Kamia for life. The landlords of the North Chatra generally took keenly after the maintenance of the breed of Kamias, and insist on the marriage of the sons at the proper time.*

"*The restriction of his movements renders the Kamia nothing better than a slave.* An absconding Kamia is unable to find an asylum anywhere in any part of the area where the system is prevalent. The landlords as a class combine to maintain the system, and to return to his master any Kamia taking shelter in their villages, and in the past the police have helped (unofficially) to track them down and recover the runaways. On his return, the Kamia is bullied and ill-treated, and having no money at all he is unable to appeal to the courts for redress and protection. The sale and purchase of Kamias is by no means uncommon in the N.W. of the district. The price is the amount of the Kamia's debt. It is probably understood that a higher price would be an offence under the laws concerning slavery, and the transaction is therefore formally represented as the taking over of the debt . . .

The Kamia class is a growing one, for the Babham landlords aim directly at the enslavement of the aboriginal classes within their villages. In the N.W. of the district, i.e., in the Thanas Hunterganj, Parlappur, and Chatru, the system is at its worst, and has almost extinguished the Rayati population . . . In North Chatra practically the whole Bhuiya population is now in bondage. The material condition of the Kamias is abject poverty. In appearance, they are underfed and anaemic. They are stunted, mentally and physically, and are regarded by their masters as little better than human cattle."

The paddy which the Kamia receives is not a wage, in the true sense of the word, any more than the feed which the rider gives to his horse can be called a wage. It is important that this

aspect of the matter should be grasped. The food dole is given only when the Kamia is working. The Kamia system does not provide regular employment nor any food during unemployment. Kamias can only count on a period of regular employment from their masters during the busy agricultural season, that is to say, during the times when there is great and general demand for labour. At other times they may or may not be set to grass or fuel, or to fence their owner's *bari* or to repair his house. They receive a dole of food only on the days on which they work, and their owners assume no responsibility to provide work at any time unless it suits their convenience to do so. If a Kamia owner has a small estate, his slave may be left without employment for 100 days in the year. This fact, coupled with the owner's refusal to allow his Kamias to get out of touch with him, makes their position simply terrible. During the times of scarcity there is little demand for labour, and the Kamias, within prescribed units, are allowed to shift for themselves.

"As a general rule, however, an owner, unless he himself is reduced to great straits," says the report on Survey and Settlement (1913-1920) of Palaman District in the Chota Nagpur Division, *"will not allow an efficient Kamia to actually die of starvation lest he should lose his services, but he will do nothing for a slave who has grown too old to work."*

In some cases, we are told in this report, a Kamia gets a very small portion of service land which is called *palhatti*. It generally amounts to about a quarter of a *bigha* of poor rice land, and the value of its gross produce is 3R's or 4R's (4s. 6d. to 6s.) a year. He builds his own house on a bit of unoccupied *tam* land. He generally has no movable property at all, except the clothes he wears, and the cooking pots given him at his marriage. He never earns any money, and is utterly unable to seek redress in the courts or elsewhere for the ill-treatment that may be awarded him. He possesses no reserves of food, and often goes all day without a single meal, and in the hungry months and the hot weather he sometimes has to pass days without a meal at all.

Another report states that: "While some Kamias are only called on to work at the ploughing season, many work two out of three days on an average; others, again, are more or less whole-time handymen, and day and night at their master's back and call. It is clear that in this way the Kamia can never hope to save enough money to pay off his original debt, even if other difficulties were not thrown in the way. *Once a Kamia, always a Kamia, and the father of Kamias, unless he can somehow escape or disappear without paying his debt.*"

The Kamia system is reported to be at least a century old. It is operative in a number of districts in India. Mr. H. Philpott, writing on the Kamia system, says that it is "not limited to Chota Nagpur, or even to Bihar. It is known in Monaghyr and Bhazalpur divisions, and I am told that a similar system holds in Orissa. Cases came under my notice some years ago in Mirzapur district, United Provinces. In the Chota Nagpur Settlement, which concluded in 1918, the Kamia system in Palaman was found so common as to call for special attention, and the cases of 10,472 Kamias were examined. It was then estimated that the Kamia population of the district, including dependents, amounted to 60,000, or 9 per cent. of the total population." He says further: "Usually, they (the Kamias) have mortgaged their liberty for 40R's (£3) or less, at a time when money was urgently required for a funeral or a wedding, for the payment of rent, or even the purchase of food when times were bad. The Kamia is required to execute a bond, which, though generally put in writing, is never registered, and the only copy made remains with the lender.

The borrower agrees to work for the lender (without cash remuneration) until the loan is repaid in full. Quite often interest is added, but frequently labour is reckoned in lieu of interest, and only the original sum is named for repayment. As each Kamia is quite illiterate, he has no means of knowing that what he has agreed to is actually written in the bond he has accepted.

Formerly, it was quite ordinary for a man, on receiving such a comparatively trifling sum of money, to agree that his son after him should carry on and work so long as the debt remained unpaid.

As many as two-thirds in large groups of these bond servants have been found to be the sons of Kamias, either working for a debt of their fathers', or compelled by circumstances to engage themselves similarly."

We are generally informed that the Kamia system is extending. Over 20 years ago Sir William Hunter urged that it was necessary to have this cheap labour to ensure the cultivation of the soil. The facts prove that the soil is not so cultivated under the Kamia system as formerly. Here is a great field for inquiry. Some attention has been given to the matter by the authorities, but only in a casual and ineffective way. Here is a chance for the Imperial and Indian Governments to take action to end this horrible system of slavery.

It will be hard, indeed, to justify British rule in India amongst free peoples so long as this miserable system prevails.

The Commonwealth Labour Conference

By

HARRY SNELL, M.P.

THE British Commonwealth Labour Conference, which meets in London during the first week in July, is an event of unusual importance, not merely to the Labour Movement throughout the Empire, but also to the Empire itself. The fact that representatives of Labour Parties from every part of the vast and scattered territories under the British rule have been invited to attend makes the Conference of special significance, for it is a recognition of the fact that the principles on which the Labour Party in our own country is based are capable of being universally applied, and that the British worker is anxious that the humblest coloured worker in any colony or protectorate under the British Crown should receive and enjoy the justice which he asks for himself.

The British Labour Movement will be represented at the Conference as follows:—

General Council of the Trades Union Congress:

Mr. Ben Turner, J.P., Mr. A. Hayday, M.P., Mr. E. L. Poulton, Mr. A. Purcell, M.P., Miss Julia Varley, Mr. W. M. Citrine.

National Executive Committee of the Labour Party: Mr. G. Lansbury, M.P., Right Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., Right Hon. F. O. Roberts, M.P., Harry Snell, M.P., Right Hon. C. P. Trevelyan, M.P., Right Hon. A. Henderson, M.P.

Parliamentary Labour Party: Right Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P., Mr. A. V. Alexander, M.P., Mr. Thomas Johnston, M.P., Mr. J. Stewart, M.P., Lord Olivier, Mr. H. S. Lindsay.

The following organisations have been invited to the Conference:—

Australian Labour Party and Trade Unions, British Guiana Labour Union, Canadian Labour Party, Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, Independent Labour Party of Ontario, Independent Labour Party of Manitoba, Ceylon Labour Union, All-India Trades Union Congress, Irish Labour

Party and Trades Union Congress and Northern Ireland Labour Party, Newfoundland Federation of Labour, New Zealand Labour Party and Alliance of Labour, Socialist Labour Party "Achduth Haaavoda" and General Federation of Jewish Labour in Erez-Israel (Palestine), Rhodesian Labour Party, South African Labour Party, South African Trades Union Congress, Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa, Trinidad Working Men's Association.



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Inter - Commonwealth Conferences of this kind are usually difficult to organise, owing to the different circumstances prevailing in the separate areas and the difficulties experienced in delayed communications and in securing absence from their home duties of delegates at one selected time. Thus New Zealand will not be represented at the Conference owing to the impending General Election in that dominion. It is believed, however, that the Conference will be thoroughly representative of the Empire as a whole, and that its discussions will help to clear up many matters that

cannot suitably be dealt with by correspondence.

It should be borne in mind that these Conferences—this being the third that has been held—do not meet and deliberate in accordance with a common constitution with settled and accepted rules, but those who attend them are representative of the Labour organisations of the countries from which they come, and they all accept the same general principles of social, political, and economic development.

The Conference will extend over six sessions, and the agenda includes addresses and discussions on:—

1. Subject Peoples.
2. Inter-Commonwealth Relations: Political.
3. World Peace.
4. State Trading within the British Commonwealth.

5. Migration.
6. Socialisation : Policies of Commonwealth Labour Movements and Results.
7. Social Insurance Schemes : Reciprocity.
8. Inter-Commonwealth Labour Relations : Industrial and Political.

This Agenda was in the main determined by the discussions which took place at the second Conference held two years ago, when instructions were given that these matters should receive further consideration. The renewed consideration of these problems will be both informing and interesting and the discussions will do much towards promoting that common understanding and outlook which it is the special aim of the Conference to achieve.

Critics of the policy and activities of the British Labour Party frequently assert that it either ignores or seriously under-estimates the urgency and importance of dominion and colonial development, and that its attention is almost exclusively devoted to current domestic matters affecting the wage-earners of this country. Such criticism is partly right, but for the most part wrong. The problems of unemployment, wages, conditions of labour, education, public health, and standards of life have of necessity and with design been placed in the forefront of the Labour Party's programme, and it was anxious not to neglect its home duties by appearing to cast its eyes on the ends of the earth.

Nevertheless, the contention that the Labour Party is not interested in the political and economic possibilities of a scientifically organised British Commonwealth of Nations has behind it neither knowledge nor understanding. It doubtless inherited its share of the old Whig anti-colonial prejudice which has descended to every political group, but the Labour Party has never been afraid either of the greatness of the British Empire or of the distance from the centre of government of its separate parts. Individualism on the part of a nation is no more commendable than on the part of a single unit of its population, and the Labour Party is undeniably favourable to the idea of a group of self-governing nations living happily together and co-operating with each other for agreed ends, under the general principles of the British Constitution. Many of the speakers and writers of the Labour Party have indeed taken a leading part in the work of promoting closer relations between the Dominions and the centre

of the Empire and in furthering the essential principle of trusteeship in our relations with the Crown Colonies, Protectorates, and Mandated Territories, which is now the declared aim of British policy.

This anxious concern for the good of the Commonwealth as a whole is well illustrated by the work of the Labour Commonwealth group of members of the House of Commons. Throughout the whole of this Parliament this group has met weekly to consider some specific problem affecting the welfare of some Dominion or colony, and there is no portion of the Empire that has not been the subject of its study. Moreover, during the short time that a Labour Government held office it gave abundant proof both of its interest in and understanding of Empire problems, and it sufficiently indicated its policy in regard to them.

The Conference will, therefore, have behind it the efficiency and interest which close study of Empire problems has developed, and British thought and policy will be stimulated and strengthened by contact with the virile minds of the delegates from Canada, Australia, South Africa, India, and every other part of the Empire ; while these delegates will take back to their own lands the experience gathered from their colleagues in other parts of the world.

It is impossible, in the space available for this article, to give a satisfactory resume of the special reports on specific problems which have been supplied in answer to well considered questionnaires, by the separate Dominions and colonies, and by the British Trades Union Congress and British Labour Party, but they contain material of great interest and importance which will be valuable as a starting point for discussion and development.

The history of British colonial development is not without its sordid incidents, nor is it free from errors of rule and conduct which arouse both shame and indignation. The Labour Party does not seek to hide or to excuse those errors, but it cannot alter the past and it has to face things as they are. The failures of the past belong to history and they cannot be erased from its pages. It is possible, however, to make amends for them by passing on to future generations of subject peoples in the British Empire, benefits which will enormously outweigh the mistakes and wrongs of the past. Towards this worthy end the British Commonwealth Conference is destined to make a special and valuable contribution.

Where the Money Comes From

LIGHT ON THE MYSTERY OF COMMUNIST FINANCE

IN his concluding article dealing with Communist influences in the Trade Unions, Mr. Walter Citrine referred to the incessant and frantic campaigns carried on by the Communist Party and the National Minority Movement, and asked who financed these campaigns. "Who is paying for the numerous workshop bulletins that appear in the mining, textile, engineering, shipbuilding, and a host of other industries? Obviously they are not self-supporting. The one Communist 'weakly,' which is compelled by law to publish its accounts, shows a loss of something like £10,000 on a year's working. Where does this money come from? From whence is derived the money to finance the myriad of national organisations and organisers that are subsidiary to the Communist organisation. Perhaps it falls, like the gentle rain, from heaven, or perhaps it comes from Moscow on the strictly business terms that 'those who pay the piper will call the tune.'"

If any Trade Unionist is simple-minded enough to believe that rank and file contributions constitute the main portion of Communist revenue, let him look at the response made to the Communist Party appeals for their various "Special Funds," and then consider the mystery of Communist finance.

In the middle of May last an appeal was made for a General Election Fund. The money is needed to finance the score or more of Communist candidates placed in the field against the candidates of the Labour Party. Circulars were issued to all the local Communist Party organisations, stressing the tremendous political importance of the Fund, and asking that at all Party meetings a retiring collection be made for the Fund. Communist speakers were instructed to support the appeal. The Communist publications have made a special feature of it. Yet the net result of this urgent pressure upon the rank and file of the Communist organisations is at the time of writing that the Communist Party General Election Fund stands at £61 17s. 4½d. The Fund was established by glaring head-lines announcing, "A Lead from the Leaders," and in the list of contributions published in the Communist Press covering a period of four or five weeks, the names of Communist officials recur as having donated 5s. or 7s. 6d. to the Fund each week. It may be observed that there is not only a striking disparity in the amounts

contributed by certain of the self-styled leaders, but that others are entirely absent. It cannot be that they believe in hiding their beneficence under anonymity, because the totals for the rank and file, when the "voluntary" contributions of the Communist officials are deducted, appear to be about £2 per week or less. There is no evidence here to support the much-vaunted claim of the Communists that they have the backing of the rank and file in the Trade Union and Labour Movements.

Nor is there any greater support forthcoming from the Communist membership for other funds. For months, and even years, the principal weekly journal of the Communists has been appealing to its readers for financial support. It boasts of a large circulation. It claims to be the one honest and fearless journal published in support of the workers' cause. The publishers of this journal were originally formed as a Limited Liability Company, and, strange to say, its registered shareholders, all of whom were known Communists, had sums invested varying from £150 to £500. Is it that these self-sacrificing representatives of the rank and file had a sufficient bank balance to be able to invest hundreds of pounds as shares in an obviously hopeless financial venture, or may it be that they are acting as nominees or straw men for the Communist International? A full-time representative is maintained by this particular journal, whose only business appears to be to travel about the country, organising meetings in support of the paper, establishing local machinery for extending its circulation and generally whipping up rank and file enthusiasm on its behalf. Over a long period these frantic appeals have produced a very small amount of money.

Not by the contributions of their own members, therefore, are the Communist Party, the Minority Movement, and their allied organisations able to obtain the money they require to pay for their horde of officials and to meet the expenses connected with the so-called rank and file conferences, or to provide the subsidies required by their weekly and monthly publications. The conferences of the Communist Party, the Minority Movement, and the other Communist bodies alone must entail a very considerable expense. It is loudly proclaimed that the delegates to these conferences come direct from the workshop. Their travelling expenses must be paid and they

no doubt receive some allowance in respect of the wages they lose through attendance at the conferences. Where does the money come from?

Light has been thrown upon this dark mystery by the report, just published (Cmd 3125, price 1s.), embodying the result of an inquiry into certain transactions of the Bank for Russian Trade Limited, and the Moscow Narodny Bank Limited. This inquiry was undertaken by representatives of the Home Secretary in consequence of a question addressed to him in the House of Commons on April 19th last. He was asked whether, in view of the fact that Bank of England notes found on the persons described as "Irish Gunmen," arrested before Easter for being in illegal possession of fire-arms, had been traced to a Russian Bank in this country, he would make inquiries as to whether any of the money standing to the credit of Russian trading organisations in this country was being used in an attempt to foment and organise revolutionary action here. Both the Banks referred to, it is only fair to say, wrote to offer facilities for inquiry into the alleged transaction.

The investigation which followed was made as a result of the Home Secretary's acceptance of this offer by the Banks. The inquiry resolved into two parts: (1) An inquiry into the circumstances in which two £10 Bank of England notes, found in the possession of Michael Burke (alias Smith), had passed through the Bank for Russian Trade Limited. (2) An inquiry into the circumstances in which certain Treasury Notes traced to Communist organisations in this country had passed through the Moscow Narodny Bank Limited.

The inquiry concerning the two £10 notes found in the possession of the Irish Gunman is briefly described: The Home Office investigators, having the numbers of the two Banknotes, were able to ascertain that they were originally obtained from the Bank of England through the Midland Bank, and were sent on the same day (November 9, 1927), to a German Bank, described in the report as a Soviet institution.

The inquiry, therefore, established the fact that the two Bank of England notes in question formed part of a consignment of notes despatched by the Bank for Russian Trade in this country to a Soviet institution in Berlin. How they came into the possession of Michael Burke (alias Smith) the Home Office investigators are unable to say, as the subsequent movement of the notes had not been traced when their report was published.

No direct connection has been traced between the Communist organisation in this country and the man involved in this particular financial

transaction. The Home Office inquiry regarding the other financial transaction described in this report does, however, definitely establish the fact of such a connection, they prove that large sums of money were passing into the hands of the Communist organisations in this country through the Moscow Narodny Bank Limited. The principal agent in these transactions was W. B. Duncan, a junior clerk in the Bank's Foreign Exchange Department, who was earning a salary of £22 a month. His application for employment at the Bank stated that he was previously employed by Water's Wireless Company, Aberdeen, and by the Trades and Labour Council, Aberdeen, both of which supplied references. It was further stated that he was a member of the National Union of General Workers. He was recommended for employment by the Bank by Mr. Andrew Rothstein. Mr. Rothstein is a son of Mr. Theodore Rothstein, an important official of the Soviet Foreign Office, and formerly Soviet Minister at Teheran:—

"It has been well known for some time," says the report, "that, acting under the directions of the Third International, Andrew Rothstein has been a controlling influence in the policy of the Communist Party of Great Britain."

Here, then, we have Mr. W. B. Duncan, aged 25, starting work in the Moscow Narodny Bank as a messenger. He has been a member of the Communist Party since, at least, 1923. He became a member of the National Executive Committee of the Young Communist League in October, 1923, and in 1925 he became Secretary of a section of the National Minority Movement. It was in 1924 that he came to London and began work at the Moscow Bank. The report states that from another source it was learned that his removal to London was effected at the desire of the Communist Party.

Of their first visit to the Moscow Narodny Bank the Home Office investigators learned nothing about Mr. W. B. Duncan. They were told by the Bank officials that they were quite unable to connect any transactions at the Bank with the payments to Communist organisations of which the investigators had furnished particulars. The reticence of the Bank officials is somewhat peculiar, in view of the fact that on April 20, exactly a week before the Home Office investigators paid their first visit to the Bank, a Committee appointed by the Bank Board of Directors, in an investigation of the Bank's operations, had discovered that Duncan's current account showed a movement of considerably large sums being paid in by him and withdrawn

by him ; and in view of the difficulty of assuming that these sums were personal sums of Duncan's, they had asked him for an explanation as to the origin and ownership of the money passing through his account. Dissatisfied with the explanation he tendered the Committee decided that his further employment by the Bank must not be permitted. He was given three days in which to consider his explanation and to furnish the information the Bank desired to have from him regarding the nature of his transactions, and upon his refusal to give any more explanation he was dismissed on April 23.

Nevertheless, four days later, when the Home Office officials paid their first visit to the Bank, they were not informed of the inquiry that had taken place in the Bank concerning Duncan, nor were they told of his dismissal.

Bit by bit the investigators unravelled the story. They explain in detail the transactions of Duncan. From an unspecified source he received large quantities of American dollars, and he used his position at the Bank to convert these dollars, first, into Bank of England notes and then into £1 Treasury notes. He believed, apparently, that whilst the numbers of Bank of England notes are recorded and their movements can be traced the numbers of Treasury notes are not kept and cannot be so easily traced. In this he was mistaken. Particulars are given in the report of Treasury notes to the amount of £331, which the investigators were able to trace—through the Moscow Narodny Bank, or its messengers and Duncan—to the Communist Party and its allied bodies, between October, 1927, and March, 1928. They are only typical examples. "There can be no doubt," says the report, "that on the other occasions on which Treasury notes were obtained by the Bank, or by messengers of the Bank, in connection with Duncan's sales of dollars or withdrawals from his account, the Treasury notes so obtained also found their way to the same destination." It is added, that it has been, for a long time past, the practice of the Communist organisation to pay its workers in Treasury notes. The total amount of such payments is very considerable, and the sums referred to above, as having been identified, represent, of course, only a very small part of the actual notes passed to the Communist organisation.

"The examples we have set out above, coupled with the circumstances in which Duncan's transactions have been carried on, his known political connection with activities and his untruthful statements to us regarding

his transactions, are, we think, sufficient to demonstrate conclusively that in Duncan's transactions we have one of the channels through which the Communist Party of Great Britain and its allies receive their financial supplies. The total sum handled by Duncan, which we have been able to trace, is £14,202."

In explanation of these large transactions, Duncan himself explained that they represented the proceeds of Stock Exchange speculation which he had undertaken in conjunction with a friend employed in a commercial firm in the city. The partnership, he stated, had existed for four or five months, and was conducted on a fifty-fifty basis. The investigators put on record in blunt terms their view that Duncan's account of his transactions is "obviously untrue"; certainly it does not explain why this young clerk of 25, earning a salary of £22 a month, should be making such large contributions to the financial necessities of the Communist organisation. He admitted that he was a member of the Communist Party and of the International Class War Prisoners' Aid, but he declared that he was concerned mostly with the local activities of these bodies, and knew nothing about their central direction or the source of their funds.

Having followed up the Duncan transactions, incidentally convicting, in the course of the investigation, important officials of the bank of a strange forgetfulness in regard to transactions involving thousands of pounds, and proving, moreover, not merely forgetfulness, but positive untruthfulness on the part of some of the bank messengers, the report proceeds to give in detail the transactions carried on by F. Quelch and F. Priestley, employees of another Russian institution in this country. In these transactions, also, the procedure was followed of exchanging Bank of England notes for Treasury notes, and the passage of the Treasury notes to the Communist organisation was proved. The investigators were able to establish that on July 5, 1927, and December 21, 1927, no less than £10,330 found its way into the hands of the Communist organisation.

Associated with Quelch and Priestley in these transactions was another Communist, Alexander Squair, stated to have been in 1927 treasurer of the London District Committee of the Party. He is also said to have been closely connected with Mr. Andrew Rothstein. Quelch was an employee of Centrosoyus. His position in this organisation was a rather curious one. He was employed in the tea department, and also had charge of the building. His associate, F. Priestley, told the investigators that he was not aware that Quelch had any direct chief, or

superior officer to whom he was responsible. Quelch had a room of his own at Centrosoyus. He seems, indeed, to have been a rather privileged employee. He was able, for example, to absent himself from his work for five or six weeks at the end of 1927, when he accompanied the delegation which visited Russia, on the invitation of the Soviet Government, to attend the Anniversary Celebration in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Priestley occupied an apparently less privileged position. He was a book-keeper in the accounts department of Centrosoyus. Squair appears to have been an official of Mestkom, the Union of Soviet Employees in London. When the English branch was dissolved as a consequence of the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Russia, he was sent to Moscow to interview the headquarters of this organisation. He acted as an unofficial secretary in this period of liquidation at a salary of £40 a month, and since its re-establishment in this country he is stated to have been in its employment.

Through these three men, Quelch, Priestley, and Squair, no less than £10,330 was handled in a period of about five months. Some of the money has been definitely traced to the Communist organisation, and the report states that there can be no doubt that a good deal more money than has been definitely identified as having passed through their hands in these transactions, made its way to the same destination. It should be borne in mind that these transactions overlap to some extent the period in which Duncan was also handling immense sums of money, so that we have here a second channel of communication with the Communist organisation.

Much the same difficulties were experienced by the investigators in unravelling the intricacies of the transactions of Quelch and Priestley as they experienced in the case of Duncan. They had very much the same experience, too, of evasion, forgetfulness and concealment of essential facts on the part of responsible bank officials as have been described in the case of Duncan. Eventually the inquiry established the facts, and some of the facts are distinctly startling.

Among the £5 Bank of England notes exchanged for Treasury notes in the transactions of Priestley, Quelch, and Squair were a number known to have been handed to Mr. Shannin, Commercial Attache of the Soviet Embassy in this country. On May 25, 1927, Mr. Shannin received Bank of England notes to the amount of £20,000 from the Moscow Narodny Bank. This payment to him was debited to a German firm, Edel Metalle Vertriebs A/G., Berlin, on whose

account at the bank, Mr. Shannin had authority to draw. A specific transaction is described, by which £500 of the notes handed to Mr. Shannin were passed into the Quelch account. The first series of transactions entered into by Priestley and Quelch extended over a period of about five months. They consisted in the exchange of at least £10,330 worth of £5 for £1 Treasury notes. These £5 notes, says the report were exchanged in blocks at frequent intervals. At one period they were being exchanged at the rate of £500 a week.

"They were the actual notes which had been handed to the Commercial Attache of the U.S.S.R. at the Soviet Embassy, Chesham House, on May 25, 1927, and it is evident that they must have been in the custody of some person who paid them out to Squair, Quelch, or Priestley, as required."

Here clearly is unequivocal evidence as to the source of some, at least, of the Communist funds during this period, the Autumn of 1927. The transactions arising out of the payment to Mr. Shannin of £20,000 on May 25, 1927, says the report, "are of particular interest by showing that the financing of Communist activities in this country, was in the hands of a high officer of the Embassy itself, and not, as has been stated on many occasions, in the hands of some representative of the Communist International, for which the Soviet Government notwithstanding the evidence to the contrary, still continues to disclaim any responsibility."

The nett result of the investigation is to establish the fact that in the period under review, extending from July 5, 1927, to April 20, 1928, a total sum of not less than £27,998 passed through the channels here described, into the hands of the Communist organisation. The circumstances surrounding these transactions, the reluctance of bank officials to disclose the facts concerning them, the equivocation, denials and deliberate untruths told in respect of them are sufficient to show their real intent and purpose.

The report concludes with a memorandum of the Directors of the bank, in which it is claimed that investigation has proved that none of the capital of the bank, and none of the money under its control had been used by them directly or indirectly, for financing, subsidising, or otherwise assisting any political party or organisation, or activities not of a commercial character in this country, or elsewhere. This is not, of course, the allegation that led to the inquiry being undertaken by representatives of the Home Office.

Co-operators and Politics

THE MOVEMENT'S AGREEMENT WITH LABOUR

(FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT)

THE most "live" subject in the Co-operative Movement is still that of politics, and will no doubt remain so for a long time to come. The Movement must now become more completely political or give up the pursuit politically, because it is now existing as a house divided against itself. The signs, however, are that the Movement will make up its mind to become an organised political force, as it has been hitherto a trading force. And in regard to its recent adventure into politics, it has now reached a stage of development when it would be as injurious to the Movement to give up politics as to go forward with politics. That is the position to-day.

At the end of last December there were 444 co-operative societies paying subscriptions to the Co-operative Party, which is what may be called the Political Department of the Movement. There were, it is true, 959 societies not paying to the Party, and were, therefore, not members. But the individual membership of the 444 societies was 2,376,654, and that of the 959 societies 2,822,265. Hence the numerical position regarding membership of societies subscribing or not subscribing to politics is almost equal. Many small societies, existing within confined communities, are naturally backward in throwing themselves into the new co-operative political circle. This has been particularly the case since it was decided (as at last year's Co-operative Congress) to permit local or national Co-operative Parties to set up working arrangements with local or national Labour Parties mainly in respect to candidates and elections. But this is not compulsory but voluntary, and cannot be done if any local co-operative or Labour Party is against it. The non-compulsory element in these arrangements is carefully hidden by the capitalist Press, which continues to impress co-operators with the idea that if their society becomes a member of the Co-operative Party they *ipso facto* become members of the Labour Party. This is not so; it depends entirely upon themselves. But even if it were so, is not the working class argument in favour of it stronger and sounder than the party political prejudice against it?

An attempt was made to thrash out the matter once more at the recent Co-operative

Congress held at West Hartlepool, during the first three days of Whit week, at which there were 1,800 delegates representing retail and productive societies. There was, as usual, a loaded agenda, but it was obvious that the most absorbing topic was the resolution intended to rescind the one passed at Cheltenham in 1927, favouring an agreement between Labour and Co-operation on political matters. Although this did not come on the scene till the last two hours of West Hartlepool Congress, it was the one on which most delegates had fixed their minds whilst other business was being transacted.

During the year the opponents to the new political tendency of the movement had built their hopes on reversing the position owing to the narrow majority by which the Labour agreement was approved in 1927—this being 1,980 votes against 1,843, the total votes representing 3,823,000 members of societies. Maintained and inflamed by certain newspapers of the Conservative hue, these opponents have carried on a warfare within the movement against this courtship with the Labour Party, and they came forward with a resolution at this year's Congress with the object of ending it. This was as follows:—

(a) That the resolution regarding a closer working arrangement with the Labour Party, passed at the Cheltenham Congress of 1927, be rescinded.

(b) And that in future no alliance or working arrangement be made with any political party or religious body; strict neutrality to be observed in regard to all political and religious parties or organisations, and that all necessary steps be taken to give effect to this principle.

The resolution had been submitted by Great Horton Society (Yorkshire), which in all its vehement objections to politics of a Labour type, has been strenuously supported by the "Yorkshire Post," whose deep-rooted Tory interests and blue politics are very well known.

There was no convincing argument among the proposers of the resolution. Their prophesy of last year that politics would split the Movement has not been fulfilled. On the other hand, co-operation has continued to increase

in membership and trade. Since the Cheltenham decision was recorded, and afterwards condemned and distorted by the daily Press, even the trade of the C.W.S. has gone up from £75,000,000 at the end of 1926 to over £86,000,000 at the end of 1927. Since 1917, when it was first resolved to take up a co-operative political attitude, the membership of societies has grown from 3,835,376 to nearly 5,500,000. Share and loan capital, which the anti-politicians fear most of all, as a result of the introduction of politics, has increased from £69,355,148 in 1917 to over £170,000,000 to-day. Similarly employment and wages have extended. It may be that a comparatively few members have withdrawn capital since the Co-operative Party have shown a preference for Labour, but this has been more than counter-balanced by the investments of others who realise that co-operation and politics must bear a different and closer relationship one with another than has been the case hitherto. It is quite true there should be strict neutrality with regard to politics, but it should be a neutrality in which co-operators stand as one man (and woman) for a political party which will advance the development of the Co-operative Commonwealth, and finally achieve it.

However, the movers of the resolution had not much to say. The seconder was a gentleman who had turned from being an early disciple of Keir Hardie to a kind of reactionary Trade Unionist and anti-Labourite. The mover evidently felt that Congress was against him, and pressed for a referendum on the political question. But there was a referendum applied to the situation recently when a ballot vote of the societies was taken on whether or not the C.W.S. should contribute £1,000 to the funds of the Co-operative Party, and this ended in a majority of two to one in favour of the contribution being continued.

The discussion at Congress was not lengthy nor too fierce after all. The large gathering soon tired of the platitudes of the opponents to politics and cried loudly for a vote. The Great Horton people and their friends had not made out a convincing case, despite the assistance of the Capitalist Press. A card vote was demanded (foolishly so by the upholders of the resolution), and this showed that whilst 1,470 were in favour, 2,465 were against—a majority of 995 compared to 117 at the previous Congress. Therefore, in respect to the voluntary agreement with the Labour Party, the hands of the Co-operative Party have been strengthened.

Is this not as it should be? It seems difficult to understand how any co-operator can glance through the Congress agenda every year

without observing how many subjects of direct interest to the movement require direct interest in politics to achieve the ends in view with regard to them. And if it is necessary to work jointly with any political party, why not the Labour Party whose leaders are drawn mostly from co-operative families, and in many cases have had co-operative experience. They are, at any rate of a co-operative type, usually opposed to private trading and profiteering.

What are the subjects of Co-operative Congress as a rule? This year they included the limitation of armaments, the promotion of world peace, municipalisation or co-operation, milk supplies, education, labour conciliation machinery, representation on Government Committees, capital levy to clear war debt and reduce taxation, outlawry of war, trusts and amalgamations; and so forth.

Most of these read like House of Commons affairs, and are, at any rate, gravely affected from time to time by the political atmosphere of Parliament.

The Co-operative Party would have been wise in withdrawing its candidate from North-East Leeds without having forced Congress to spend its time on what after all was an irregularity. At the Belfast Congress in 1926 this party was given permission to form a voluntary local Co-operative Party in any district within the jurisdiction of a co-operative society not affiliated to the Co-operative Party. Leeds is in this position. Not satisfied with the society's political attitude, a number of members formed a Co-operative Party on the voluntary basis and subsequently adopted a candidate for North-East Leeds. Leeds Society objected, and a dispute arose. No settlement having been arrived at, this society had the matter fought out on the floor of Congress, with the result that a resolution was adopted demanding a withdrawal of the candidate. The Congress resolution should not have been necessary, and the Co-operative Party should be careful not to strain too much the feelings of local co-operators, at least not till the political policy of the movement has been more universally accepted.

Almost every subject that co-operators touch brings them in direct contact with politics. Take that of municipalisation or co-operative service. The two are likely to be in conflict unless an understanding can be arrived at regarding the limitation of one or the other. It is now the common practice of the municipality to supply gas, water, electricity, and provide other public services. But as municipalities are becoming more Socialist the time will come when there will be a general desire to enter other forms of public service. They

could become purveyors of food as they have become purveyors of water and lighting. If water and light, why not coal, milk, and bread?

However, this is an outlook about which the Co-operative Movement is now seriously concerning itself, probably with the belief that the distribution of commodities like coal, bread, milk, and meat should be left to a collective force other than the municipality. A special inquiry into the matter has been held by a committee of co-operators (representing all sides of the Movement), and the report of the inquirers was discussed by the West Hartlepool Congress. It was there agreed that with regard to the above-named articles the policy of the development by co-operative societies offered the most practical and satisfactory way of extending collectivist principles in meeting the needs of the community. To what extent the Labour representatives on public bodies could or would stand for this is still doubtful. For one thing co-operative societies are not yet in a position to supply public needs and could only do so by a policy of gradual development. In the meantime, are municipalities to hold aloof from trading proposals and enterprise? The two forms of trading will, no doubt, be developed together, and whether or not they would be ever merged is an outlook that will depend upon the public mind in future.

Nevertheless, the point at the moment is that it is to the Labour Party that the Co-operative recommendations have been sent by the Congress with the hope that they will be discussed by both parties to secure an understanding with co-operators as to the way they might proceed in future regarding co-operative service on the one hand, and municipalisation on the other hand.

Meanwhile education needs to be spread on the subject if the public are to be prepared to accept co-operative service. At present only 400 societies are supplying 8 per cent. of the national consumption of milk, 450 societies 20 per cent. of meat consumed, 300 societies 8 per cent. of coal, and about 600 societies from 25 to 30 per cent. of bread.

It was to be expected that Congress would accept the report of the special committee and agree that co-operative societies should be asked to take over, in the course of time, the work of supplying all households with the necessities of life. But this will not happen for many a day, and it is more important at present to fix upon a joint Co-operative and Labour plan of working towards the establishment of a collective service that one would expect should be done in more enlightened and less profiteering days by municipal institutions.

Which is preferable to the mass of people municipalisation or co-operation? Up to the present, municipalisation has met the public requirements better with regard to given necessities, and with its supplies embraces all classes of the community on a fixed price principle. Co-operators are a long way from being in a position to meet any entire public demand, and with regard to prices and dividend they cannot, and will not as yet, agree to any level common to all.

However, the movement has now resolved that it should become the provider of a collective service for the people. If the movement is not going to move more rapidly and intelligently towards these higher requirements which this wide service would entail, they may, by adhering to this resolution, become an obstacle to real municipal progress. This, for the time being, should be avoided.

Another thing, a municipality has control over its own area, and there is only one municipal authority. This is not so with Co-operation. Co-operative societies overlap, and in some districts it is not impossible to have a congestion of small societies competing, in a way, one against another in respect to membership, prices, and dividend. They should first of all put the co-operative house in co-operative order.

THE Labour Woman

EDITED BY DR. MARION PHILLIPS

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Published by the

LABOUR PARTY PUBLICATIONS DEPARTMENT,

Transport House (South Block), Smith Square,
London, S.W. 1.

THE

LABOUR MAGAZINE

*Official Journal of the Trades Union Congress
and the Labour Party*

Editorial Offices: TRANSPORT HOUSE (SOUTH
BLOCK), SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W. 1.

Telephones: VICTORIA 8016-7-8

Telegrams: LABREPCOM, CHURTON, LONDON

SIXPENCE MONTHLY, by post 7d.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION 7s.

AS we go to press, the General Council of the Trades Union Congress has decided by 15 votes to 6 at a special session to go on with the work of the Mond-Turner Conference. It has also approved by 18 votes to 4 the reports of the sub-committee, and has reviewed the progress made in these joint discussions. This survey has been made partly in preparation for the report which the General Council must present to the Congress at Swansea in September, and partly in anticipation of the resumed full conference with the Employers' Group which is to take place in the early days of July. It is understood that at the special session some members of the General Council thought it necessary to raise the question whether the Mond-Turner Conferences should be continued, on the ground that the discussions have reached the limit of their usefulness. When the work of the Conference is fully surveyed, however, we think that there will be good grounds for regarding this suggestion as untimely. Some important conclusions have already been reached, and one proposal, at least, is of such a nature as to dispose of the objection that no practical result can follow from these discussions because of the unrepresentative character of the Employers' Group. This objection has been the only substantial ground for opposition to the Mond-Turner Conferences on the part of the responsible people within the Trade Unions. It is an objection which had less weight in view of the fact that if both sides had entered these discussions as mandatory of the interests they represented it is extremely doubtful whether they would

have exercised the same freedom in the discussions, or have gone so far in the direction of a common understanding as the T.U.C. General Council and the representative Employers' Group have, in fact, been able to go. If, as a result of these present discussions, the two Employers' organisations and the General Council itself are brought together, as they quite possibly will be, this objection will disappear.

* * *

FULL details are not available yet regarding the proposal to set up a permanent joint body, on the lines of a National Economic Council, which, as Mr. Walter Citrine, the Congress Secretary, was able to say, after the General Council's special session, has been approved in principle by the joint sub-committee of the Mond-Turner Conference. From his announcement it is possible, however, to infer that what is contemplated is a permanent joint body which will be composed of the full membership of the T.U.C. General Council on the one hand, and an equal representation of the two leading employers' organisations—the National Confederation of Employers' Associations and the Federation of British Industries—on the other, making a joint body of 64 members. Mr. Citrine emphasised the point that one function of this body would be to establish machinery, probably by some form of panel system, to serve the purpose of conciliation in industrial disputes which have failed to find a settlement by the ordinary machinery of negotiation maintained by the employers and the Trade Unions. This proposal, in our judgment, marks a decided step forward. It is of additional importance in that it definitely associated the two employers' organisations with the practical work which the Mond-Turner Conference undertook to further. It may be recalled that from the inception of these discussions the General Council has desired to deal with representatives of these organisations, and it was only when it was stated that neither of them was then in a position to enter into the discussions officially that the Mond group took the initiative of inviting the General Council to meet them. We may now hope that the difficulties arising from non-participation on the part of the employers' organisations will be obviated by the

inclusion of their representatives on the proposed permanent joint body.

* * *

A SIGNIFICANT and encouraging feature of the annual conferences of the Trade Unions held in recent months has been the attitude adopted towards the Communist Party and the National Minority Movement. At practically all these annual assemblies strong condemnation has been expressed, not alone by the responsible officers of the unions but by delegates representing the rank and file, in regard to the methods and policy of the Communist organisations. They, and those who inspire finance and control their disruptive activities, have been plainly told that the unions will not tolerate their interference in the internal affairs of the British Trade Union Movement. Still more significantly, these conferences have recognised that the time has come to put a stop to the disruption, the vilification and abuse, which the Communists have carried on for so long inside the Trade Unions. We welcome the decision of the Boilermakers' Society, expressed in the recent ballot upholding the ruling of the Union's Executive Committee, that Communists should not be allowed to act as the society's delegates. In announcing this decision the Executive Council stated that the Communist attempt to create chaos in the society "is the most serious and the most subtle we have had to deal with, but the members have met the menace and given a decision which upholds the rules and constitution of the society."

* * *

AN equally emphatic condemnation of Communism has been expressed by the National Executive of the Shop Assistants' Union in giving effect to a resolution adopted at its Conference. It has been resolved that no official of this union, paid or unpaid, shall be allowed to hold or remain in office or in the service of the union if he is a member of or a known supporter of the Communist Party, or the National Minority Movement, or of any subsidiary organisation connected with these bodies. The Conference itself expressed the strongest condemnation of disloyal members of the union who countenance the methods of the Communists and instructed them to

discontinue their support, at the same time registering its determination to prevent any outside body interfering in the internal affairs of the union. A long resolution on the same lines, announcing an intention to do all that could be done to defeat all disruptive tendencies within the union was adopted by 41 votes to 7 at the conference of the National Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. The conference of the Railway Clerks' Association condemned the Communist and Minority Movement within the union, and instructed its delegates at the Labour Party Conference to support any motion having as its objects the strengthening of the Liverpool decision against the Communists.

* * *

THE recent conference of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives gave their Executive Council a new rule, empowering them to initiate disciplinary action against members held to have acted contrary to the interests of the union. Similarly, at the conference of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers, the union's council was instructed to take every measure consistent with the rules to protest against the union's disruptive forces which operate within it. The resolution further declared that it was in the interest of the union that the Communist Party, Minority Movement, and associated bodies should have no power within the union to pursue a policy which would injure the organisation. Declarations of this character afford unmistakable proof that the Trade Unions have become aware of the dangerous nature of the Communist influences and are resolved to put a stop to the disruptive work which has been going on.

* * *

HONEST Mr. Baldwin has been talking about unemployment again. "I can honestly say," he told a Tory audience at Dundas Castle recently, "that we have done our best, and I do not believe that any Government could have done more to reduce the burdens of unemployment and to alleviate the hardships incidental thereto." If, as he says, he was speaking honestly, it is plain that his memory is at fault, for evidently he has forgotten some of the queer ways in which the Tory Government's sympathy has been demonstrated towards the

unemployed. His Government, for instance, has deprived scores of thousands of unemployed men and women of their benefit ; it has reduced the benefits of thousands of unemployed young people, in some cases by as much as 8s. a week ; it has encouraged Boards of Guardians to cut down their scales of relief to unemployed people ; it has practically abolished relief work for the unemployed ; it has raided the Road Fund, and has thus deprived the unemployed of £20,000,000 worth of useful roadmaking work ; it has pursued a policy which has thrown between 100,000 and 200,000 miners out of work ; and it has kept more than 1,000,000 men and women without employment during the whole period of its office. Also, when he made his Dundas Castle speech, Mr. Baldwin forgot to tell his audience what he told the House of Commons some time ago, when Labour demanded that something should be done to help the unemployed, namely, " If the people cannot save themselves no Government can save them." Ironically enough a few days after the Dundas Castle speech, Mr. Baldwin's Minister of Labour was giving the House of Commons a demonstration of the way in which his Government solves the unemployment problem ; he was explaining that he had been compelled to engage additional clerks to register the increasing crowds of unemployed men and women crushing at the doors of the Employment Exchanges.

* * *

OPPPOSITION by the Tory Die-hards in the House of Lords, like that by their colleagues in the House of Commons, has not prevented the Equal Franchise Bill from securing a large majority, and only a few formalities remain before it becomes law. Nearly 5,250,000 new women voters will then be added to the register, and from 1st May next they will become entitled to vote. A White Paper that has been issued shows the distribution of these 5,250,000 new voters throughout the individual constituencies of England, Scotland, and Wales. The English boroughs will get 2,378,300 of them, the English counties 2,023,400, the Welsh boroughs 79,700, the Welsh counties 188,000, the Scottish boroughs 240,588, and the Scottish counties 311,914, making a total of 5,221,902. As a result of the extension of the register the number of electors will be increased from 21,802,658 to 27,024,560.

The existing electorate comprises 12,357,907 men, and 9,444,751 women, the men being in a majority of nearly 3,000,000. The new electorate will consist of 12,357,907 men and 14,666,653 women, the women being in a majority of over 2,250,000.

* * *

THE Government seems to be doing its best to demonstrate to the women voters that with a Tory Government in power they must expect an increase in the taxation that bears upon their housekeeping accounts. Within the last few weeks the Government has imposed a new import duty on cheap enamelled pots and pans, and this comes after the import tax that has been imposed on cheap cutlery, cups and saucers, and certain other forms of crockery, clocks, gas-mantles, matches, mechanical lighters, stockings, and all articles of clothing that include lace or silk or artificial silk among their components—not even excepting babies' frocks. In addition, there was the tax which it proposed to impose on paraffin, and which it only abandoned when the country raised its voice in a united and menacing protest. What a contrast this attitude of taxing the housewife provides from the policy which the Labour Government pursued of relieving the housewife of taxation at every turn. Mr. Snowden's Budget, it will be remembered, effected large reductions in the taxes on sugar, tea, coffee, chicory, dried fruits, and the Entertainment Tax, with the result that an extra £30,000,000 a year was placed in the pockets of the housewife. And there would have been further remissions to come had the Labour Government been allowed to introduce a second Budget. These facts should act as a useful guide to any of the new women electors who have not yet made up their minds which way to vote.

* * *

VARIOUS official statistical returns that have been issued by different Government Departments during the past month do not provide a very convincing background for Mr. Baldwin's repeated assurances that prosperity is waiting just round the corner. In addition to the increase in unemployment which is reported by the Ministry of Labour, the same Department announces that workers' wages went down another peg during May, making a total net reduction of over £100,000 weekly since the

beginning of the year; the Board of Trade reports that the nation's exports for that month were £5,250,000 lower than the figure for the corresponding month of last year; the Ministry of Agriculture, in the annual volume of statistics that it has just produced, discloses that "the decline in the acreage of arable land was almost double that recorded in 1926," and that "there was a further fall in the number of agricultural workers"; the Ministry of Health confesses that there has been a big reduction in the rate of house-building since the subsidy was reduced; and the Board of Trade announces that the cost of living went up a further point during May, making it two points higher than for the corresponding period of last year. Mr. Baldwin may assure us that "everything in the garden is lovely," but in reality some of his roses do not smell as sweet as he would have us believe.

* * *

ONE by one, the Trade Unions are giving their reply to the Government's mean attempt to hamper the Labour Party by restricting their political activities. The Railway Clerks' Association, which has a notable record of both Trade Union and political Labour solidarity, has achieved a remarkable measure of success in its efforts to surmount the difficulties created by the reactionary Trade Unions Act. Up to date, 42,457 members have signed the "contracting-in" form, which represents 82.75 per cent. of the present total membership. *In more than 100 branches, 95 to 100 per cent. of the branch membership have "contracted-in" and many other branches are rapidly approaching this standard.* Moreover, when the Executive of the Labour Party, following the passing of the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act, found it necessary to appeal to affiliated organisations, the R.C.A. Executive promptly promised to supplement the affiliation fees paid under the new restrictive Act by such grants as would maintain the Association's contribution to the Party on the old basis for the next three years. A further example of the practical loyalty of the R.C.A. to the Labour Party is now furnished by voluntary offers from a substantial number of members to increase their individual political contributions so as to make up for the loss due to any abstentions there may be, and an appeal that this should be done generally in the union is meeting with a good response, despite the fact that the R.C.A. contribution is one of the highest if not actually the highest paid among Trade Unions.

THE R.C.A. has also responded without delay to the National Labour Party's Appeal for a Special Fighting Fund of £100,000. The Annual Conference of the Association, held recently at Bridlington, cordially endorsed the action of the National Executive of the Labour Party in launching its appeal, requested the E.C. to arrange for the circulation of Subscription Lists and urged the members to give the fullest possible measure of financial support. After this, the delegates showed their own earnestness by spontaneously taking up a collection which resulted in a contribution of £20 to the Fighting Fund. On the basis of the voluntary levy which has been suggested to the Trade Unions, the collection amongst the branches should yield something in excess of £1,000 from the Railway Clerks' Association to the National Fighting Fund. Both Mr. A. G. Walkden, the General Secretary of the Association, and Mr. George Lathan, the Assistant Secretary and a member of the National Executive of the Labour Party, are confident that the voluntary response of their members will be generous and satisfactory.

* * *

THE National Union of Railwaymen has established a similarly commendable record, both in regard to "contracting-in" and in responding to the Labour Party's Appeal for its "Bid for Power" Fund. Scores of branches of the union, in all parts of the country, have actually secured the signature of "contracting-in" forms by 100 per cent. of their members, whilst large numbers of other branches are well on the way towards the attainment of that ideal, and many of them in time are hoping to reach it. Supplementary to their "contracting-in" efforts, the branches are now raising subscriptions and taking collections, in response to the appeal which has been circulated by their Head Office asking them to do their best for the Labour Party's "Bid for Power" Fund; and in addition to the amounts which will ultimately be handed over to the Labour Party as the result of these collections, the Executive of the union has granted the sum of £1,000 from its Political Fund. Many other unions have responded to the Labour Party's call in an equally enthusiastic manner. Mr. Baldwin and his co-authors of the Trade Unions Act must be feeling rather shaken by this demonstration of working-class loyalty.

Fuel, Power and Transport

By

J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

IV.—*The Cunning of Mr. Churchill*

THE duty of 4d. a gallon newly imposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on imported hydro-carbon oils is one of the most interesting extensions of taxation that has been made in the whole of modern financial history. Only a few short weeks subsequent to the announcement by the Government of the termination of the control of rubber, which has resulted from the unwillingness of the Dutch Government and of the Dutch planters to co-operate with the British interests in maintaining a monopoly of that raw material indispensable to the great automobile industry of our American creditors, there is this new tax put "upon imported liquid fuel," as Mr. Churchill remarked, "scarcely any of which is found inside the British Empire." Significantly, along with this import duty on oil, very much of which is found inside the Dutch Empire in the East Indies, the Chancellor linked the reduction which he proposed to make in the duty on raw sugars. Already, in explaining the incidence of his tax on imported oils, he had stressed the point that "the tax is so devised as to make sure that the business of refining is in no way prejudiced." Now, in the case of sugar, he emphasised that it would be "also possible to afford assistance to the British sugar refining industry."

Now, it so happens that the same banking and mercantile houses in Amsterdam that control the rubber plantations of the Netherlands East Indies control also the stupendous sugar cane and by no means inconsiderable petroleum properties in these same Netherlands East Indies. Amsterdam is an immense centre of import, warehouse, and refining business in respect of cane-sugar. It is all important as the rubber market of the non-British world.

When one knows how fantastic is the conception popularised by the canvassers of R.O.P. that there is any fundamental solidarity of interest and sympathy between the Samuels and the Rothschilds of the "Shell" and their colleague, Sir Henri Deterding, of the Royal Dutch Company, the sequence of events as regards rubber, petroleum, and cane sugar becomes obvious. The British interests involved in "imported liquid fuel, scarcely any of which (even after 18 years of Admiralty assistance, initiated by Mr. Churchill, by the way)

is found inside the British Empire," have only been agreeable to Sir Henri Deterding so long as they had to be so. When that gentleman, then, plain Mr. Deterding, placed in 1919 considerable blocks of Royal Dutch stock on the New York market, the late Lord Bearstead and the British Foreign Office knew that it would be expedient to humour him. Now, that the British Government has used its close connection with the Royal Dutch Company to cause the Standard Oil Company to see reason, and the New Jersey member of the Standard quintette has passed, so Senator Wheeler, of Montana, told me last year when in Washington he believed to be the case, within the British sphere of influence, the cynical Mr. Churchill strikes at the Royal Dutch Company. Strikes at it in such a way, mark you—and this is *not* an accident but intent—as to strengthen the Soviet Naphtha Syndicate in its fight against Sir Henri Deterding, and to encourage it to draw apart from that economic entente with the New York member of the Standard quintette, which is the most serious menace of all to British foreign policy and the world-wide maintenance of the anti-Soviet front.

Never for a single moment must the student of international economics overlook the immense importance attached by the Conservatives to the recovery of that pre-eminence in the plantations of the West and of the East Indies to establish and assure which their forefathers, Whigs and Tories alike, launched their fleets at the Spaniards, the Dutch, and the French. The merchants of London, Bristol, Glasgow, Liverpool, Newcastle, and Hull, whose families have controlled the Conservative Party for at least a century, are intent on the economic reconquest of the East Indies from the Dutch and the West Indies from the Americans. That can best be accelerated by blows silently, but none the less shrewdly aimed, on the one side at the oil refiners on the Delaware and the Hudson, and, on the other, at the cane sugar refiners on the Zuyder Zee.

This cunning manipulation of the system of import duties, whether to raise revenue, to reduce taxation, or to depress or develop, as the case may be, this or that industry or trade is seldom to be surveyed so much from the angle of a vowed approach as from one that, for obvious reasons, it is intended shall not be suspected.

Conversations it has been my fortune to have with fuel experts in Chicago, Pittsburgh, New York, and on the Ruhr cause me to smile at the suggestion that a duty of 4d. a gallon on petrol will prove adequate to make a commercial success of the new scientific processes for manufacturing benzol and liquid fuel "from British coal."

Key as is the Finance Act of the whole system of government under capitalism naively to debate the Budget on its apparent actuarial *lacunæ* is to show failure absolute to understand the relationship in this country between property and the State. But, whilst a duty of 4d. a gallon is very inadequate a barrier behind which to erect an industry which is already assured of a subsidy from other sources, i.e., the gigantic profits made on synthetic intro-products which Imperial Chemicals is devoting to coal oil distillation, such a duty imposes a very awkward burden at a very awkward moment on—road transport.

Whilst the Bills promoted by the railway companies to enable them to place upon the highways vehicles for the carriage, otherwise than as "feeders" to their railways, of passengers and of goods make their way all too slowly through Commons, Grand Committee, and the Lords, and the road transport interests can continue to break down the revenue-earning, the dividend-paying, and the share price levels of the railway companies, the Chancellor of the Exchequer puts a spoke in the wheel of the carriers by road.

The motor vehicle proprietor must pay 4d. a gallon more for his petrol. So will traffic be turned back towards the goods depot and the booking office of the railway companies.

The railway companies are much less concerned to obtain legal powers enabling them to acquire or to construct and place on the roads services which, so to speak, are equivalent to double tracking their metals than they are to draw back business to their existing means of dividend earning.

Whilst the road transport legislation simmers slowly in the melting pot of Parliament, the interests that are supreme in the railway companies improve the idle hour by coming closer and closer into collaboration with the automobile concerns.

For, remember, just one branch of engineering has so far contrived to keep its independence or, at any rate, has been in a fair way to establish it. That is the motor car manufacture. Failure to remove the motor licence duties, despite a petition carrying more than 900,000 signatures, has this objective—to bring back to to the fold of the bank-ridden metal industry the wandering lambs of the automobile flock.

So, also, at a moment when the personality of Samuel Insull looms up big behind the Greater London and Counties Trust Limited it is worth while to recall that his interests in public utilities in Chicago and other cities of the United States are not limited to street-car lines, inter-urban or tramways, to gas and electricity supply, but include also the magnificent fleets of auto-cars plying for hire under the names of the Chequer and the Yellow Cab Companies.

Alone remains the owner-driver of the taxi-cab to represent in the field of transport that spirit of enterprise, that genius of private property, that saving grace of competition, without appeal to which neither the Premier nor the Chancellor would have wherewithal to mark with a glib phrase or an eloquent peroration the emptiness of their provision for the well-being of the small trader. Upon him who is least of all able to recoup himself for his added costs of operation is thrust this extra cost of 4d. a gallon on his petrol, so calculated to discourage his individual initiative on the eve of a further extension by Samuel Insull of his undertakings. Next year it may be that, on the eve of the election, when the Chancellor will have to bait as many hooks as he can hitch to a line, the removal or the reduction of the duty on petrol will serve not only to catch middle-class votes, but afford the occasion for the Yellow Cab Company to put its vehicles on the streets of Greater London.

(To be continued.)

ORDERS FOR THE **Industrial Review**

(ENLARGED TO 16 PAGES)

should be sent to

THE LITERATURE DEPARTMENT,
— TRADES UNION CONGRESS —
TRANSPORT HOUSE (South Block),
SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1

Annual Subscription :

Single Copy	. . .	2s. 6d.
10 copies	. . .	13s.
20 copies	. . .	25s.
50 copies	. . .	£3
100 copies	. . .	£6

THE INDUSTRIAL REVIEW
is the official publication of the
Trades Union Congress.

In the "Eight-fifteen"

ON BALDWIN AND RUGGED INDEPENDENCE

By

T. S. DICKSON

"CLAP-TRAP!"

The word came out like a pistol shot from the Man with the Briar Pipe, whose lips closed down with a snap as several pairs of eyes darted simultaneous surprise and inquiry to that corner of the compartment from which the exclamation came.

It was the Monday morning after Mr. Stanley Baldwin had been addressing an assembly of Conservatives in Scotland and the Press were splashing the speech, from the reading of which the Man with the Briar had raised his head with a jerk.

"The Prime Minister, I suppose?" interrogated Mr. Hardphace, the Tory Die-hard, who sat opposite.

"Alias Soft-Soap Stanley," augmented the combative voice of the Man with the L.M.S. Badge in his Cap, who automatically became miserable when Hardphace gave the remotest sign of being happy.

"Yes, the Prime Minster," agreed the Briar. "Listen to this peroration he palmed off upon his audience at Dundas Castle:—

"Nor would Scotland be won by Socialism—there could never be any binding union with a creed which was so antagonistic to that rugged independence which had made her people what they were throughout the world."

"Pretty good stuff that—gets right to the heart of the matter," commented Mr. Hardphace.

"Do you know anything about the land history of Scotland?" rapped out the Briar.

"No, I don't know that I do," confessed Hardphace, "but I don't see that that has much to do with it."

The Briar looked at him with slumbering anger in his eyes, for, several generations back, highland blood had mingled with his English forbears, and he knew the man-hunting, glen-clearing, house-burning record of the great highland lairds. "Almost to a man," the Briar flared up, "the great highland landowners are behind Baldwin, the Tory Party, and its policy, and if ever a class existed on earth that did their damndest to break the hearts and kill the spirit of the common people—if ever a soulless, greedy autocracy strove to crush the independence of a people it

was the Scottish landowners whose descendants clutter around Baldwin, and give the applause of hypocrites, or imbeciles, when he talks of the peril of Socialism to a people's independence."

"No need to get heated about it," suggested Hardphace icily, for he was becoming annoyed.

"Hear, hear"—the Man with the L.M.S. Badge nodded vigorously as he knocked the ashes from his pipe on the heel of his boot—"there's no need to get outrageous over small matters! If it was a proposal to put another tanner on the super-tax—well, you might have some——." He spread his hands in evidence that further elucidation was unnecessary, whereupon Hardphace glared the glare of the baited tiger.

"Take the Duke of Sutherland," pursued the Briar. "He is one of the smart young Tories, with a post under the Government. Very patriotic, strong on thrift, independence, and death to the Socialists who take sides with other nations against their own countrymen!"

"Quite right, too," opined the precise voice of the Young Man with the Purple Socks, who has a small job in the City (with a salary to match), and who occupies some of his spare time in being a very Junior Imperialist.

"Hark to Solomon," countered the Badge, "and I'll bet he don't know the difference between Sutherland and Sunderland."

"To make way for sheep runs in the nineteenth century, the Sutherland family ran the harrow over the men, women, and children of the straths and glens, rooted them out of their homes, gave their roofs to the flames, and left the inmates to huddle for shelter under the dykes and hedges, for the wrath of the Duke and the factor swept down on whoever offered friendship to those who were hunted like rats from the place where they had been born." The Briar stopped, with flashing eyes, but Hardphace merely said: "Rather like soap-box oratory, and all about the long, long ago."

For a moment the Briar trembled on a scathing reply, but he repressed himself, and from his note-book took a slip of print. "Perhaps you'll listen to this:—

"All the people of spirit and enterprise leave the country, for everything done in Sutherland must be under the eye of the

factor, and in the interest of Dunrobin. ("The castle of the Sutherlands," explained the Briar.) It is the Duke! The Duke, the Duke! There is no room for enterprise or any independent spirit. A man cannot trench a rood of ground without asking leave of some ground officer, or some such official."

"How's that for a system that destroys 'the rugged independence' of the Scottish people?"

"Your authority?" demanded Hardphace.

"Sorry," said the Briar, "that is from the evidence of the Rev. James Cumming (Free Church Minister, Melness) in his evidence before the Crofters' Commission in 1884—only 44 years ago—just when you were a young man, sir. And here is a bit more by another clergyman, the Rev. D. Mackenzie (Free Church Minister of Farr) before the same commission:—

"I find the people's liberty is interfered with in connection with the election of School Boards, Poor Boards, and Road Trustees, and so on."

"Oh, my aunt," groaned the Man with the L.M.S. Badge, "but when the Tories pass an Act to prevent political victimisation—it is against the Trade Unions! If the Tory leaders in the know don't rip their vests laughin' at the working-class Dubbs what support them, I'll eat the badge off my hat, I will."

"And the Sutherlands did not stand alone," continued the Briar. "In the Nineteenth Century nearly all of the great Highland chiefs were at the same devil's game, evicting thousands upon thousands, shipping them across the sea, and demanding serf-like obedience and compliance from those that remained. And among them was Atholl, though the present Duchess sits with Baldwin, and, like him, pretends that Socialism would destroy the 'rugged independence' of the people. I repeat," said the Briar very deliberately, "Mr. Stanley Baldwin talks clap-trap, for he knows well how private landlordism and private capitalism have struck again and again at the spirit of independence in the people, though the only knowledge most of his supporters have seems to be gathered from articles on the cubical content of the door-knocker on the door of the Great Pyramid."

"Look here," bristled Hardphace (assuming his striking impersonation of Benito Mussolini), "despite all your sarcasm or interference with individual and political rights of the people long ago in the highlands of Scotland——"

"Or in this year of grace in rural England," came the rude interruption from the L.M.S. Badge.

Benito Hardphace mentally ordered his imaginary Blackshirts to clout the Badge over the top-knot with the butt-end of a gun, but to the man with the Briar he said: "It cannot be denied that Socialism would undermine what Mr. Baldwin has called 'rugged independence.'"

"For example?" encouraged the Briar.

"Well, if we are all going to be servants of the State, isn't it clear?"

"I'm not aware that under Socialism we are all going to be servants of the State, but being a Socialist, probably my views as to what Socialism means wouldn't be of much value." The Briar was mixing vinegar with his argument. "Stanley Baldwin is a servant of the State, isn't he? Does he find that it destroys *his* character and undermines *his* independence. Let him resign."

"Amen, and amen!" chanted the voice of the Badge with mock solemnity.

"If the Tories believe the State, as employer, to be a grave danger, why do the aristocrats try to get so many of their younger sons stowed away into State service and Government jobs? Why do the lower middle class save and scrape to pass their sons and daughters into the State employment of the Civil Service? Why does the Tory working man imperil the eternal welfare of his son by pulling every string to get him a teaching job in schools run jointly by the State and local authority instead of sending him to maintain his 'rugged independence' and force of character by hewing coal or digging drains for a private employer? It is as clear as noon-day that Stanley Baldwin's contention is drivel, and it is proved to be drivel by the antics of those who denounce the State and the Community as channels for carrying on national service. These people break their necks to rush into a danger against which they warn other people. If the electors of this country had as much humour as a cooked rabbit, they'd laugh Baldwin out of existence."

"'Ere," said the Badge, cocking his cap to one side, "don't you ever get fed up defending Socialism to blokes like 'im." He nodded casually towards Hardphace.

"Often, and often, and often," replied the Briar wearily.

"Get into 'is liver, I says. Chase 'im, 'unt 'im round the ring, 'ook 'im, 'hupper-cut 'im, put 'im away." Mr. Hesitant, the Liberal, who sat opposite, drew back his head in alarm as the Badge whirled his arms by way of illustration. "Put 'im on his defence. 'Ere"—he stuck out an aggressive chin at Hardphace—"what about *your* system and 'rugged independence'?" Hardphace raised his paper, and his face disappeared behind it, but the

Man with the L.M.S. Badge had opened his throttle, so to speak. "Ever been down to Churtle-cum-Wortle, where my dad was born? Touchin' their caps when the squire comes along, and yappin' 'Yessir, yessir' if he stops to talk to 'em! Afraid to say a word the squire wouldn't like to hear! Scared of their life some of 'em are to be seen at a Labour meetin', and if they did go, they'd never dare to applaud unless it was dark and nobody could see 'em! That ain't under Socialism, is it?" yelled the Badge. "Rugged independence in danger!" He spat viciously. "Rugged icicles on a polar bear's whiskers!"

"Baldwin doesn't stand for that," barked Hardphace, stung into a retort.

"He keeps his mouth shut about it anyhow," volleyed the Badge in return.

"He keeps quiet about quite a lot," agreed the Briar, "or the Marquis of Linlithgow might have had an uncomfortable time when he presided at the Dundas Castle demonstration."

Hardphace raised his eyes in inquiry.

"You see, after all, the essence of independence of spirit is that a man should not live on anyone else if able to maintain himself. And if the Marquis had to maintain himself, without

the assistance of other people, he'd have a pretty thin living. But that by the way. You'd expect the Marquis to be very patriotic?"

"I should hope there is no doubt of it," said Hardphace with rigid dignity.

"Good," said the Briar. "You remember when Rosyth, on the Forth, was laid down as a naval base. That was under Balfour's Tory administration. The necessary land was 1,500 acres in extent, including 300 acres of foreshore, the whole being rated on the basis of £1,700 annual rent. But the then Marquis—father of the present title holder—good patriot, and strong on his country's defence, demanded 80 years' purchase, or £139,000. And the Government paid up, for though Tory politicians will conscript a man's life in defence of the country, they would never commit the sacrilege of conscripting property. There are very few things too sacred to be sacrificed even for one's country, but property is one of them."

"Damn!" said Hardphace, starting up, making for the door as The Eight-Fifteen drew into Grubtown platform.

"Same to you, sir, and many of 'em," grinned the L.M.S. Badge, as if in anticipation of Christmas.

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Is Emigration Really a "Way Out"?

TRADES UNION CONGRESS REPLY TO A QUESTIONNAIRE

In connection with the British Commonwealth Labour Conference a questionnaire was issued to the various bodies concerned with the Conference, asking them to outline their policy on Migration. The following is the text of the reply sent in by the British Trades Union Congress.

IN considering the question of migration in so far as it concerns the British Dominions, South Africa may be eliminated. There is little immigration going on in the Union of South Africa, and what little there may be has no effect on the problem of migration itself. The few immigrants who may be introduced under the 1820 Memorial Settlers' Association need from £1,500 to £2,000 capital. Moreover, South Africa has her own particular problems, such as the "poor whites," native and coloured labour, complicated still more by the introduction of "barbarian" native labour from Mozambique and Central Africa for work in the South African mines. Canada and Australia, and to a less extent New Zealand, are the three Dominions to be taken into account when considering the problems of migration within the British Commonwealth.

Under the Empire Settlement Act, 1922, assisted passages are granted to British subjects wishing to settle overseas within the Empire, and the Overseas Settlement Committee was appointed to assist in carrying out the policy of that Act. In 1925 the numbers assisted were as follows: Australia 23,427, Canada 11,442, and New Zealand 8,051. In 1926 the figures were: Australia 32,678, Canada 20,861, and New Zealand 11,795. The full figures of emigration from Great Britain and Northern Ireland to countries overseas are, of course, very much larger than those of assisted passages, but as a number of people not leaving these shores permanently are included in the "emigrant" returns, no useful purpose would be served by quoting them.

The increase in the cost of passages to Canada and Australia has no doubt contributed to the diminution in the number of emigrants from this country since the war. In the debate on the Second Reading of the Empire Settlement Bill in the House of Commons on February 24, Mr. A. A. Somerville, M.P., stated that the increase in unassisted emigrant fares to Canada had been from £5 15s. to £15, and to Australia from £18 to £37, so that

it would cost an average family now £150 or £160 to emigrate to Canada, and £240 to make the journey to Australia. On the face of it, Mr. Somerville would appear to have underestimated the cost of the journey to Australia.

So far as assisted passages to the Dominions are concerned, however, we have not here a question of expense acting as a deterrent to emigration. As a matter of fact, a good deal more money has been allocated than used. During the debate Mr. W. Lunn (Labour) pointed out that, under the Empire Settlement Scheme, £3,000,000 was granted annually for emigration purposes. In the six years that the Act has been in operation no less than £18,000,000 might have been spent. But only £3,500,000 had been spent. The balance of £14,500,000 does not, however, remain to be used for assisting emigrant passages as occasion may arise. The grant of £3,000,000 each year is there if required. If the Treasury is not called upon for that sum, there is so much less paid out of Government funds.

The active advocates of immigration do not appear to be at all of one mind about the object of emigration. Is the object to reduce the volume of unemployment in this country by shifting abroad the alleged "surplus" population which, it is contended, our industries cannot support? Or is it, on the other hand, what is called a "scientific distribution" of population over the British Empire, so that the sparsely populated areas of Australia and Canada may be peopled with "British stock," and the possibilities of a "White Australia" increased? Both objects have their champions, as was shown in the debate in the House of Commons on February 24.

If even a partial solution of the unemployment problem in Britain would be helped by reducing the number of people by emigration, it would not greatly matter whither they went, so long as they went. But it is just those least able to secure employment here that the Dominions do not want. The Dominions want emigrants from this island as good as they

can be got, and if Britain is not to be entirely lost sight of in highly coloured visions of Empire development, it is the best that will also be needed here when the time comes to enter upon a period of industrial reorganisation in the interests of the people of the whole country, including the industry most essential for the satisfaction of primary human need—that of agriculture. Just as the United States has absorbed some of our most skilled artisans, so do the Dominions desire to take into their States the best of what are still left of our agricultural workers. The position raises issues calling for consideration in the best interests of the people here in years to come, issues which will grow more acute in the near future, if neglected now in the hope that a mere shifting of population to other parts of the British Commonwealth will patch up the situation for the time being.

The Colonial Secretary, Mr. L. Amery, must have had something of this sort in his mind when he spoke in the House of Commons on February 24. He called attention to the necessity of regarding Great Britain as a part of the British Empire, and pointing out that the men who are going to make a success overseas—the only ones we should encourage to go—are the kind of men who, when the present period of unemployment is over, are most likely to make good here and to pay more into the Unemployment Fund than they will draw out.

How do the Dominions look upon immigration from Great Britain? They naturally want fit and healthy immigrants ready to undertake agricultural and domestic work. The Dominions—Government and Labour organisations alike—are agreed thus far. The Canadian Minister of Immigration and Colonisation, Hon. Robert Forke, even delivered himself of not very "Imperialist" sentiments when he declared that he did not care where immigrants came from so long as they were sound in body and mind, and willing to work. In Australia the view is growing in Government circles that colonisation is needed more than immigration, and that there are Australians, as well as people from overseas, who should be helped on the land. Mr. H. W. Gepp, chairman of the Australian Development and Migration Commission, says that the absorptive power of Australia can only be increased by the provision of financial assistance, and that development must take precedence of migration. It seems also becoming increasingly difficult in Australia to find cheap land suitable for settlement. Land which passed into private hands years ago at

small figures can to-day command big money. The Australian Commission states that in South Australia large fertile areas are locked up as private pastoral estates. Western Australia appears better able to absorb immigrants than the other Australian States.

In this connection it is well to remember the remarks of Sir Robert Horne, M.P., at Melbourne, last January: "I am disappointed at the prospect of immigration at present—at least I have discovered it is a great folly to encourage immigration on a large scale when the country cannot deal with men on their arrival. I am going to say upon my return to England that, for the moment, Australia cannot deal with great numbers."

There is not the same evidence in Canada of land speculation as there is in Australia. But the "Grain Growers' Guide" two years ago sounded a warning note that as the number of immigrants increased so would the danger of speculation in land similar to that experienced before the war. The view that colonisation rather than immigration is needed in Canada has been expressed by Mr. Tom Moore, when referring to a resolution of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada in favour of Government farms for training Canadians in farm work. A similar view has been voiced by the Deputy Minister of Immigration and Colonisation. The Government of Manitoba has insisted upon the inclusion of Canadian boys in all farm training schemes before it will accept any federal scheme of boy immigration.

Statistics of immigration recently given in answer to questions in the Canadian House of Commons show that from 1921 to 1927 inclusive, 787,408 immigrants arrived in Canada. Of this number 361,834 were from Great Britain, 249,521 from the Continent of Europe, and 176,053 from the United States. The cost of securing these immigrants during the seven years was as follows: British immigrants £750,000 (41s. 6d. a head), European immigrants £70,000 (3s. 10d. a head), and U.S. immigrants £620,000 (70s. 6d. a head). It is not surprising, therefore, to find that arrivals from the Continent of Europe in 1926-27 were three and a-half times as large as those in 1920-21, and that last year they exceeded the combined total of British and American immigrants. The observation of the Canadian Minister of Immigration and Colonisation, Hon. Robert Forke, already referred to, should be considered in this connection.

Major-General A. D. McRae, Conservative Member for North Vancouver, is advocating

a large scheme of colonisation for the three Prairie Provinces, Alberta, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan. Bold schemes needing expenditure of money on a very generous scale are called for. A great handicap to the successful colonisation is the lack of greater progress in new railway construction to supply the homesteader with an auxiliary source of income while farms are being brought to the production stage.

He says that in the Prairie Provinces 10,000,000 acres of scrub and lightly-timbered land are still available, capable of supporting 65,000 families, to which can be added 30,000,000 acres of the Peace River country which would easily accommodate another 175,000 families. His full proposals contemplate the settlement of 50,000,000 acres by 300,000 farmers, which, with an increase in the urban population which would follow, would mean an increase of 2,000,000 in the population of the Prairie Provinces. The population of these provinces in 1926 was 2,067,682. Major-General McRae's scheme would require an expenditure of £60,000,000 in ten years, and he proposes to meet this outlay by the issue of special land bonds or debentures until the settlers' repayments become available to make the scheme self-supporting.

It is also certain that organised Labour in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand views all immigration schemes with distrust. On the one hand it declares that it has no opposition to immigration *per se*. It recognises that the sparsely populated lands of the Dominions need more people. But, on the other hand, it fears the drift of immigrants who fail at farming from the land to the towns, there to swell the ranks of those out of work, with the tendency that would follow to lower the standard of living of the industrial workers. This fear was expressed by Labour members in the Australian Legislative Assembly in the discussion on immigration last November. The 'Executive of the Australasian Trades Union Council last December declared in a resolution that people should not be induced to come to Australia "until work shall be made available for the thousands of unemployed already here, and unemployment insurance be made the law of the land." The Amalgamated Postal Workers' Union of Australia, in a letter to the Union of Post Office Workers of this country, says that industrial conditions are exceedingly bad from the point of view of employment, and that "it is very doubtful whether the number of unemployed workers

in Australia, in proportion to the population, was as high at any time during the past fifteen years as it is to-day." Similar fears, though perhaps not expressed quite so strongly, have been sounded by organised Labour in Canada and New Zealand.

There is no evidence to show that immigration, if directed solely to agricultural development, would of itself threaten an increase in the number of the unemployed. There is, on the contrary, ample evidence in all parts of the world to show that unemployment is more or less rife in the industrial nations and among the industrial peoples of largely agricultural countries, quite apart from the density or otherwise of the populations. Whether there would be profitable markets for the increased agricultural output which would follow large agricultural developments through increased immigration to the Dominions settling upon the land is another problem which calls for serious attention.

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Profit-Sharing and Control of Industry

By

HERBERT TRACEY

SCHMES of profit-sharing and co-partnership are often advocated as a means of eliminating industrial discontent. They are regarded as a method of making more capital by distributing profits to workpeople, usually with the object of securing their re-investment in the concern and of making the workpeople shareholders in the enterprise that employs them. The foremost advocate of the system in this country, Sir Alfred Mond (now Lord Melchett), has, indeed, commended it as a method of enabling "all those engaged in any industrial concern to become shareholders and in that way complete co-partners in the business in which they are interested." He has cited the example of the United States where, he says, this idea is rapidly gaining ground. In one very large concern which he visited in America he found, he said, something like 25 per cent. of the entire capital was held by the staff and the workmen.

Neither in the United States nor in this country, however, is there any convincing evidence that the system of profit-sharing and co-partnership and employee-shareholding schemes have been making very rapid progress. Statistics are published every year by the Ministry of Labour which enable us to judge how far this method leads to the goal of co-partnership or participation in management, and whether the idea is actually, even if slowly, spreading throughout British industry. Facts have also been published as to the progress of the idea in the United States, where it has been in operation for more than 35 years. An investigation made by the Federal Trades Commission in the United States, some half-dozen years ago, pointed to the conclusion that it has resulted in employees becoming owners of no more than 1.5 per cent. of common stock and 1.9 per cent. of preferred shares. This is a form of co-partnership or profit-sharing which is better described as a system of employee shareholders. From the Trade Union point of view special interest attaches to this aspect of the co-partnership or profit-sharing movement. Ordinary schemes of profit-sharing which do not necessarily result in the employees who participate in them acquiring an interest in the business which employs them have less significance.

An account given in the June issue of the *Ministry of Labour Gazette* of the working of

profit-sharing has little to say about employee shareholders. The details given in the *Gazette* relate only to definite schemes under which employees participate in profits on some pre-arranged basis. No attempt is made to deal with schemes which consist in the giving of bonuses or gratuities, at the discretion of the employer, on no specified basis, or schemes which provide for bonuses which depend only on output, sales, etc., and not on profits. The article gives full statistics of schemes of this nature in operation at the end of 1927. From these figures it appears that at the end of last year 440 firms in Great Britain and Northern Ireland had schemes of profit-sharing, seven of the firms having two schemes each, making a total of 447 schemes. About 437,000 workpeople were employed in the businesses concerned, of whom about 235,000 shared, or were entitled to share, in the benefits of the schemes. The figures show a slight increase on those for 1926, when 438 schemes, run by 432 firms, were in operation, and 223,000 workpeople were entitled to share in the benefits.

The schemes considered in the article fall into two groups, those operated by Co-operative Societies and those by ordinary businesses. In the latter case, there were 290 firms operating 297 schemes at the end of 1927; the total number of workpeople employed by these firms was 409,000, of whom about 208,000 were eligible to participate in the benefits from the schemes. In the previous year 287 schemes were operated by 281 firms, having a total number of 422,000 employees, 198,000 of whom were eligible for participation in the benefits.

Of the 297 schemes in operation 53 were introduced in gas companies, and it is to be noted that a larger number of employees—41,900 out of a total of 49,500—are entitled to participate than in any other industry, except the insurance, banking, and financial industry, where the numbers show that 33,000 out of a total of 37,200 are eligible. In the engineering, shipbuilding, and other metal industry, for instance, out of a total of 67,700 workpeople employed by firms operating profit-sharing schemes, only 23,900 are eligible for participation. The smallness of the numbers of employees who come within the profit-sharing arrangements is in part due to the fact that participation in many schemes depends upon certain qualifications, such as the attainment

of a certain age, or employment with the firm for a minimum number of years, but more often it is due to the fact that a considerable number of schemes admit employees to participation only to the extent that they are able and willing to deposit savings with the firm or purchase shares in the undertaking.

The type of scheme which has been most generally adopted is that under which a cash bonus is paid to the employees, the amount of the bonus representing a specified proportion of the net profits or of the profit remaining after a fixed minimum rate of interest or dividend has been paid on capital; in some cases the bonus is a sum which automatically rises or falls with the rate of dividend on the capital.

In the schemes adopted by gas companies the bonus usually takes the form of a percentage on wages, which in some cases varies with the rate of dividend payable, and in others is a fixed percentage of the amount paid in dividends.

Other schemes have been adopted, but not to the same extent, under which some part of the bonus is retained and invested on behalf of the employee in the capital of the undertaking, or, more rarely, placed in a provident or superannuation fund.

Among the schemes in operation are a number, which are usually referred to as co-partnership schemes, under which employees are enabled to acquire shares or other capital in the undertakings in which they work, and by this means obtain some share of the control of the business. Of the 297 schemes in existence at the end of 1927 125 come under this category and provide some form of shareholding for the employees. In some of the schemes shares are issued to the employees on specially favourable terms, and, in others, a share of the profits is set aside for the employees but is retained for investment in the undertaking, and is so retained for a prescribed period or until the employees have a prescribed amount of capital. There are 34 of these bonus-capitalisation schemes in existence, 23 of which are operated by gas companies.

During 1927 fourteen schemes were reported to the Ministry as having been started. One-half of these new schemes provide for some form of capital-holding by employees. In four cases the capital is subscribed for by the employees, the favourable terms of issue constituting the profit-sharing element in the scheme, and in three cases there is an ordinary bonus depending on profits, part of this bonus being retained for investment in the firm's capital.

A comparison of the figures for the years 1910 to 1927 shows that the profit-sharing movement has made very slow, though almost continuous, progress. There have been increases both in

the number of schemes in operation and in the number of employees participating. The years of greatest progress in the establishment of new schemes were 1919 and 1920, when there was a net addition of 87 schemes and of 32,000 participating employees. Progress was slower in the succeeding years, but during the last two there has been a net increase of 16 schemes and of 17,000 workpeople participating. Of the 297 schemes in existence at the end of 1927 28 were started in or before the year 1900, and 173 date from 1919 or later.

The benefits accruing to employees participating in profit-sharing schemes were smaller last year than in 1926. It is stated, indeed, that in the past seven years a considerable proportion of all the schemes covered, ranging from one-fifth to one-third of the total, failed to yield any bonus at all. Last year about a quarter of the total number of schemes, for which returns were received by the Minister of Labour, paid no bonus owing to insufficient profits being made. The highest amount of bonus was paid in a small group of schemes in the insurance, banking, etc. The amount of the bonuses in this group averages £26 per head, a figure slightly better than that of 1926; but the average amount of bonus per head paid under these schemes in 1927 was less than £9. The net additions to earnings for employees participating in these schemes is not, therefore, on the whole, a very substantial one.

It is of interest to note that about half of the new schemes introduced in 1927 provide for some form of capital holding by employees. Fourteen new schemes are described as having come to the notice of the department during last year. In four of these fourteen cases capital is subscribed for by the employees, the favourable terms of issue constituting a profit-sharing element in the schemes. In three cases there is an ordinary bonus depending on profits, part of the bonus being retained for investment in the firm's capital. In one case a bonus equivalent to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the net profit subject to the rate of dividend on ordinary shares not falling below a given level is paid to the employees on the basis of wages salary. One-half of the bonus is paid in cash, and one-half is retained by the company and invested in National Savings Certificates.

In another scheme shares are given to employees according to length of service and merit, and a sum representing a fixed percentage on profits after they have passed a certain level is set aside each as payment of dividend on these shares.

The data published by the Ministry of Labour do not enable one to judge how far the

employee-shareholding aspects of labour co-partnership and profit-sharing schemes have developed in this country. More information is available regarding the progress of employee shareholding in the United States, where it is estimated the value of employee shareholding in American industry amounts to about £140,000,000. As the total capital of all American co-operation is, however, estimated to exceed £18,000,000,000, the amount of capital held by employees is not quite so large as it looks. The number of corporations which have adopted employees' shareholding schemes in the United States is also very small.

Of the £140,000,000 of employees' shareholdings, nearly two-thirds are owned by 269,239 employees in thirteen of the largest corporations, and the holdings of the employees in these thirteen concerns represent only 4 per cent. of the total capital. The larger the concern, in fact, the smaller seem to be the employees' holdings. There are schemes in existence in which as much as 50 per cent. to 75 per cent., even 90 per cent. of the stock may be held by the employees, but in the big corporations matters have not gone so far, and it is evident that employee shareholding does not, in these concerns at any rate, give the workers anything like an

effective voice in the conduct of the enterprise.

It may be noted also that about one-half of the shares issued to employees in these schemes are of the non-voting variety. None of the shareholding plans, it is stated, contemplate representation of the employees in management. It is further noted that on an average the number of employee shareholders in all corporations operating such schemes is not more than 15 per cent. of the workers employed in these concerns.

Big trees, we know, from little acorns grow, and it is possible the profit-sharing and co-partnership schemes which exist to-day may in course of time develop into an effective partnership of the workers in the control and management of industry. But the ebb and flow in this movement rather suggests that it is not along these lines that economic democracy will be achieved. These schemes run wholly on an individualistic basis. It is the workman, as an individual, who participates in profit-sharing and who becomes the owner of capital in employee shareholding schemes. As it operates to-day the idea, in short, is producing small capitalists, and very small they are; but economic democracy involves a wider application of the idea of participation by the workers in the ownership of capital and the control of industry.

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A Diary of Parliament

June 5

Parliament re-assembled after the Whitsuntide recess. Finance Bill read second time after following Labour amendment, moved by Mr. Snowden, had been rejected, viz.: "That this House declines to assent to the Second Reading of a Bill which gives no relief in the heavy burden of taxation borne by the wage-earning class, imposes new indirect taxes, and proposes to raise revenue from national taxation for the relief from local rates of a particular class, irrespective of individual need, instead of promoting a fundamental reform of the rating system by levying rates upon site values which are created by the industry and enterprise of the community."

June 6 and 7

Rating and Valuation (Apportionment) Bill, which classifies the three classes of hereditaments (Productive Industry, Agriculture and Transport) which are to receive rating relief under the Government's scheme. Second reading moved by Minister of Health, and carried, after the Labour amendment for its rejection, moved by Mr. Snowden, had been negatived

June 8

Government presented and carried a resolution imposing an import duty of 25 per cent. on enamelled holloware (pots and pans, etc.). Labour opposed the resolution, and also registered two protests: (1) That the Government had sprung the resolution on the House at two days' notice; and (2) That the proposed duty had been allowed to leak out from the Board of Trade before Parliament had been made aware of the Government's intention to impose it.

June 11

Home Secretary made his promised "Russian Gold" statement. On April 19 he had stated that bank notes found on persons described as "Irish gunmen" had been traced to a Russian banking institution in this country. Thereupon the two Russian banks in this country, the Bank for Russian Trade and the Moscow Narodny Bank, wrote to him challenging his statement and offering facilities for investigation. This investigation was duly carried out, and in the course of his statement the Home Secretary said:

"So far as the bank for Russian trade was concerned the matter was a very small one, and related to two £10 Bank of England notes which had been found in the possession of Michael Burke, alias Smith, when he was arrested on March 17th, 1928. My inquiries have established definitely that these notes passed through the Bank for Russian Trade, and the bank informed my representatives that on November 9th, 1927, they dispatched them by registered post with other notes, amounting in all to £9,800, to the Guarantee and Credit Bank, another Soviet institution, in Berlin. The subsequent movements of these two notes have not yet been traced.

"As regards the Moscow Narodny Bank, I had information from police sources of far more extensive transactions, in the course of which large quantities of £1 Treasury notes passed through the bank to various Communist organisations in this country." After giving details of certain transactions in which three British subjects were involved (W. B. Duncan, an employee of the Moscow Narodny Bank, F. Quelch and F. Priestley, employees of Centrosuyos, another Soviet trading organisation), the Home Secretary added: "I find, therefore, that through these three persons, Duncan,

Quelch and Priestley, a total sum of not less than £27,998 was disbursed for Communist purposes during the period July 5, 1927, to April 20, 1928, and that at least £10,330 of this sum was derived from a payment of £5 Bank of England notes made through the Moscow Narodny Bank to the Commercial Attache at the Soviet Embassy in May, 1927."

The Home Secretary added: "A full report of my investigations has been communicated to the directors of the Narodny Bank, and I have received from them a detailed statement upon the matter, in the course of which the directors, individually and collectively, disclaim all knowledge of the transactions in question. I ought to add that they have also dismissed further members of their staff who were implicated in this matter." (The Home Secretary had previously stated that the three men, Duncan, Quelch, and Priestley, had been dismissed from their employment.)

See further statement on June 14.

June 13

Prayer Book measure introduced.

June 14

Prayer Book measure (continued). Motion for presentation for Royal Assent negatived by 266 votes to 220.

Russian gold: In reply to further questions the Home Secretary said: "I accept the statement of the directors of the Moscow Narodny Bank that they were unaware of what was going on, and I, therefore, do not propose to take any action against the bank. As regards the other persons concerned, I am consulting my legal advisers as to whether there is an offence that can be dealt with by legal proceedings.

Mr. Ben Riley (Labour) then asked: "May I ask whether as a result of the recent inquiries no evidence at all was forthcoming that money was sent by the Soviet Government to the Soviet Banks in this country for distribution among the Communist Party?"

Home Secretary replied: "That is quite true, and it is fair to say that the connection between the Soviet Government and the Soviet Banks here has not been established. I have not been able to find any channel through which this money passed, but the fact that the money is there and is being used is clearly evident."

June 18.

Mr. Whitley (the Speaker) announced his intention of retiring from the Chair on the following day, after 28 years in the House and 21 years in office in various capacities.

June 19.

In reply to a Labour question, the Secretary for Mines admitted that since January, 1925, 1,112 coal mines in Great Britain had been closed down, and that 203,443 fewer miners were employed.

Mr. Speaker's retirement: On the motion of the Prime Minister, supported by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the thanks of the House were accorded to Mr. Whitley on his retirement, and a motion was adopted suggesting to his Majesty that some "signal mark of his Royal Favour" should be conferred on Mr. Whitley.

June 20

On the motion of Sir Robert Sanders (Tory), seconded by Mr. C. W. Bowerman (Labour), Captain Fitzroy was unanimously elected Speaker of the House.

Labour Exposes Tory Rating Proposals

PARLIAMENT has now had an opportunity of considering the Government's so-called Rating Relief Scheme, and under the searching examination to which the Labour Party has submitted it, it stands much lower now in public estimation than it did when Mr. Churchill announced it with his rhetorical flourish on Budget Day.

The scheme now stands revealed for what it is—not a sound, scientifically planned proposal for relieving the necessitous areas of their heavy rating burden, and of putting the distressed industries on their feet, but an ill-conceived arrangement which will give unnecessary doles to many concerns that are already making millions of pounds a year in profits, which will not give enough to the needy industries to restore them to prosperity, and which will leave two of the largest and most deserving groups of ratepayers—the shopkeepers and the householders—without a single penny of help at all.

With regard to the inequitable way in which the rating relief is to be distributed, Mr. Arthur Greenwood put his finger on the fundamentally objectionable spot when he said in the House on June 7:—

"There is no objection to helping prosperous enterprises if it is part of a general scheme of rate remission. But if the scheme is not to cover the whole field, then the field which is to be covered clearly must be, if it is to be scientific and effective, restricted to the needy and to the depressed trades. Otherwise, if within that field you have delimited for special rating relief, there are people who are more prosperous than people who are outside it, you have immediately created an injustice which you can never overcome,"

That there are people who are going to receive relief who are more prosperous than those who are left outside the scheme cannot be open to a shadow of a doubt. Because they come under the heading of "productive industry," fabulously wealthy concerns like Courtaulds, the artificial silk manufacturers, Guinnesses, the brewers, the Imperial Tobacco Company, and hundreds more, are to be subsidised from Exchequer funds to the extent of three-quarters of their rate bills. On the other hand, because they do not come within the "productive" category defined by the Government's Rating and Valuation (Apportionment) Bill, the shopkeepers, the householders, and the concerns engaged in the distribution of food supplies will not receive any assistance. Nor will the public utility undertakings which provide the community with its gas, water, and electricity services.

Not only do we have the anomaly, therefore, of very profitable concerns being subsidised

whilst less profitable concerns, who may even be losing money, are not helped at all, but we have the ridiculous spectacle of companies engaged "productively" in the manufacture of luxuries like scents, perfumes, face powders, lipsticks, silk fineries, pianos, gramophones and saxophones being subsidised at the public expense, whilst undertakings engaged on "work of national importance," like the provision of gas, electricity and water, and the distribution of the food supplies of the people, are placed outside the benefits of the scheme altogether.

The Right Hon. William Graham, M.P., on another page, has explained how the scheme will distribute from £25,000,000 to £30,000,000 a year, on the basis of relief from 75 per cent. of their rate bills, to the concerns that have been singled out for assistance in the three lucky categories of (1) Productive Industry, (2) Agriculture, and (3) Transport. He has explained, too, that the greater part of this £25,000,000 to £30,000,000 will be raised by means of the Petrol Tax that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has imposed, and which—anomalous enough—is going to saddle with a new burden many of those concerns engaged in the distribution of foodstuffs and necessities which are specifically barred from participation in the benefits of the scheme. They are to pay heavily into the "Relief" Fund, but they are not to get a penny out of it.

The Government have not yet given a full explanation of the extent to which the various industries will benefit under the scheme, but certain industries have been mentioned, and they are as follows:—

Industry.	Estimated relief, £
Engineering (including marine)	2,500,000 to 3,000,000
Shipbuilding.....	400,000
Chemicals.....	600,000
Coal.....	2,500,000
Cotton spinning and weaving	1,500,000
Heavy iron and steel	550,000
Breweries and distilleries	400,000
Bleaching and dyeing	550,000
Metal trades (other than iron and steel, engineering and shipbuilding)	1,250,000
Leather, boot and shoe, clothing and rubber trades	800,000
Food trades (including cattle foods)	850,000
Textile trades (other than cotton and wool)	350,000
Paper, printing and bookbinding....	750,000
Tobacco.....	250,000
Pottery, glassware, etc.	300,000

These figures were given in the House of Commons by the President of the Board of Trade and his Parliamentary Secretary on May 14 and June 21.

Mr. Baldwin himself has had to admit that the scheme will grant big doles to many wealthy firms and industries who do not stand in need of them. In a speech at Dundas Castle on June 16 he said; "It is quite true that we shall help some flourishing industries." And in the same speech he admitted that it was equally true that they were not going to help deserving classes of ratepayers like the shopkeepers and the householders.

Mr. Winston Churchill went even further. In a speech in the House of Commons on June 5, he admitted that £6,500,000 of his doles were going to industries that were "not depressed," and he did not attempt to contradict Mr. Arthur Greenwood on the following day when that Labour member pointed out that a further £5,000,000 or so would very likely be going to companies that individually did not need it, although their industry as a whole might be a depressed one. On that basis, more than £11,000,000 of the £26,000,000 dole that the Chancellor is distributing is dissipated straight away, without any accruing economic advantage to the community, except perhaps, as Mr. Greenwood pointed out, in enlarged profits and enlarged directors' fees to those who work the enterprises.

Perhaps there is no more graphic way of illustrating the unsoundness and unfairness of the scheme than by pointing to a few of the highly prosperous concerns which, from next year onwards, are to get big "dole" at the public expense under the scheme. Hundreds might be mentioned, but here is a selection:—

ARTHUR GUINNESS AND Co. (Brewers)—

	Profit.	Dividend.
1921 ..	£1,906,284 ..	25 per cent. Tax free
1922 ..	2,252,475 ..	29 " "
1923 ..	2,011,910 ..	27 " "
1924 ..	2,389,624 ..	26 " "
1925 ..	3,039,096 ..	32 " "
1926 ..	2,618,919 ..	32 " "
1927 ..	2,525,531 ..	28 " "

In May, 1923, a bonus of 50 per cent. was given to shareholders.

INDE COOPE AND Co. (Brewers)—

1921 ..	£144,732 ..	40 per cent.
1922 ..	132,887 ..	20 " "
1923 ..	145,114 ..	20 " "
1924 ..	220,514 ..	25 " "
1925 ..	230,919 ..	25 " "
1926 ..	226,638 ..	25 " "
1927 ..	233,170 ..	25 " "

MEUX'S BREWERY—

1924 ..	£124,442 ..	300 per cent.
1925 ..	138,893 ..	450 " "
1926 ..	148,400 ..	40 " "
1927 ..	156,197 ..	70 " "

WATNEY, COOMBE, REID AND Co (Brewers)—

	Profit.	Dividend.
1919 ..	£431,814 ..	24 per cent.
1920 ..	493,205 ..	24 " "
1921 ..	281,524 ..	24 " "
1922 ..	614,614 ..	32 " "
1923 ..	690,718 ..	16 " "
1924 ..	702,628 ..	20 " "
1925 ..	1,198,489 ..	17 " "
1926 ..	1,135,117 ..	17 " "
1927 ..	1,188,100 ..	17 " "

In 1922 and again in 1924 the company issued a bonus of £750,000 to shareholders.

BASS, RATCLIFF, AND GRETTON (Brewers)—

1924 ..	£463,057 ..	13 per cent. Tax free.
1925 ..	455,868 ..	13 " "
1926 ..	464,576 ..	13 " "
1927 ..	479,360 ..	15 " "

In June, 1920, a bonus of 50 per cent. was given to shareholders.

BUCHANAN-DEWAR (Distillers)—

1923 ..	£959,740 ..	30 per cent. Tax free
1924 ..	1,102,657 ..	25 " "
1925 ..	1,024,371 ..	25 " "
1926 ..	1,059,328 ..	25 " "
1927 ..	1,155,563 ..	28 " "

In February, 1924, a share bonus of 100 per cent. was issued to shareholders from undivided profits.

THE DISTILLERS' COMPANY—

1925 ..	£1,489,067 ..	20 per cent.
1926 ..	2,098,441 ..	20 " "
1927 ..	2,104,293 ..	20 " "

A share bonus of 25 per cent. was issued in 1923.

HIGHLAND DISTILLERIES LIMITED—

1923 ..	£41,512 ..	30 per cent. Tax free
1924 ..	69,326 ..	35 " "
1925 ..	96,273 ..	46 " "
1926 ..	66,468 ..	50 " "
1927 ..	52,390 ..	50 " "

JOHN WALKER AND SONS (Distillers)—

1924 ..	£798,246 ..	20 per cent. Tax free.
1925 ..	488,499 ..	21½ " "
1926 ..	654,410 ..	25 " "
1927 ..	656,424 ..	25 " "

COURTAULDS LTD. (Artificial silk manufacturers)—

1925 ..	£4,411,413 ..	25 per cent. Tax free
1926 ..	3,840,791 ..	22½ " "
1927 ..	4,835,921 ..	25 " "

In January, 1920, a bonus of 100 per cent. was distributed, and in November, 1920, a further bonus of 200 per cent. Altogether, 10,000,000 shares were allotted as fully-paid to shareholders.

DUBARRY PERFUMERY CO. LTD. (Manufacturers of perfumery, face powder, toilet cream, lipstick, etc.)—

1925 ..	.. ..	70 per cent.
1926 ..	.. ..	75 " "
1927 ..	.. ..	25 " (interim)

BRITISH AMERICAN TOBACCO COMPANY—

1925 ..	£5,145,238 ..	27½ per cent. Tax free.
1926 ..	6,195,816 ..	25 " "
1927 ..	6,354,096 ..	25 " "

IMPERIAL TOBACCO COMPANY—

1925 ..	£8,884,990 ..	24 per cent. Tax free.
1926 ..	8,968,355 ..	24 " "
1927 ..	9,227,797 ..	25 " "

JOSEPH CROSFIELD AND SONS (Soap manufacturers.
Controlled by Lever Brothers)—

	Profit.	Dividend.
1925 ..	£383,089 ..	10 per cent.
1926 ..	343,022 ..	10 "
1927 ..	461,806 ..	10 "

JOHN KNIGHT (Soap manufactures. Controlled by Lever Brothers)—

1925 ..	£156,507 ..	30 per cent.
1926 ..	148,509 ..	15 "
1927 ..	170,672 ..	30 "

YARDLEY AND CO. LTD. (Manufacturers of scents, face creams, bath salts, etc.)—

1924 ..	.. ..	105 per cent.
1925 ..	.. ..	30 "
1926 ..	.. ..	30 "
1927 ..	.. ..	12 " (interim)

MAIDENHEAD BRICK AND TILE CO. LTD.—

1925 ..	£13,666 ..	37½ per cent.
1926 ..	14,777 ..	56 "
1927 ..	14,461 ..	56 "

LONDON BRICK COMPANY AND FORDERS LIMITED—

1925 ..	£297,277 ..	20 per cent.
1926 ..	299,401 ..	20 "
1927 ..	325,886 ..	25 "

MATHER AND PLATT LIMITED (Mechanical, hydraulic, and electrical engineers)—

1925 ..	£260,665 ..	15 per cent. Tax free.
1926 ..	251,636 ..	15 " "
1927 ..	232,946 ..	15 " "

A share bonus of 75 per cent. was distributed in 1920.

GENERAL ELECTRIC CO. LTD.—

1925 ..	£791,455 ..	7½ per cent.
1926 ..	841,185 ..	7½ "
1927 ..	798,337 ..	7½ "

A share bonus of 50 per cent. was distributed in 1918.

WALL PAPER MANUFACTURERS LTD.—

1922 ..	£604,074 ..	10 per cent.
1923 ..	586,619 ..	10 "
1924 ..	695,252 ..	10 "
1925 ..	665,900 ..	10 "
1926 ..	574,674 ..	10 "
1927 ..	551,526 ..	10 "

Share bonus of 50 per cent. was distributed in 1920.

BRYANT AND MAY LTD.—

1920 ..	£202,642 ..	11 per cent. Tax free
1921 ..	190,324 ..	11 " "
1922 ..	208,135 ..	11 " "
1923 ..	273,523 ..	12 " "
1924 ..	305,692 ..	12½ " "
1925 ..	346,388 ..	12½ " "
1926 ..	334,920 ..	12½ " "
1927 ..	387,214 ..	12½ " "

METROPOLITAN VICKERS ELECTRICAL CO. LTD.—

1920 ..	£308,491 ..	12½ per cent.
1921 ..	337,102 ..	12½ "
1922 ..	225,058 ..	12½ "
1923 ..	140,963 ..	8 "
1924 ..	178,808 ..	8 "
1925 ..	178,167 ..	8 "
1926 ..	232,193 ..	8 "
1927 ..	213,293 ..	6 "

The brewing industry, as the Financial Secretary to the Treasury admitted on May 16, 1928, in reply to a Labour Member, increased its profits from less than £10,000,000 in the year before the war to £19,250,000 in 1921-2, then again to £22,250,000 in 1922-3, again to £23,250,000 in 1923-4, and again to £24,500,000 last year (1926-7). Yet the prosperous brewers and distillers, with their huge dividends and issues of bonus shares, are now to get a subsidy of £400,000 a year from the Exchequer funds. And there are many other recipients-to-be of the dole who are in an equally prosperous financial position.

Yet in regard to the industries that really are depressed—coal, for example—the scheme falls lamentably short of giving the measure of relief that is needed. The latest figures for the South Wales coalfield show that the industry there is losing 1s. 4d. a ton. Yet the total relief that the coal industry will receive under the rating scheme is 6½d. a ton, 2½d. of which represents the relief on the colliery rates, and the remaining 4d. the freight rebate which the railway companies will pass on in consequence of the 75 per cent. rate relief that they will receive from the Exchequer in respect of their own properties.

The Labour Party has emphasised these injustices and anomalies and shortcomings of the scheme in all the debates that have taken place, and on the Second Reading it moved the rejection of the scheme in an amendment which stated:—

"This House declines to assent to the Second Reading of a Bill which proposes a new practice in the assessment of property for local rating, bound to create unfair and unjust discrimination between particular enterprises and between industries and localities, is preparatory to a scheme for subsidising certain industries without regard to the conditions of each industry or of the special needs and circumstances of different areas, and is calculated to increase the burden upon householders and shopkeepers and upon road transport and the distributive trade generally."

Needless to say, the amendment was defeated. The Government's sledgehammer majority enabled it to get its own way and the same majority will no doubt secure the ultimate passage of the scheme into law. Then the people who have been left outside the scope of its benefits may have something to say.

C. E. L.

Housebuilding Slump Follows Reduction in Subsidy

ON October 1 last the Government reduced the subsidy in aid of working-class houses. The result, as recent admissions by Ministers in reply to Labour questions has revealed, is that house-building has slumped considerably, exactly as the Labour Party predicted would be the case.

The Minister of Health himself admits that there is a slump, for when he was tackled on the question during the debate on the Estimates of his Department on May 15, he replied: "I have never felt any anxiety about *this slump that has taken place in the last few months.*" But if he does not feel any anxiety, some of the homeless people do.

One of the most damaging condemnations of the Government's policy is contained in the answer which Sir Kingsley Wood, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health, gave in the House on March 13 of this year. The statistical table which he laid before the House on that occasion shows that from the date of the reduction of the subsidy there was a huge and sudden reduction in the monthly number of houses completed. The table was as follows:—

	No. of subsidy houses completed in month.
May, 1927	14,358
June, 1927	16,414
July, 1927	18,810
August, 1927	18,873
September, 1927.....	52,261*
October, 1927.....	11,084
November, 1927.....	6,940
December, 1927.....	6,276
January, 1928	5,959
February, 1928	6,623

* Subsidy ended here.

The second admission out of the mouths of the Government themselves was made by Sir Kingsley Wood on June 12 this year. He said that—

On May 1 this year the number of subsidy houses under construction was 57,992, and the number sanctioned but not started was 86,985, making a total of 144,977.

On the same date last year, before the reduction in the subsidy, the corresponding numbers were 117,491 and 106,580, making a total of 224,071.

The third admission by the Government was contained in another answer by Sir Kingsley Wood on June 12, in which he said that—

The number of houses completed between the date of the reduction of the subsidy (October 1, 1927) and May 1, 1928, was 51,531.

The average number for the same period during the three preceding years was 68,713.

Then there was also the admission made by the Minister of Health himself on May 10th this year, in which he said: "I am aware that, as compared with the abnormally high rate of house building just before the reduction of the subsidy became operative, the subsequent statistics show a falling off in the rate of house building." His admission that the rate of house building has fallen off, we accept. His suggestion that it only shows a falling off "*as compared with the abnormally high rate of house building just before the reduction of the subsidy,*" we do not accept. It is true that the anxiety of builders and local authorities to secure the unreduced rate of subsidy caused an artificial and temporary acceleration of house building in the months immediately preceding October last, but as compared with the five and six thousand houses built monthly in the period following the reduction of the subsidy, the country was building nine, ten, eleven, and twelve thousand monthly as far back as the early part of the year 1926.

In an attempt to divert attention from the reduction in the rate of house-building that has accompanied the reduced subsidy, the Tories are sedulously cultivating the claim that the reduced subsidy has caused a reduction in building prices. It is true that building prices have come down, but there is no proof that the reduction is due to the reduction of the subsidy. On the other hand, *there were also big reductions in the cost of building in Scotland during 1927, despite the fact that there was no reduction of the subsidy in that country.* If prices went down in Scotland, without a reduction of the subsidy, how can the contemporaneous fall in prices that has taken place in England and Wales be laid to the credit of the reduction in the subsidy there?

Meanwhile, despite the fact that over 1,000,000 houses have been built since the Armistice, the housing shortage is worse to-day than at the end of the war. According to official estimates, about 1,000,000 working-class houses were then needed. A further 100,000 a year are required to make good wear and tear and to keep pace with the growth of the population. About 1,900,000 houses ought therefore to have been built during the last nine years if the housing problem was to be solved. Actually only just over 1,000,000 have been built, and of these 348,158 were of the non-subsidy type that obviously were not for the use of working-class families.

Book Reviews

Hundred-Acre Farm. By G. T. Garratt.
(Longmans, Green, and Company. 5s.)

Mr. Garratt has written an entirely charming book. It is homely, practical, and fresh, and displays life on an East Anglian farm in the rain, in the cold, in the dry, and in the sunshine with deft and kindly touches. It is, perhaps, a little cynical sometimes, but it is full of sane and useful suggestions, and it betrays, almost on every page, a store of experience and generous culture that is a joy to share.

It should be read, not only by those who want to know what the farmer and the farm labourer have to do and to put up with, but for the sheer pleasure of reading it.

Mr. Garratt has no sovereign remedy for agricultural ills—he knows too much about them—but he offers practical guidance on a great variety of topics—on cropping, manuring, pig breeding, milk production, marketing, and many more.

Content with telling an unvarnished tale, and without any attempt to make a case, Mr. Garratt's account provides valuable reinforcement for the two chief constituents of the Labour Party's policy on agriculture, namely, national land ownership and organised marketing.

There is, as he says, too little profit in productive industry. It is the middle man who gets the lion's share; or, as Mr. Garratt's jobber friend remarked: "I allus takes my hat off to you farmer gennelmen; but I makes a — good living out of your losses." The plain fact about marketing is that "Only the nation as a whole is large enough and strong enough to deal with it."

Here is a fragment of his reflections on the psychology of the countryman, with his mixture of independence, stolidity, shyness, and courage:—

"On many farms the cowman, for several months a year, walks across a pitch-dark, sodden field in order to give his cows their first feed, preparatory to milking at 5 a.m. On others you will see a single plowman at work in a 30-acre field, which means about six weeks' solitary and monotonous work. He is probably completely alone, because even on heavy land one seldom sees a lead boy. A 14-year-old boy now gets 12s. a week. He used to get half-a-crown. The plowman must work alone."

Nevertheless, Garratt sees a rapid and welcome improvement in village life, a decay of the reliance on patronage, a wider outlook and more self-reliance, less parochialism and inter-marriage, thanks to the motor 'bus, the

wireless, the post-war awakening, and other recent developments. But the grabbing of cottages by those who want "a little place in the country" for the week-end or for retirement, coupled with the indolence of many rural councils and the poverty of the farmers or owners is having a most damaging effect both in worsening home conditions and in driving grown-up children away. On this we are given some striking statistics—worse even than some of us expected. It is clear that this is one of the two governing facts in the rural question; the other is that there is a meagre, indeed a gruesome meagreness of profit for those who by unceasing labour are producing food. Conditions in other parts of the country differ widely from those in East Anglia, but these two things, housing and prices, seem to obtrude themselves everywhere. The encouraging fact is—and Garratt's pages provide abundant evidence of it—that there are a multitude of opportunities for help and improvement. They cannot, however, be fully, or even widely, used unless we can offer a better reward and an enlargement of life to those engaged in the industry. They need it, and they do indeed deserve it.

CHRISTOPHER ADDISON.

Stone's Justices' Manual; 60th Edition, 1928.
(Butterworth and Company. 37s. 6d.)

These 2,035 pages are indispensable to every Justice of the Peace, and to everyone called upon to give reliable information and advice on personal difficulties. They range over the law on every conceivable subject likely to come before the local magistrates, and form the best investment a J.P. is ever likely to make. 37s. 6d. is a lot of money, but in this case it is well spent.

The Labour J.P. (and this applies to all J.P.'s) is more than a piece of legal machinery or an automatic signature. He is in a position to give invaluable assistance to members of the public, and no reputation is more enviable than that of general guide, philosopher, and friend. There is a continuous demand for assistance in personal troubles, as every Justice knows, and as the success of the Poor Man's Lawyer fully testifies. Armed with the "Justices' Manual," the J.P. may feel confident that accuracy will be allied with sympathy.

If 37s. 6d. is impossible for the individual, local Labour parties would be well advised to consider a party copy placed at the disposal of its J.P. members and others likely to make good use of it.

G. McK.

Industrial Developments

Wage Movements in May

According to the *Ministry of Labour Gazette* wage changes in the industries for which statistics are compiled by the Ministry resulted, by the end of May, in a net reduction of £3,000 in the weekly full-time wages of 31,600 workpeople, and a net increase of £3,500 in those of 45,000 workpeople.

The reductions in wages affected chiefly iron-miners in Cumberland, iron-miners and blastfurnacemen in North Lincolnshire, and iron-puddlers and millmen in the North of England, but other workers also affected were men employed in the cooperage industry, tramway-men at Liverpool, and plasterers in Scotland.

The principal increase in wages was in the case of the minimum rates fixed under the Trade Boards Acts for workpeople employed in the jute industry in Great Britain, and there was also an increase in the wages of men employed at railway generating-stations.

* * *

Summary of 1928 Wage Statistics

During the first five months of 1928 the changes reported to the Ministry in the industries for which statistics have been compiled have resulted in net reductions of £117,800 in the weekly full-time wages of 1,134,000 workpeople, and net increases of £13,750 in those of 147,000 workpeople. Of the total net reduction, coal-mining accounted for over £58,000, and the building and allied industries for £43,000. In the corresponding period of 1927, there were net reductions of £167,000 in the weekly full-time wages of 1,120,000 workpeople, and net increases of £23,250 in those of 311,000 workpeople.

* * *

Statistics of Trade Disputes

During May, 23 trade disputes involving stoppages of work were reported to the Ministry as beginning in that month. In addition, 20 disputes which began before May were still in progress at the beginning of the month. The number of workpeople involved in all disputes in May, including those thrown out of work at the establishments where the disputes occurred, but not themselves parties to the disputes, was about 21,500, and the aggregate duration of all disputes during the month was about 114,000 working days. These figures compare with totals of 2,900 workpeople involved and 30,000 working days lost in April, and with 23,400 workpeople involved and 84,000 days lost in May, 1927.

The aggregate duration of all disputes in progress in the first five months of 1928 was about 475,000 working days, and the total number of workpeople involved in these disputes was about 84,000. The figures for the corresponding period of 1927 were 605,000 days and 53,000 workpeople respectively.

* * *

Trades Councils in Conference

A highly successful conference of Trades Councils, the Fourth Annual Conference, was held at Transport House last month. Mr. George Hicks, Vice-President of the Trades Union Congress, presided, in place of Mr. Ben Turner, Chairman of the T.U.C. General Council, who was unable to be present owing to business in connection with his union. In the course of his opening address, Mr. Hicks stated that he had held the view for a number of years that the Trades Councils should be locally what the Trades Union Congress was

nationally. He believed that the formation of the Joint Consultative Committee of the Trades Councils was not merely an accident but had been brought about by the pressure of industrial conditions, and that there was more vitality in the Trades Councils Movement as a result of their association with the General Council of the Trades Union Congress. He laid great stress on the assistance which the Trades Councils could render in the localities by bringing people into contact with the Trade Union, Labour, and Co-operative Movements, and thus helping in the work of organising the non-unionists.

* * *

Tailors' and Garment Workers' Union

The Fourth General Conference of the Tailors' and Garment Workers' Union was held in Leeds from May 27 to 30, and was attended by some 70 delegates, Mr. T. Griffiths presiding.

An important question before the conference concerned the national agreements, notice having been given to the employers that the union proposed to terminate all three, and to press forward the claim for increased wages, payment for holidays, and other questions. After a long discussion, the conference decided that the executive of the union should approach the employers with a view to negotiating a new agreement, and a modification of the original wage proposals was sanctioned.

The amended claim put forward by the union requires an increase of 1d. an hour for all women workers and ½d. an hour for men, with the abolition of differential rates for heavy clothing workers and for a week's holiday annually with pay on a non-contributory basis.

The conference also decided to call together representatives from all the co-operative clothing factories to consider hours, wages, and working conditions, with a view to dealing with existing grievances.

* * *

National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives

The National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives held their Annual Conference at Yarmouth during the week beginning May 29, under the chairmanship of Mr. T. F. Richards.

In the course of the discussion on the report of the Executive Committee, considerable debate was caused by the section dealing with the activities of the Minority Movement. The report stated that the Executive had refused permission for union members to attend Minority Movement conferences, and added that the movement should not be allowed to entrench itself as a result of its members being given the opportunity to hold official positions. This report was adopted by the conference with only five dissentients.

The Unemployment Insurance Act, 1927, also came up for consideration, and in this connection the question of whether or not the union should continue to administer State unemployment benefit was discussed, and a resolution was adopted suggesting that a strong recommendation be made to the Minister of Labour that the union should be allowed to administer the Act on the old, or similar, lines.

On the proposal of the Executive Council, a new rule was adopted giving power to the executive to initiate disciplinary action against members held to have acted contrary to the interests of the union.

The most striking decision made by the conference was the decision, carried by an overwhelming majority, to double the amount of contribution per member contracting-in to the political fund of the society.

International Trade Union Notes and Labour Abroad

(Specially contributed to the LABOUR MAGAZINE by the International Federation of Trade Unions.)

Greece Joins the International Federation of Trade Unions

The recent Congress of the Greek National Trade Union Centre decided by 322 to 1 vote to affiliate with the I.F.T.U.

* * *

Compulsory Arbitration in Disputes over Collective Agreements in Sweden

The Swedish Parliament has now passed the two laws dealing respectively with collective agreements and Industrial Courts. In respect of the conclusion of collective agreements and the proclamation of strikes and lock-outs, the Trade Unions and employers' associations can, as before, make decisions unhindered. This means that in these respects the situation remains unaltered, and there will be no legal compulsion. The compulsory arbitration provided for in the new laws relates only to collective agreements which are *already in existence*. It enacts that collective agreements shall be binding on all the members of the organisations concluding them. Separate agreements which are contrary to the provisions of the agreements are to be invalid. During the period covered by the agreement neither party may proclaim a strike or lock-out, or take any similar measure, irrespective of whether such measure concerns the prohibition, the application or the proper interpretation of the collective agreement, or the initiation of changes and new provisions which are to come into force after the expiry of the agreement. It is further forbidden for any assistance to be given to those who are themselves prohibited from such acts. In such cases the contracting organisations may not organise or aid sympathetic measures, nor may they lend their aid to members initiating such activities. Should there be any breach of these regulations, the guilty party may be sentenced to pay compensation, the amount of which will be fixed by the Industrial Court. If, however, the collective agreements in question contain no explicit prohibition, the Trade Unions and employers' associations may proceed to take sympathetic measures.

Under the Industrial Courts Act all complaints and cases of dispute concerning the interpretation of collective agreements are to be submitted for decision to an *Industrial Court*. The Industrial Court is to consist of a president and six ordinary members, and it will have its seat in Stockholm. No appeal may be made from the decisions of this court.

* * *

Membership Increase in Austria

The Austrian Trade Union movement, which was so hard hit by the war and the exceptionally difficult economic conditions of the post-war period, is now again on the up-grade. The centre reports officially that the membership at the end of 1927 was 597,771 men and 174,991 women, making a total of 772,762, and showing an increase in comparison with that of the end of 1926 of 16,370 members.

Minimum Wage Legislation in Uruguay

The Uruguayan Parliament has recently passed a law which fixes for all workers a minimum wage of 50 pesos per month and 2.50 pesos per day (one peso is about 4s.). If this law is applied strictly, Uruguay, which has hitherto had no special reason to be proud of her treatment of her workers, will become one of the most progressive countries in the world.

* * *

Affiliations

The Greek Federation of Commercial and Clerical Employees, with 4,000 members, has affiliated with the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees, which now comprises 19 countries.

The British National Union of Clerks and Administrative Workers, with a membership of 7,000, has now affiliated with the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees, bringing the number of unions affiliated with this International up to 47.

* * *

Zinc Cartel Founded

The European Zinc Cartel has now been founded at Brussels. All the European producers attended the meeting, so that 95 per cent. of the European and about 48 per cent. of the world production is controlled by the Cartel. The first step of the new Cartel has been to establish a statistical office, and plans are already under contemplation to limit production.

* * *

Arbitration Award and Professional Football Players

In the application of the decree re the introduction of mixed Arbitration Courts in Spain the national federations of Spanish football unions have moved that football players be excluded from the general legislation. Disputes often arise between the professional players and the executives of the various unions, and hitherto such disputes have been settled by the national executive of the Football Federation. The motion was rejected.

REPORT ON LABOUR CONDITIONS IN INDIA

By A. A. PURCELL, M.P., and
J. HALLSWORTH

*Being the Report of the British Trades
Union Congress Delegation to India,
November, 1927, to March, 1928.*

Price 1s., post free.

From the Literature Department, Trades Union Congress,
Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1.

International Labour Office Notes

The Eleventh Conference

Forty-two States, represented by 136 delegates and 184 advisers, were present at the eleventh Session of the International Labour Conference which opened in Geneva on May 30 and closed on June 16. The British delegation was composed of Sir Malcolm Delevinge, Deputy Under Secretary of State, Home Office, and Mr. Humbert Wolfe, Principal Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Labour (Government); Sir David Milne Watson, Governor of the Gas, Light, and Coke Company (employers); and Mr. E. L. Poulton, Secretary of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives (workers).

* * *

British Advisers

Among the British Advisers were Sir Gerald Bellhouse, Chief Inspector of Factories (Home Office) and Miss Mary Pickford (Government); Mr. J. A. Gregorson, General Secretary of the Iron and Steel Trade Employers' Association (Employers); Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., Miss Margaret Bondfield, M.P., Mr. Ernest Bevin, Mr. W. M. Citrine, and Mr. H. H. Elvin. Australia, Canada, India, Irish Free State, and South Africa were all represented by full delegations.

* * *

Minimum Wage Fixing

The President of the Conference was Dr. Llamas, the Argentine Government delegate. Of the two formal items on its agenda, the first was the final decision on minimum wage-fixing machinery, upon which a preliminary discussion was held last year. By 76 votes against 21 a draft convention was adopted, by the terms of which each State which ratifies undertakes to create or maintain machinery whereby minimum rates of wages can be fixed for workers employed in certain of the trades or parts of trades (and, in particular, in home-working trades), in which no arrangements exist for the effective regulation of wages by collective agreement or otherwise and wages are exceptionally low.

* * *

Women's Wages

By 81 votes against 18 a recommendation was adopted on the same subject, indicating various methods by which States can carry out the obligations of the Convention. The recommendation concludes with the following words: "The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation thinks it right to call the attention of Governments to the principle affirmed by Article 427 of the Peace Treaty that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value."

* * *

Industrial Accident Prevention

The second item was a preliminary discussion on industrial accident prevention, the conference having to decide whether the subject should be included in the agenda of next year's session for final decision, and, if so, the terms of the questions which, in accordance with the regular procedure, each Government is to be asked in connection with it. The subject was divided into three sections—general accident prevention, dock workers and their protection against accidents in loading and unloading ships, and coupling accidents on railways. The conference decided that the first two subjects should go forward next year and settled the form of the questions. As regards coupling accidents, it was decided to set up a joint committee to study the whole question.

Washington Hours Convention

As usual, the Hours Convention, adopted at the Washington Session in 1919, was one of the most important topics in the discussion on the report of the Director of the International Labour Office, M. Albert Thomas, on the work of the previous year. The question had been raised at the meeting of the Governing Body which was held immediately before the Conference. Mr. Wolfe, for the British Government, proposed that the Director should be instructed to report on the working of the Hours Convention. Members of the workers' group said that they would not sanction calling for a report which would be "the first step to revision." Mr. Wolfe objected to a suggested compromise, on the grounds of delay, and described the Hours Convention as "a running sore in the body of the International Labour Organisation." His proposal was not adopted, and the Governing Body finally agreed to ask the Director to "prepare the reports on the Conventions adopted at Washington in 1919, which, according to the terms of the Conventions, must be submitted within ten years at latest, and lay each report before the Governing Body as soon as it is completed."

* * *

The British Government Declaration

At the Conference, during the discussion of the director's report, Mr. Wolfe, on behalf of the British Government, made the following formal declaration: "The British Government, while adhering to the principles of the Washington Convention and proceeding in the light of what was discussed at the London Conference, desires, as a means of ensuring progress, to define those principles more precisely, thus laying the basis for uniformity and providing what is needed to secure that international action is practicable." He added that the Government would enter into details at the appropriate moment, when, with other Governments, under the procedure now agreed by the Governing Body, it is asked for its views. M. Jouhaux (France) said that Mr. Wolfe had not removed the uneasiness felt by the workers' group.

* * *

Governing Body Election

The three-yearly election of the Governing Body, which controls the work of the Office, took place during the Conference. This body consists of 24 members, twelve representing the Governments and six each the employers and workers. Great Britain is represented in each of the groups, while Canada has a Government and workers' representative and India and South Africa a Government and employers' representative respectively. Mr. Poulton, who was among those re-elected, was chosen one of the two Vice-Presidents, being the first Englishman to hold that post.

* * *

Telephonic Interpretation

The system of telephonic interpretation of speeches, described last month, which enables a delegate to listen through earphones to an interpretation in his own language while the speech itself is actually being delivered, was tried during the conference, and, although at first somewhat disappointing, was so satisfactory towards the end that ordinary interpretation was dispensed with, and an appreciable amount of time saved. This system will become a regular part of the machinery of the Conference.

Co-operative Activities

Co-operative Congress

As pointed out in the previous month's notes, the 59th Co-operative Congress took place at West Hartlepool during Whit-week, and there was an attendance of 1,800 delegates, in addition to a number of representatives of co-operative organisations in foreign countries. Mr. A. Whitehead delivered the presidential address, and from his long experience as a co-operative employee he pointed to many defects which the movement would do well to try to remedy. Mr. Whitehead is the secretary of the Co-operative Union Limited, and has been with the union practically all his life, having served under the late Mr. J. C. Gray and also under Mr. Vansittart Neale, two men who did a great deal towards the construction of co-operative thought in this country. On other pages of this *Magazine*, Labour and electoral matters warmly discussed at the Congress are dealt with, and here we take the liberty of giving an extract from Mr. Whitehead's address, which it is fully time co-operators began to sit up and notice seriously.

* * *

Unprogressive and Parochial

Mr. Whitehead said: "There are still more than 1,200 separate co-operative societies in Great Britain. All are independent, self-governing organisations. They manage their own business; formulate their own policy, obey their own will; and, as a consequence of their independence and the circumstances in which they now exist, hundreds of these societies are necessarily unprogressive and parochial in their outlook. A large proportion of the 1,200 societies are localised in a little town or district; many are isolated in country places, hundreds are relatively small and appear quite unable to expand and grow. I do not undervalue the services which any society renders to its members; but nearly half of our societies still have less than 1,000 members, and only a quarter of the total number have a membership of 3,000 or more. When the majority are examined, it appears that the typical society is a small business with less than 1,000 customers, a turnover that is not large, and able to offer only a limited range of goods and services. While hundreds of our societies are of this type how can the average rate of purchase grow, and how can they meet strong competition? Not many undeveloped societies can supply all their members' needs, or challenge effective competition, influence market prices, or treat their employees well. Hundreds of them are undersized, uneconomical and unprogressive still."

* * *

C.W.S. and Retail Trade

Whilst societies are competing in congested areas instead of forming one indivisible force, some areas are co-operatively undeveloped through either enterprise or lack of means of adjoining societies. A resolution was adopted at Congress to permit the C.W.S. to step in and take up retail trade in these places. This will have to be done in consultation with the Co-operative Union, Limited, and where the C.W.S. establishes retail business in these co-operative no-man's-lands, this will be handed over to a retail organisation ready to do the job and carry it on successfully. This is a departure in English co-operative practice, and has been enforced at last by necessity and the growth of common-sense.

* * *

Women in Congress

It would be an easy matter this month to fill several pages of this *Magazine* with what has transpired in the movement since last month. The Co-operative

Congress was full of items of more or less intense interest. There has been also the Women's Co-operative Guild Congress at Plymouth during the week commencing June 11, under the presidency of Mrs. Bedhall. The Guild, one of the most influential women's organisations in the world, which has international and Labour attachments, has now 1,294 branches with a membership of over 60,000. The membership ought, of course, to be much greater seeing that the movement depends so much on the woman with the basket. But it has been always a fine spirited body, and in many important matters has led the movement. Perhaps on the occasion of the recent Congress its agenda was over-weighted with resolutions and in future there ought to be a little judicious pruning to give more time for discussion.

* * *

Women and Politics

The President referred to the political equality now gained by women, and we shall be faced with this at the next General Election. Mrs. Bedhall regarded it, quite rightly, as a great responsibility. She thought they would be helped in exercising the wider political power by their experience as wives and mothers and industrial workers. They should be. Women have done good work in the Co-operative Movement, and now they have a chance of doing it for the State. Which way will they go? The Guild is affiliated to the Co-operative Party, and has always shown, as at this Congress, a tendency in the direction of Labour.

* * *

Amalgamation and Press

It is impossible on this page to go into the resolutions. But the women were all-fours with the President of the Co-operative Congress in asserting that amalgamation in the movement is overdue. Amalgamation, they argued, should be enforced to meet capitalistic amalgamation outside. It is no use raving against the business acumen of capitalists and refusing to combine inside. The Guild is also alarmed about the trustification of the Press, and passed a long and strong resolution for "trustification" of the co-operative Press. Their opinion was that all possible forces of the movement should be called together to consider this pressing matter. They were right, too, in demanding journals which would cater for members and others in a popular way. This, in fact, should be the constructive way towards the ultimate establishment of a daily paper.

* * *

Co-operative Printing Results

The Co-operative Printing Society, of which several well-known Labour leaders, Trade Unionists, and co-operators are on the directorate, has recently reported another successful half-year. It derives most of its business from co-operative societies and Labour and Trade Union organisations, and owing to its prosperous state of affairs of recent years, it has been decided to make extensions to its Manchester works at a cost of £8,000, and structural alterations at its London works at a cost of £5,000. Like the rest of the Co-operative Movement, the Society's report of the Newcastle works is not so encouraging. The depressed industrial conditions of this area have seriously affected both co-operative concerns and private stores, and all are looking forward to a change for the better in the near future. For the half-year, however, the sales amounted to £142,072, an increase of £9,999 on the corresponding period. Profits with balance carried forward came to £15,028. There was a dividend of 5 per cent. on share capital, and 2½ per cent. on capital, labour, and trade.

THE LABOUR MAGAZINE

Incorporating The British Trades Union Review and the Labour Party Bulletin

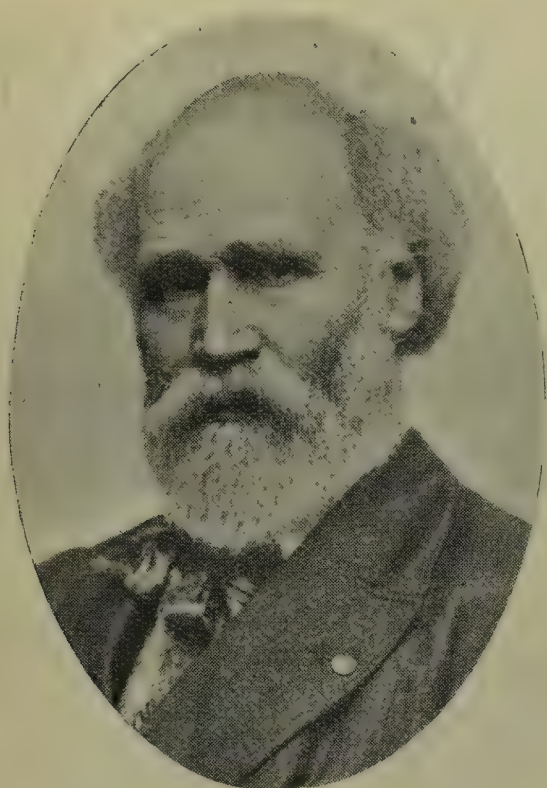
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The Late Keir Hardie, M.P.



The Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P.



The Late Will Crooks, M.P.



Sir David Shackleton, K.B.E.

Twenty-Five Years of Political Change

MR. HENDERSON'S CAREER IN PARLIAMENT

By

HERBERT TRACEY

A TRADE Unionist for 45 years, an official of his union for 30 years, secretary of the Labour Party for 17 years, member of Parliament for 25 years, a city councillor at 30, and mayor at 40, Labour's first Cabinet Minister: these are some of the outstanding facts in the public career of Mr. Arthur Henderson. It is a career to be proud of, and pride in it can be shared by the whole organised Labour Movement. Not the smallest of the benefits that accrue to the national life from the existence of our organised movement is that it helped to make possible a career so honourable and so distinguished.

As a Member of Parliament, Mr. Henderson's career covers practically the entire period of the Labour Party's history. When he entered the House of Commons in July, 1903, the party was still in its swaddling clothes. As a matter of historical fact, indeed, there was strictly speaking no Labour Party in existence. Three years earlier the Trades Union Congress, in conjunction with the Socialist societies, had formed the Labour Representation Committee, with the avowed object of bringing an independent working-class party into being, and the L.R.C. (as we called it) had fought one General Election with 15 candidates, of whom no more than two were returned—Keir Hardie for Merthyr Tydvil and Richard Bell for Derby. An unopposed by-election at Clitheroe in 1902 added D. J. Shackleton to the group of L.R.C. men in Parliament, and in the following year first Will Crooks and then Mr. Henderson increased the size of the group; but the five L.R.C. men (or four if Mr. Bell's somewhat equivocal position be allowed for) did not form a party. In fact, the annual conference of that year adopted, at the instance of Mr. Philip Snowden, a resolution instructing the L.R.C. members in Parliament to form a separate and independent group. Keir Hardie was the only Member of the new Parliament elected in 1900 who was not summoned to attend by the leader of one or other of the parties; even Richard Bell was claimed by the Liberal Party, as it claimed the ten Trade Unionists who had won or retained their seats at the General Election.

Of the original L.R.C. Group, which formed the nucleus of the Labour Party, Mr. Henderson is now the sole Parliamentary survivor—Will

Crooks and Keir Hardie are dead. Mr. (now Sir) D. J. Shackleton and Mr. Richard Bell left the Parliamentary arena for the Civil Service. Mr. Henderson remains, therefore, as the solitary representative of the old L.R.C. All the other Labour Members of Parliament appear in the second chapter of the story of the workers' political organisation—Mr. Henderson finds honourable mention in the very first chapter of that story. The by-election which placed him in Parliament was in itself a significant and enheartening event. It was the first three-cornered contest since the new organisation had become firmly established—the first intimation to the older parties that a new force had appeared on the political field which could successfully challenge them both.

Neither of these parties understood the portent of this by-election. They could not realise that it had brought into active play a personal influence, an administrative and organising ability, which in conjunction with other factors was destined to revolutionise British politics. Liberals and Tories alike were in those days very arrogant and self-assured. It is not at all surprising that they failed to perceive in the victor of Barnard Castle the man who was to take hold of the task of organisation and to transform the L.R.C. with its original affiliated membership of 375,000 into a great national party with a membership of 3,500,000. The older parties were so strongly entrenched that they could not believe in the possibility of a third party arising to challenge their supremacy. Yet in the period covered by Mr. Henderson's 25 years of Parliamentary activity the Labour vote in the constituencies has increased from less than 63,000 to close upon 5,500,000. Here are the figures:—

General Election.	Seats contested.	Members returned.	Labour vote.
1900	15 ..	2 ..	62,698
1906	50 ..	29 ..	323,690
1910 (Jan.) ..	78 ..	40 ..	505,690
1910 (Dec.) ..	56 ..	42 ..	370,802
1918	361 ..	57 ..	2,244,945
1922	414 ..	142 ..	4,236,733
1923	427 ..	191 ..	4,348,379
1924	514 ..	151 ..	5,487,620

No man has a better title than Mr. Henderson to find satisfaction in the progress thus symbolised. It is a cold, historical fact that he more than anyone else is responsible for the

organisation and propaganda that produced these results. His personal career is so intimately bound up with the growth of the Labour movement that to do full justice to it one would need to write not merely the story of Labour in politics, but the history of the organised workers in the twentieth century. At decisive moments in that history he is to be found as an energising and deciding influence, a strong hand on the helm, a dominant force at the centre of events. More than once in the course of the last 25 years it is literally no exaggeration to say that he controlled and determined the fate of the organised movement by his own volition. There have been occasions when his resolute temper, sagacity, and tolerant spirit have kept the movement from being wrecked on some issue of policy or problem of organisation. The guiding principle of his official life has been to keep the movement united, to develop its resources, to make its machinery efficient, and to extend its influence. He has pursued these objects with a single mind and a singular tenacity of purpose.

Inevitably, in the process he has found himself at times in conflict with colleagues, and has been compelled to go counter to the stream of tendency in the movement itself; but in the fiercest internal controversy he has kept these objects in sight steadily and consistently and has never lost the respect and confidence of the movement, even when he has been most stubbornly insistent upon his own view. As a reward and as a natural consequence, he wields to-day as great a personal authority as anyone in the counsels of the movement and his influence is pervasive; it is as active in the life of the Parliamentary party as in the national executive and the constituency organisation, and in the movement at large. No man's opinion weighs more heavily in the party's assemblies.

Much of his influence represents a triumph of character. He has stood firm in storms which have winnowed his lighter fellow mortals. He has trodden a straight path. Plain spoken, unequivocal, and emphatic, he says what he means, and there is never any doubt about his meaning, nor are his silences without significance. But stability and strength of character will not suffice alone to explain his dominant position. He has other qualifications—among them a long experience, a mature ability in negotiation, a native shrewdness, and a readiness to take responsibility. All these qualities are important, but perhaps the first and the last have carried him through situations of doubt and difficulty in which the movement has turned to him instinctively as to the man it could trust, with complete assurance as to his

good faith, his competence, and unselfish devotion to its interests.

When he entered the House of Commons, on July 24, 1903, Mr. Henderson was already inured to the responsibilities of public life. Born in Scotland in 1863, he had worked for twenty years at his trade as an iron moulder, and for more than half that time had served his union as an official and his fellow workers on the Tyne as secretary of the North-Eastern Conciliation Board. In 1894, when he became a member of the Newcastle City Council, he was one of the youngest men who ever sat on that body; he was still in the thirties when he became a magistrate of the city, and a further testimony to his maturity of mind can be seen in the invitation unanimously extended to him at the age of 32 to share the representation of the city in Parliament along with Mr. John Morley. For reasons which reflected more credit upon him than upon leading Liberals in Newcastle, Mr. Henderson did not press the candidature which had been thrust upon him, and for the next seven years, at Darlington, he worked as registration and political agent, gaining an invaluable experience in local public affairs and in electioneering. As a member of the Darlington Town Council and of the Durham County Council he attained a place in public life that led naturally to his candidature at Barnard Castle in 1903, on the nomination of his union, which found the money for the contest, and sanctioned his appearance under the auspices of the L.R.C.

Within two years of his entry into Parliament Mr. Henderson became chairman of the National Executive, and in the following year, when the Party had triumphantly vindicated its right to exist by winning twenty-nine seats out of a total of fifty which it had contested, he presided at the annual conference. He has been continuously a headquarters officer of the Labour Party since 1904, as treasurer, chairman, and secretary. In the new Party he became joint whip with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, and in 1908 succeeded Mr. Keir Hardie as Chairman of the Parliamentary Party in the country, and when in 1911 Mr. MacDonald resigned the secretaryship he had held since the Party was formed, Mr. Henderson was hailed as his natural successor. That position he has held ever since. At different times he has held the Parliamentary chairmanship, and the post of Chief Whip; but it is as Secretary of the Party that his principal work has been done. During his tenure that office has been magnified, and it has afforded him scope for the exercise not only of his administrative and organising abilities but of the qualities of leadership.

More space than is available here is required to deal fully with Mr. Henderson's activities in the Trade Union Movement, in politics, and in the public life of his time. Throughout his career he has made his influence felt in Trade Unionism. He has not only occupied every office a member is capable of filling in his own union—the Friendly Society of Ironfounders, now merged with other unions in the National Union of Foundryworkers—of which he is to-day the honorary president, but he has done an immense amount of work in arbitration and conciliation on behalf of the movement as a whole. Whilst still a resident of Newcastle he was appointed chairman of the workmen's side of the North-East Coast Conciliation Board and of the Lancashire Conciliation Board; he has served on innumerable Royal Commissions and Departmental Committees; and at the outbreak of war he took a leading part in the negotiations between the Government and the Trade Unions which enabled the country to organise the output of munitions on a colossal scale. He was consulted in the preparation of the International Labour Charter framed by the Peace Conference at Paris after the war, and served as chairman of the Trade Union Restoration Committee which secured the passage of the Act that reinvested the Trade Unions with the rights, privileges, and immunities they had patriotically surrendered during the war. More important still was the work he undertook in accepting the chairmanship of the Union side of the National Industrial Conference appointed by the Government in 1919. And the part he played in the Mediation Committee of fourteen in the railway crisis of that year had an important bearing upon the discussions in Congress, which led ultimately to the reorganisation of the Parliamentary Committee and the establishment of the General Council as we know it to-day.

Of his public services as a political leader from the beginning of the War much might be written, especially in regard to the circumstances, entirely honourable to himself, which led to his resignation from the War Cabinet. He became a member of the first Coalition Government in May, 1915, being the first member of the Labour Party to achieve Cabinet rank. The first office he held was that of President of the Board of Trade. Later he became Paymaster-General, and occupied a position which enabled him to act as Labour Adviser in the Cabinet, doing work which can properly be regarded as the germ of what has become the Ministry of Labour.

As Paymaster-General he was chairman of the Chelsea Commissioners, the only body then

in existence dealing with service pensions. He soon found that the pensions' claims were growing so rapidly that it was practically impossible with the existing machinery to cope with the work, and he approached the Prime Minister (Mr. Asquith) with the suggestion that new machinery should be set up. This led to the formation of the Pensions Ministry, and Mr. Henderson carried through the House the measure establishing it. It was intended that he should be the first Pensions Minister, but the Asquith Ministry fell, and Mr. Henderson became Minister without portfolio in the War Cabinet formed by Mr. Lloyd George. Mr. G. N. Barnes became Minister of Pensions, but Mr. Henderson can claim the credit of having taken the first steps towards the establishment of both the Ministry of Pensions and the Ministry of Labour.

In the second Coalition Government, formed by Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Henderson was one of the five men who had supreme responsibility for the direction of the War. It was as a member of the War Cabinet that he went to Russia, with plenary powers, on the eve of the second (or Bolshevik) Revolution. From Russia he returned convinced of the necessity of participating in the proposed international socialist conference at Stockholm for the consideration of war aims, a decision which can properly be regarded as one of the turning points of the War.

The real inner history of that significant episode has not been written. It resulted in Mr. Henderson's resignation from the War Cabinet in circumstances which grossly misrepresented both the motives and the action taken by Mr. Henderson, and cast grave reflection upon the attitude of some of his Cabinet colleagues. And it had wider political consequences. When Mr. Henderson left the War Cabinet he came back to the Labour Movement with his mind made up on many questions of post-war policy and party organisation. He took the first opportunity—which happened happily enough to be the Trades Union Congress at Blackpool—to announce the conclusions he had reached; emphasising, in one of the most striking speeches a fraternal delegate has ever made at Congress, the necessity of re-organising the Labour Party for the task of winning a majority at the polls, and assuming control of national affairs.

Thus the wheel turned full circle. To the Trades Union Congress which had called the Labour Party into being at the opening of the century, came the party's chief administrative officer less than a score of years later to proclaim the near approach of political victory, and to call upon the organised workers to

prepare for the great developments which were in the next few years to place Labour in office. In the discussions which produced the new constitution of the Labour Party in 1918, the publication of "Labour and the New Social Order," and the advent of 350 Labour candidates in the General Election of that year, Mr. Henderson's was the dominant influence. His, too, was the driving force which quickened the pace of organisation throughout the country, and imparted a new and more vigorous impulse to the party's propaganda. In an incredibly short time the new machinery was set up, candidates were selected, and preparations made for the General Election, which marked the decisive emergence of the Labour Party as a controlling influence in national affairs. And the figures quoted in an earlier paragraph attest the statement that these events marked the opening of a new epoch in our national affairs.

As a Member of Parliament, Mr. Henderson has not merely witnessed, but has taken an active part in the revolutionary transformation of political life. He entered the House of Commons in the year which saw the beginning of Joseph Chamberlain's tariff reform campaign, the break up of the Balfour Government, and the close of the long period of Tory domination. He saw the Liberal Party in its heyday, and took part in the debates on Chinese labour, the grant of self-government to the Transvaal and Orange River Colony and the formation of the Union of South Africa. He lived and worked in Parliament from the close of the period of Unionist domination and imperialist politics, the era of Chamberlain and Kipling, to the close of the period of Liberal ascendancy. In the social legislation passed by the 1906 Parliament, he and his colleagues on the Labour benches exerted an influence which transcended their numerical strength. They fought to recover for the Trade Unions the rights and immunities of which they were deprived by the Taff Vale judgment and the Osborn judgment. Six million workpeople were added to those who already had the right to compensation for accidents. Old age pensions, medical inspection of school children, the provision of school meals, the beginnings of National Health Insurance, the development of small holdings, a hasty and imperfect scheme of taxing land values, and the struggle with the House of Lords—all these were Mr. Henderson's daily concern as a Member of Parliament.

And under the steady pressure of men like Mr. Henderson the character of Parliamentary activity has changed. New issues have arisen. The political questions which formed the staple of debate when he entered Parliament are to-day like the echo of old, forgotten, far-off things and battles long ago. The old battle-cries of the contending parties no longer stir the blood. The older parties themselves have been profoundly changed in the course of the last twenty-five years. In the Labour Party there has been no departure from fundamental principle, but there has been a steady growth and a consistent development of its organisation and policy as a national party, aiming at "the political, social, and economic emancipation of the people, and more particularly of those who depend directly upon their own exertions by hand or by brain for the means of life."

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From the

LABOUR PARTY PRESS AND PUBLICITY
DEPARTMENT, TRANSPORT HOUSE,
SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1

The Problem of the Russian Trade Unions

By

EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD

THE disclosures so ably made by Mr. Citrine in his series of articles* "Democracy or Disruption" raise at once in an acute form the question of the relationship between the Russian and British Trade Union Movements.

That a great amount of confused thinking still exists, and naturally exists, on this subject is at once evident if we examine the recent happenings at various conferences. For example, the Tailors and Garment Workers' Union at their recent conference, whilst rejecting a proposal that the union should take part in an Anglo-Russian Clothing Committee, passed a resolution in the following terms: "That conference instructs the Executive to pursue its efforts in trying to secure the inclusion of the Russian Needle Workers' Union in the Clothing International." More recently still, at the International Miners' Congress at Nimes, a motion by Mr. A. J. Cook, in favour of the admission of National Federations at present unaffiliated, the chief of which is the Federation of Underground Workers of the U.S.S.R., was referred to the International Committee. Mr. Citrine, in the first of his series on "Democracy or Disruption," confesses that "We were optimistic enough to believe that the steady influence and the shrewd practical commonsense of the British Trade Union Movement would at length lead the Russian Trade Unions to assert their independence"

It would appear, from indications like the above, that there are still very many ardent Trade Unionists who still fail to realise the complete difference existing between Russian Trade Unions and those of Britain and other countries.

In Britain, as is well known, the formation of the Trade Union Movement preceded the birth of the political working-class movement. The unions are autonomous and free organisations.

In Russia exactly the reverse was the process. The first Trade Union formed in Russia was formed at the direct instigation of Lenin himself, then residing in Cracow, and the Committee of this union were one and all the nominees of Lenin. As the Russian Trade Union Movement commenced, so it continued. The formation of

each and every union was the outcome of the efforts of the political movement, and narrowly controlled and operated by this political movement for political ends.

The point that is not at all fully realised is that in Russia the Communist Party and the Red Trade Unions hold in no way a relative position comparable to that held by the Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress in this country.

Here, the Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress are both autonomous and of equal status in their respective spheres. One does not control and dictate to the other. If one can be said to be the parent body, it is the Trade Unions that formed the Labour Party and the political movement. In Russia exactly the reverse is the case.

In reality, therefore, although there appear to be two bodies, the Communist Party and the Red Trade Unions, in essence there is only one, the Communist Party. The Red Trade Unions, their Executives, their Congresses, their Secretariats, their Committees, are controlled and directed, lock, stock, and barrel, by the Communist Party. All the leading members in the Red Trade Unions are not there by any essentially real vote of the membership, but solely due to the fact that they have been nominated for such work in the Red Trade Unions by the National or District Organising Committees of the Communist Party, which decides which class of work every individual member shall do.

Of course, a vote was taken at Congress to make Losovsky the General Secretary, and to vote other T.U. leaders to their respective positions, but as all the persons voting are themselves merely tools, and bound by party discipline to obey all decisions of the competent Communist directing organ, the result of such "voting" is a foregone conclusion.

All the leaders of the Red Trade Union International and of every Russian Trade Union are held to account, not by the union, or the union's Executive, but by the Communist Party, for the effectiveness of their work. If, for example, Mr. Tomskey's work was not satisfactory, the Central Committee of the Communist Party would arrange a "breakdown in health" for

* *Labour Magazine.*

him, and later transfer him to party work in Omsk, or some other city situated in Asiatic Russia.

It is naturally difficult for British Trade Union leaders to realise that the leaders of the Russian unions are not persons like themselves, responsible only to their unions and to their members. It is difficult to think of them as other than the normal straightforward Trade Union official, such as they meet in France, in Germany, in Belgium, in every country save Russia. It is difficult to realise that these Trade Union leaders are, one and all, Communists, working by order of the Russian Communist Party in the Trade Union Movement, and obeying the decisions and directions of the Trade Union Committee of the Communist Party in every line of policy.

Probably the most important field of work for Communists in the Russian Communist Party, outside the fields of Government and industry, is "work in the Trade Unions." The Party members are allocated by the National and District Organising Committees of the Communist Party for such work, given their specific tasks, made into requisite figureheads, given their instructions, and function in the unions in narrow obedience to the controlling Communist body.

The Russian Trade Unions have, I believe, a membership of approximately 10,000,000. If they affiliated to the Trade Union International, they would carry that 10,000,000 voting power with them. It is necessary to examine what this really means.

It would be very surprising indeed if, on examination, it could be proved that a single local official, district official, or national official, in any Russian Trade Union held his position other than as a Communist Party member appointed for such work by the local, district, or national organising bureaux of the Communist Party of Russia.

It would be very surprising if a single local branch secretary or branch chairman proved to be other than a Communist Party member obeying the dictates in his Trade Union work of the local Communist Party committee.

It would be surprising even if a single committeeman of any local Trade Union branch in any part of Russia were other than a Communist, working in the Trade Union at the dictates of the Party.

Very well, then, if certain of the proposals outlined at the commencement of this article were carried into effect, and Russian Trade Union members were invited as such to joint conference with British and other unions, the names of the delegates chosen would not be Stalin and Rykov, but the voices would undoubtedly be those of Stalin and Rykov, repeating the arguments they

were ordered to repeat, making the proposals they were ordered to make, by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia.

If the Russian Trade Unions affiliated to the Trade Union International the practical effect would be to give a 10,000,000 voting power inside that body to the Communist International. Considering the aims and methods pursued by that body, one may well ask oneself the question as to whether such affiliation is wise, and likely to be useful to the Trade Union International.

To those who are unaware of the detailed tactics and methods of Communist Party members the world over in their fraction and nucleus work, the following example will give a glimpse of what happens.

A branch of a Russian union existed for some years in this country—the London branch of the All-Russian Union of Soviet Employees.

Before every meeting of the branch members, at which an attendance of 100 or more from a paying membership of nearly 1,000 could be looked for, a secret meeting took place of the Communist Party members, both British and Russian, of the branch. The Communists numbered between 40 and 50. Why did this meeting take place? *Because it had to*, for of such is the essence of Communist method. This secret meeting decided exactly what was going to happen at the branch meeting to be held in a few days' time. It decided the resolutions which would be brought forward, who should speak, discussed whether any opposition would be likely to be forthcoming from the "rank and file," and how it was to be met—in short, the whole thing was rehearsed, so that the actual meeting should be "cut and dried," and the decisions of the actual branch meeting should correspond with what the Communist nucleus desired.

The branch meeting when it came was then in reality a solemn farce, since the conspirators controlling the organisation had already decided exactly what was going to happen. As the secretary, the chairman, the treasurer, every committeeman, and all the leading and most active members of the branch were Communists, this was not a difficult matter.

One example of the working of this system in actual practice will suffice: The dues to this union were fairly high—2 per cent. of salaries—so that considerable funds accumulated. The Communists therefore decided to make a grant of £300 to "Mopra" (International Class-War Prisoners' Aid).

This was then moved in the branch meeting and carried unanimously.

Some four months afterwards the funds were again in a very swollen state, and considering

that "Mopra" was as deserving a cause as could be found, I considered it both fair and desirable to move a further donation to the funds of "Mopra," and gave notice of this motion. Before the branch meeting I was privately approached and asked to withdraw the motion, no reason being given. Seeing no legitimate reason for withdrawing the motion, I refused. I then heard that the Moscow Committee of the Union had considered the previous grant to "Mopra," and in view of the political situation had considered it unwise, and *ordered* it not to be repeated.

The branch meeting duly came off, and in due course I rose to move the motion standing in my name, purposely making a benevolent reasoned speech, pointing out the big amount of "cash in hand" on the financial statement, the small commitments that would fall due, and the excellence of the work of "Mopra" in assisting the wives and families of those imprisoned in the class-war.

When I sat down I was surprised myself, although I knew fairly well how the wind was blowing, to find that at first I had not even a seconder for the motion. So afraid was everybody of offending the powers that be. As, however, that would look a little too glaring, a Communist got to his feet to second the motion *pro forma*. Then the fur began to fly. Comrade Kish, the secretary, got to his feet, and harangued at great length about extravagance, about the uncertainty of future commitments, about myself, about everything except the fact that the Moscow Committee of the Union had barred it. Several other Communists supported him, and at the end of the discussion I insisted on the right to reply, pointing out the ludicrous inconsistency of their present position with their advocacy of such a grant four months back.

When the vote came to be taken, one vote was registered for the motion. It was my own.

This experience could be multiplied times without number if space permitted, but suffice it to say that even the most wooden-headed rank-and-filer soon awakened to the fact that the whole of this Union business was a farce and a sham, and naturally attendances fell off greatly. So much so that as the Communists had no special liking for merely talking to themselves, no branch meeting at all was held for a period of over six months.

The result therefore of this mockery of Trade Unionism was that the influence of spreading Trade Union principles among the rank and file was absolutely nil. The branch had deteriorated into a "Bosses' Goose Club," or an "Employers' Union," where no one who wanted to keep his job dare take an independent line.

In its earlier days, whenever there was a threat that an undesired resolution would be carried, it was the tactic of these "Trade Unionists" to prolong discussion on the secretary's report on the financial statement, on the auditors' statement, until everybody was tired out and half the members had gone home before the contentious business was reached, leaving our tireless Communist friends with a handsome majority once more.

The divergence in wages between the higher and lower paid workers was as bad, if not worse, than in any capitalist firm. Even to-day Russian Oil Products scale of salary for adult clerical work varies from £100 per month to 30s. per week, if not in fact less for some of the provincial typists. If economic equality is the essence of Socialism, as Shaw asserts, then this indeed is the antithesis of Socialism.

The place was honeycombed, too, with spies and a sort of *agent provocateur*, whose task it was to get the unsuspecting into argument, and then report what he said to the Communist Cell. Needless to say, "the order of the sack" was very frequent and arbitrary. No British firm to my knowledge makes a practice of discharging excellent adult workers of several years' service like a bolt from the blue. The reason was always the same—"reorganisation of staff"—it was a phrase which covered all intrigues and subterfuges.

Now all this system of bamboozle and farce and sham which was practised so brazenly on the unsuspecting employees of "Arcos" and its allied companies is precisely the same system as is practised by the million Communists in every local branch of every Trade Union throughout Russia.

Once the Communists get away from the local Trade Union branch all their difficulties in controlling the unions cease, as on every Trade Union district committee naturally everybody is a Communist, so there is nothing to discuss except the interpretation of the orders, and the higher up the Russian Trade Union hierarchy you proceed the easier it becomes, until on National Executives proposing to meet their British Trade Union brothers, it is simply a matter of preparing the most suitable propaganda to serve out of the Russian members on the one hand, and formulating the corresponding schemes for dishing the British brothers on the other.

No doubt it is all an excellent system and a most ingenious one. But it is not a system in harmony with the old traditions of British Trade Unionism, nor one for which British psychology has very much time or patience.

It is on such systems and methods that the Minority Movement in our own country is built

up. Those who pretend that this movement has any historical relationship to the militant movements in the unions before the war, and in the early war years, talk with their tongues in their cheeks. The pre-war movements had as their watchwords, "All power to the rank and file," "Strike decisions to be taken by the whole of the membership," "Real democracy in the unions," and had as their principles a real awakening of the rank and file to knowledge, initiative, and independent action.

Lenin and his disciples work on the assumption that the rank and file are sheep, needing bell-wethers to lead them through the gaps and hedges it is desirable, in the opinions of the Communist Executive, they should tread.

Branch meetings and conferences become marionette shows, where the figures, indeed, move their arms and lips and seem to be alive, but where the only reality is the "string manipulator" moving the figures out of sight behind the scenes—the Secret Communist Cell.

What, then, is our problem with the Russian Trade Unions? Simply put, it is the problem of relations with a vast organisation consisting of approximately 9,000,000 honest workers, led, and completely controlled, so far as any political or industrial voice is concerned, by, approximately, 1,000,000 tools and conspirators, closely knitted together in the most highly disciplined large scale politico-industrial organisation in the world. It is the problem of dealing with an organisation in which all real democracy is barred absolutely.

All discussions and conferences with the Red Trade Union International, or with the representatives of the Red Trade Unions mean, in effect, discussions and conferences with the Communist International itself. It is not going one whit too far to say that this means, in effect, discussions and conferences with the leaders of the Russian Communist Party, for the same cell and nucleus practice that makes the Communist method so effective and disruptive makes the Russian Communist Party completely predominant in the councils of the Communist International itself. I much doubt whether a single decision has ever been taken by the Communist International that was not in accord with the previous convictions and decisions of the small handful of Marxian fanatics composing the leadership of the Russian Communist Party.

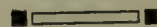
This means, in effect, discussion and conference with men who look upon British Trade Union leaders, not as the genuinely elected and representative leaders of the rank and file of the British working class, but as masked agents of the bourgeoisie and their most deadly enemies.

Discussion and conference with men narrowly bound to their programme of "Heavy Civil War" in all countries can be of no avail. As well may Primitive Methodists sit in conference with Jesuits to try and find a common platform.

In spite, therefore, of our strong genuine desire to see Soviet Russia develop into the first Socialist State, despite our fixed determination that Soviet Russia be given a free hand in its internal development, free from outside Imperialistic interference, despite our natural solidarity with all workers, of whatever creed, race, or colour, no good purpose at the present stage can possibly be served by proposals for joint committees, joint conferences, or affiliation of the Russian unions to our own organisations whilst they remain the tools of a narrow fanatic Marxian sect.

Until the cheap Machiavelism of the united front and Minority Movement tactics are replaced by a genuine broad-minded fraternal reasonableness, and by a genuine appreciation of actual factors in Western Europe, we must bar the door in our own defence. The claim that the Marxian hypothesis will prove to be the "only way" has but little to support it as a practicable way in the light of events of the last decade.

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Children in Poor Law Schools

THE total number of healthy children receiving relief in institutions in England and Wales on January 1st, 1926 (Return 134), was 37,398, and in addition 10,400 children were boarded out, 8,600 within the Union, and 1,800 beyond the Union. If to these figures are added the 24,555 children in infirmaries, hospitals, and convalescent homes of various kinds, the Guardians are found to be responsible for a child population of 72,353, exclusive of children in receipt of outdoor relief.

The number of healthy children in London homes and schools chargeable to the Metropolitan Guardians is 7,519, but in addition, a number of outside authorities board out their children in the London Guardians' schools. Thus, 283 out of the 586 children in the cottage home estate at Shirley come from outside the London area.

The good results obtained by many London Unions may be attributed to the fact that, wherever possible, use is made of the educational facilities offered by the local education authority. For purposes of elementary education all the healthy children in institutions within the London area attend the L.C.C.'s elementary schools. The Lambeth Board of Guardians started this practice some 24 years ago, and the children participate fully, in accordance with their physical and mental powers, in the life of the school they attend. Lambeth sends to-day a number of boys to the School of Building and the Beaufoy Institute, and secures places for girls at the Newcome Trades School and the Norwood Technical Institute. A few children are at central and secondary schools.

Where the London Guardians' schools are outside the area, the use of local authority facilities depends in great measure on the situation of the school. The Shirley Schools (560 children), the Hanwell School (662 children), the Anerley School (762 children), the Ashford School (375 children), and the Hutton School (700 children), all include their own elementary schools. The managers of the Ashford School have tried to arrange with the local education authority for the use of the council schools, but negotiations had to be abandoned, "it appearing improbable that any general intermixing of the children would result." The pay and conditions of service of the teaching staff follow in most cases the L.C.C. practice.

It is usual in Poor Law schools that, after the age of twelve (sometimes ten), or after reaching Standard V., the pupils should spend one or

two sessions weekly at practical work. On reaching fourteen, the children leave the elementary schools and are drafted into classes for industrial training (including farm-work), up to fifteen or sixteen. A number of London boys over fourteen are drafted to the Training Ship "Exmouth," or to the Scheme for Enlistment of Boys into the Regular Army for Training as Tradesmen. Boys and girls may be entered for L.C.C. junior county and trade scholarships, and the children gaining these live in hostels attached to the school. The Anerley School has had as many as eight scholars at one time, but the competition for junior county scholarships becomes increasingly acute, and fewer are won than formerly. There are to-day in all only six Poor Law children holding L.C.C. scholarships at secondary schools. This figure does not, however, include children who may be attending as fee-payers, or as Article 15 free-place holders. There may also be cases where Poor Law children boarded out with private families hold L.C.C. scholarships.

Other populous areas with large numbers of healthy children in educational institutions are Birmingham with 1,169, and Manchester with 1,139 children. In Birmingham, the school is conducted by the Guardians with no help from the education authority, while the children from another school attend the local council school. In the case of a third school, the Guardians administer their own school but, at their request, the Education Committee's district inspector inspects the school from time to time and furnishes a copy of the report to the local authority. The receiving home is treated as an annexe of the nearest council school and is under the supervision of the head teacher, the Education Committee providing the staff.

The strongest arguments in favour of the transfer of Poor Law schools to a central education authority come from the Guardians themselves, and may be found in the *Report of the Joint Committee on Industrial Training in Poor Law Schools, 1925*. This Committee represented all the London districts, and made a general survey of education in London Guardians' schools. After stating that the proposal for a central authority had been regarded with favour by the Departmental Committee on Poor Law Schools, 1896, and by the Maclean Committee, 1918, the Joint Committee expressed the view that:—

"It is difficult to justify in these days the continuance of some 19 (since reduced to 16)

educational authorities controlling the training of less than 8,000 children."

A "Central Authority," we are told, "would not only be able to deal more advantageously and more economically with the children in the Metropolitan Poor Law Schools than is at present the case, but would be better able to deal on broad lines with the whole problem of their education, training, employment, and after care. A more capable type of official would be attracted to its service and, with the possibilities of transference and promotion, the existing stagnation among teachers, trainers and other officials of the many independent Poor Law authorities would be avoided."

While the Joint Committee expressed their appreciation of the excellent work carried out in Poor Law schools for the care and training of the children—an immense advance from the conditions of neglect, overcrowding, child exploitation, and the terrible prevalence of ophthalmia described by the Departmental Committee of 1896, and which led to the public plea for abolishing certain Poor Law schools—it is also plain to them that the schools suffer from the educational isolation which is inseparable from the circumstances of the case. The work of the authorities administering the schools is primarily the relief of destitution and not the education of children. As the Board of Education stated in their report on Poor Law schools in 1908, it is "difficult to avoid the conclusion that the educational part of work now done by Guardians would, in the majority of cases, be much more efficiently performed by the local bodies whose primary function is to deal with schools."

The Joint Committee recommended that the control, supervision and management of the whole of the Poor Law institutions in the Metropolitan area for children (other than special classes of abnormal children already allotted to the Metropolitan Asylums Board) should be transferred to a central authority which "should be responsible for the care, management, education, boarding-out training, emigration, placing in employment and after-care of children up to the age of 18." Meanwhile, greater use should be made of the educational facilities afforded by local education authorities, suitable children being encouraged to compete for county and trade scholarships and also sent as fee-paying students to secondary and trade schools, polytechnics and technical institutes. The Joint Committee also felt that in any scheme of re-organisation the London residential schools

should be available for delicate as well as destitute children, and should not be filled up by cases from outside authorities.

Among the reforms which the Labour Party urges for the improvement and development of our national system of education, the following three proposals definitely apply to Poor Law schools:—

"All Poor Law schools and children's homes, including nursery schools for children over two, should be transferred (with proper safeguards for pensions and other rights of teachers) to the local education authority, which should be made responsible for the education and physical welfare of all children over two chargeable on public funds.

"Children in residential schools or homes, as well as those boarded out, should, so far as possible, attend the local schools and share the ordinary facilities of the district for higher and technical education.

"Residential schools provided for destitute children should be available for delicate and other children for whom a period of residence at school may be thought desirable."

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The Welfare of the Blind

A MUNICIPAL SCHEME IN SCOTLAND

By

P. J. DOLLAN

Chairman of Committee, Glasgow City Council

THE only municipal employment and welfare scheme under the Blind Persons Acts, 1920, is that known as the South-West Scotland scheme, which is managed by a Joint Committee, representative of Glasgow and other sixteen Town and seven County Councils. The enterprise includes two of the largest workshops in the country, a rest home for the aged blind, recreation and social facilities of an extensive character, holiday camps and hostels for trainees of both sexes, a field for games, and assistance to the outdoor mission for the blind, which attends to the "home" blind as distinct from the "employable" blind. The functions of the South-West Scotland Joint Committee are officially defined as follows :—

"(1) To make arrangement for the reception in a suitable institution of any blind children under five years of age who are not adequately provided for under child welfare schemes, and whose home conditions are unsuitable; (2) to arrange for the employment of blind persons in workshops; (3) to provide, manage, and maintain workshops, etc., if required; (4) to arrange for accommodation in hostels for blind persons; (5) to provide, if necessary, hostels for blind persons; and (6) to provide for home teaching."

Before the committee was established there had been in existence, in Glasgow, for a century, the Royal Glasgow Asylum for the Blind which, despite its name, was a workshop pure and simple. There were also several small workshops under sectarian control. Most of these had financial and directional difficulties which probably paved the way for municipal control. The Board of Health at first were opposed to complete municipal control, but were converted by argument and other considerations. The chief workshop was taken over in 1923; the smaller ones subsequently. The smaller workshops were shut down and the employees transferred to the larger workshops and factories in Glasgow. A new factory was opened recently in the Possilpark area of Glasgow, and equipped

with the latest in machinery. It is claimed to be the best appointed and most hygienic factory in the country. There is a restaurant, a roof garden and promenade, which are taken full advantage of by the employees. Other extensions are projected. Ultimately it is hoped to concentrate all the workshops and hostels in Possilpark, which stands high and open. It is one of the healthiest sites in the city.

Since the Joint Committee took over the administration of the workshops, a capital expenditure of £31,758 has been incurred. This includes £25,000 expended in the purchase and equipment of the new workshops at Possilpark. The Possilpark workshops were opened last year by Sir John Gilmour, Secretary for Scotland, and constitute one of the finest industrial buildings in any part of the country. The latest machinery has been introduced for the manufacture of bedding and furniture, while improvements have also been effected in connection with other services and occupations. There are now over 200 blind employed in Possilpark, and I think all of them will agree that their present industrial environment is the best they have known in their occupational experience. The removal of so many employees to Possilpark has enabled the Committee to carry out several reforms in the older workshops at Castle Street. A boot and shoe department has been inaugurated, and is proving very successful. Separate accommodation has also been established for trainees, which enables supervisors to concentrate on their instruction and development. The hostel at Castle Street has been reconstructed, and everything possible has been done to make the quarters as homely as possible for the inmates. The total number of blind employed is approximately 500, which represents an increase of 220 since the workshops were transferred to the Joint Committee. This increase in the number of employees indicates the big developments that have taken place in the industrial welfare of the blind under the control of the Joint Committee.

The occupations include the manufacture of beds and bedding, boots, furniture, and carpentry, wire goods, mats, and ship fenders, baskets, hosiery, and a few oddments. The value of the articles sold last year was over £58,000. The workshops tender for contracts in the usual way, and seldom receive a preference. Orders are obtained on a merit and price basis, and it is worth noting that the blind have few superiors in the making of first-class beds for Atlantic ship bunks. A few days ago, a bedding contract was booked from a great shipowning firm in competition with tenders from all parts. Municipalities decline to give the workshops any preference. The blind only get the orders when their work and tenders seem the best value. My own view is that the blind workshops should be given preference, but my colleagues on Town Councils do not concur.

The workshops are not self-supporting; they are not expected to be, but the deficit for last year was only £19,929 which the Councils comprising the scheme make up by pro rata payments according to the number of blind employed from each Council area. Glasgow's share of the deficit, subsidy is a more correct term—was £13,500, equal to a charge of less than one-third of a penny on the rates. The deficit or subsidy represents the difference between what the efficient blind produce and its selling price.

The amount paid in wages last year was £36,372. Men who are classified as journeymen are paid an upstanding minimum of 50s. a week and women 33s. They have a guaranteed week and are paid for holidays. Their National Health and Unemployment Insurance contributions are paid for them. They have "workshop committees" to discuss and remedy grievances. Each department appoints its own representatives to the committees, and the employees are encouraged to settle all their grievances in consultation with the management. The Joint Committee confine themselves to questions of policy, and do not interfere in details of management. This has taught the blind the importance of self-government in industry, and enables the Joint Committee to concentrate on policy. Under the old control the directors were mainly occupied with workshop squabbles and grievances, which were injurious to orderly and progressive administration.

The workers are encouraged to develop reliance in every form. They manage their own social and recreation clubs, and themselves organise and direct the brass band, the orchestra, dancing and swimming clubs,

savings bank, and other activities. They are about to be given an equipped recreation ground, which they will supervise themselves. Clerical aid and advice are given them, of course, but in every essential respect they are allowed to help themselves. Sighted persons interested in blind welfare are welcomed in association with the blind in their recreations, cultural, physical, and entertaining. The practice of self-government in industry and communal life for the blind has been only a three years' experiment, but it is now well founded and will develop. There have been difficulties among the blind themselves in adapting themselves to reliance and democracy in work and play, but these have been surmounted by patience and understanding in management. During the winter season the blind arrange evening entertainments for themselves and friends in the workshop hall.

Special aptitudes are allowed for in work training. Grants have been made, for example, to train blind persons as masseurs and for kindred service. One man was helped to complete his studies for law. All workers within the Glasgow Tramway area are allowed to travel free on the municipal trams, which is an appreciated privilege. A home for blind men over 50 who have no home of their own, has been established on the Clyde. There are over twenty men in residence. A larger home is in contemplation.

A special committee is now at work on the proposal to provide regular allowances for the non-employable blind on the lines already adopted by some authorities in England. It has been suggested that the committee should provide flat allowances of 25s. a week to all blind persons outside institutions, irrespective of their income and circumstances. This proposal would no doubt be the easiest method of dealing with the problem, but this operation would be unfair and unsatisfactory. Any scheme to provide allowances must be based on equity, and have for its object equality of opportunity for every person coming within its purview. Consequently, account must be taken of income and circumstances. This means that whatever allowance is provided will require to be graded according to the needs of the recipients. The total number in our area who would be entitled to benefit by such a scheme is estimated at 2,000, while it has been calculated that the cost would be £50,000 per annum.

One of the two workshops is used to house the apprentices in training, and who are unable to live with their parents. Informal negotia-

tions have taken place with the Outdoor Mission for the Blind for co-ordination. The intention is to bring all blind work and welfare under unified control of the municipal authorities. Research in the prevention of industrial blindness has been undertaken and a scheme to establish a clinic has been approved. Municipal control has not dried up income from legacies. Last year over £2,000 was received in bequests. This year a bigger amount has been received.

The Municipalities on the Joint Committee cover a big area, and represent varied electorates, but their co-operation has been splendid. Advance has been slow but sure, and my colleagues in this new field of municipal endeavour have succeeded well as pioneers in an unusually difficult but interesting duty. If we carry through the proposal for allowances, we shall remove all the blind in the area from the sphere of charity and Poor Law maintenance.

It may be of interest to give an account of the expenditure and income for the year ending March 31, 1928. An official summary of the expenditure and income is as follows:—

The total ordinary expenditure of the Joint Committee for the year ending 31 March last amounted to	£	£
The income from sales amounted to		108,754
Other sundry income	58,583	
Government grants	5,720	
Local and education authorities for maintenance and technical education.....	6,613	
Local authorities for establishment charges	11,209	
	6,700	
		88,825
Leaving a deficit of.....	£19,929	

Which will be met during the current year by the various local authorities according to the numbers from their areas employed in the workshops of the Royal Glasgow Asylum for the Blind.

The assets of the Joint Committee are as follows:—

Buildings, plant, machinery, etc. ..	£	£
Invested funds	89,434	
Stock	12,838	
Other assets.....	12,558	
Due by local authorities.....	12,951	
	19,929	
		147,710
The liabilities are		63,137
Showing surplus assets amounting to		£84,573

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P.P. 107.

In the "Eight-fifteen"

LABOUR RABBITS AND TORY MICE

By

T. S. DICKSON

"IS your memory good?" The question was addressed to Mr. Hardphace who had bustled cheerily in to take his seat in the "Eight-Fifteen," just due to leave for Grubtown. And it was put by the Man with the L. M. S. Badge in his cap, who leant forward with an innocent smile on his face.

"Not bad at all," responded Hardphace lightly.

"Good," commented the Badge. "Then you'll remember that when the Labour Government got the dull thud in 1924 you and your Tory pals discovered the best joke of the century—that the Labour Government hadn't solved the unemployment problem—Tom Shaw couldn't bring rabbits out of a hat, and so on?"

"Oh, yes" (Hardphace lifted his brows in understanding), "we did catch you out rather badly there, didn't we?" He rustled his *Morning Mugwump* with smiling complacency.

"Yes, great joke wasn't it?" continued the Badge with a kick in his tone. "Well, *there's* a better one"—and he thrust his *Daily Herald* under the nose of Hardphace.

"I beg your pardon" protested Hardphace stiffly, pushing back the proffered sheet. "What is it, anyhow?"

"Just this"—and the Badge stuck his chin out aggressively—"that after four years of brainy Government by the Tories there are more unemployed than when the Labour Government handed the reins over. Got that?"

Hardphace wriggled uneasily, ere he said, "We must face the inevitable, I suppose—and then there was the miners' strike," he added with sudden inspiration.

The Man with the Briar Pipe looked up from his corner with a little smile. "The figures have been rising for months," he pointed out, "so it would appear that the further we get away from the coal lock-out the greater the ill-effect! Rather a new theory!"

"The further from the fire," augmented the Badge, "the greater the heat—that's it, ain't it?"

"What's that got to do with it?" demanded the Young Man with the Purple Socks, for no other reason than he felt that to support the

Tory Party was the right thing to do, the Tory Party having all the really nice people.

"No more to do with it than the coal lock-out has to do with the unemployment figures, Clarence," retorted the Badge perkily.

"My name isn't Clarence" snapped the Socks.

"Let's get the facts" interposed the Man with the Briar avoiding a personal altercation.

"Fact One: The Labour Party was in office for about nine months. It was in a minority. During that time unemployment figures fell by 85,900, admittedly. In addition, by abolishing the 'Gap,' and bringing on short-time workers to the register, the register was carrying over 100,000 more workers than when the Tory Government was in office. Let that pass—take the reduction at only 85,900. The Tory Party, its Press, its spokesmen all united to declare that the Labour Party had been a grievous failure.

"Fact Two: The Tory Party has been in office for about four years, it has been in a great majority; there are about 150,000 more people in receipt of Poor Law relief now than when Labour was in office. That, we have good reason to believe, is because men are being swept off the unemployment registers, and certainly not because Guardians and Parish Councils have instructions from the Minister of Health, Neville Chamberlain, to be more lax, or generous, than they were before. Further, in consequence of the Old Age Pension Act just made operative there are admittedly 30,000 old men, unemployed, who do not now, therefore, come on to the register. And despite all this, now, when I'm speaking, the number of unemployed, given officially is 50,000 higher than when the Labour Government left office. What have you to say about it?"

"Mmmmm! What can one say? The figures are there, and that's all that can be said," returned Hardphace uneasily.

"Yes," pursued the Briar, "but what about the rabbits that Tom Shaw, our Minister of Labour, couldn't bring out of the hat?"

"I'll bet Baldwin would be jolly well pleased if he could bring out some white mice—never mind rabbits," chuckled the Badge.

"Nice record is it not?"—the Briar flung in to Hardphace. "Does it mean that the Tory Party is helpless—that it is beaten—that the unemployed figures have to go on rising like a tide?"

"Certainly not, most certainly not!" burst out Hardphace, stung into defence. "The country would not allow Mr. Baldwin to apply the only cure—defeated him in 1923 when he suggested it—Tariff Reform, Protection!"

"Yes, yes," followed the Briar, quietly but relentlessly, "and if Protection is the cure perhaps you can tell us why Germany, a Protectionist country, had 2,000,000 of unemployed not so long ago, and why the United States—the most water-tight Protectionist country in the world—is estimated to have now more than 3,000,000 unemployed? To say that Protection will cure unemployment in the face of those two countries' experience is not only silly, but obviously silly. There is no argument in it. But that by the way. If you have a remedy you should pass it on to Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, the Tory Minister of Labour, instantler. He'd be grateful, for as far back as 1925 he said:—

"If we were asked by members opposite what the Government have done for unemployment I would reply that that sort of criticism leaves me quite unmoved. *The Government have never pretended they have a remedy for unemployment.*"

"And then there is the Prime Minister who has just recently said:—

"On the whole I think we have done a good deal. ('Done a good *many*, he means,' interposed the Badge.) What is within our power as a Government we have done, both to alleviate unemployment and stimulate trade."

"Seems pretty hopeless, doesn't it?" goaded the Briar.

"He has certainly stimulated trade," broke in Hardphace, grasping at a straw. "The Safeguarding of Industries Act—motor trade, artificial silk, and so on."

"And there are more people employed to-day than ever there were," supplemented the Purple Socks, buoyantly quoting the latest Tory Statesman who had been trying to pull wool over the eyes of the multitude.

"Really!" retorted the Briar. "It is also true that there were more people employed when Labour left office than when they took office—but that did not seem a legitimate argument for the Tory Party in 1924. That

seems only to have become a valid argument since the Tory Party came into power. Try again!"

"And it don't solve the problem of poor people, if I prove there are more rich people than ever there were, does it, Gerald?"—this from the Badge.

"My name isn't Gerald," exploded the Purple Socks.

"No!" snorted the L. M. S. Badge in return. "If you ask me it's Mutt—M-U-T-T."

The Purple Socks jerked its tie tight, and swallowed hard, preparing to return to the onslaught, but the Man with the Briar came in once more to avert disaster. "Let us return to Baldwin. He said that what was within their power to alleviate unemployment they had done."

Hardphace nodded.

"Would you call it 'alleviating' unemployment to have your unemployment allowance reduced by 7s. or 8s. per week, as the Tory Government has reduced allowances to young men and young women?"

"Be fair, be fair," protested Hardphace. "It isn't that the Government wants to reduce unemployment allowances—but you see it's an insurance scheme and the scheme must be made solvent."

"I'll be fair, perfectly fair," said the Briar grimly. "There were men, highly-placed men, in the Tory Party who believed that the rates were too high, that the rates encouraged loafing, that it was an unpardonable extravagance when the Labour Party raised the benefits."

"Nonsense, nonsense!" scoffed Hardphace loftily. "The Labour Party, my dear Sir, has not a monopoly of humane consideration."

"Hear, hear," squeaked the Purple Socks.

"Just a moment, just a moment," warned the Briar, and he delved into his pocket-book for a Press cutting. "Listen to this:—

"By increasing the 'Dole,' the Government is not only guilty of extravagant expenditure of money but it is also making it easy for able-bodied men to waste their time in useless loafing."

"That appeared in the *Weekly Dispatch* (28. 9. 24); it was written by the Tory Cabinet Minister, Sir William Joynson-Hicks, and it was written in condemnation of the Labour Government because it raised the amount an unemployed man had to live on from 15s. to 18s. a week."

"Nasty one, ain't it?" grinned the Man with the L. M. S. Badge.

"In any case," said Hardphace side-stepping an ugly patch, "whatever any man may have said, the real problem is how to get rid of unemployment."

"Yes," murmured Mr. Hesitant, the Liberal, participating for the first time, "that is the issue to which the mind of every thoughtful man should turn."

"True, true," acquiesced the Briar, "and it so happens that 'thoughtful' men have been turning their minds to it—not men selected from one Party, or one walk in life, but leaders of thought and industry, including such as Professor Bonn, Professor Pigou, of Cambridge, Wallace Thorneycroft, the coalowner, and so on. 'Is Unemployment Inevitable?—An Analysis and Forecast,' was the title of their deliberations. And they arrived at the calm conclusion that even in normal times we must be prepared to accept a permanent figure of between 400,000 and 500,000 unemployed."

"Surely not, surely not," said Mr. Hesitant in perturbation.

"Well, it is exactly twenty years since Mr. Asquith told a deputation of unemployed that His Government—a Liberal Government—was searching for some method to prevent unemployment. And, apparently he didn't discover it. That, by the way, was reported in the *London Times* on the 15th December, 1908."

"It's a grievous problem," muttered Mr. Hesitant subsiding.

"It is a necessary problem—necessary for the system in which both Mr. Hardphace and you believe"—said the Briar.

"Rubbish!" snorted Hardphace, "nobody wants unemployment."

"You may not know it," repeated the Briar with emphasis, "but it is true. Your system demands a continual cutting down of costs. Cutting wages is the first thing in costs that appeals to you, *and if there were no unemployed men at your gates you couldn't cut wages.* The unemployed man *outside* the gate is necessary to keep your hold over the man *inside* the gates."

"Absurd, I say, absurd," replied Hardphace, unable to think of any other answer.

"Well, I won't argue until I get a case to argue against," returned the Briar, "but I'll quote you an interesting admission by a Tory M.P., Sir William Alexander, Member for the Central Division of Glasgow, when addressing the Glasgow Business Club in January, 1924:—

"'There must always be,' he said, 'a reserve of labour available, but in a prosperous nation this should not be more than a working reserve.'"

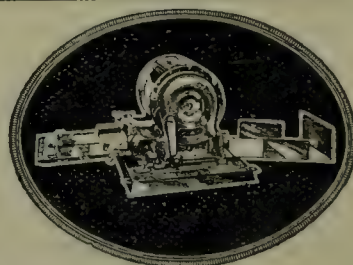
"And of course," explained the Briar, "what he means by a 'working reserve' is a reserve that would be idle and not working."

"Yes," flared out the L. M. S. Badge, "capitalism wants a reserve to stand by for its own purpose and profit, but I'm damned if it'll give a living to the 'reserve' that has to stand and wait on a wink when the boss has a job it can throw at them—at a profit, of course, at a profit."

"Ah, well, we don't seem to get much nearer a solution," sighed Hardphace.

"There's only one solution," tore in the Badge. "Give the workers wages that'll buy back what they produce. And that is the opposite of the solution your gang have—cut 'em down, cut 'em down, so that they can buy back less and less. Then you close down, because there is no demand. A hundred thousand quid a week off workers' wages this year already. Think that'll solve it?"

"Come on," he said with a nod to the Briar, as the train drew into Grubtown, and back over his shoulder he threw at Hardphace, "You might as well try to repair a cracked china cup with a sledge-hammer."



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The Industrial Tower of Babel

By

R. M. FOX

DURING the first week in July an important International Congress was held at Girton College, Cambridge, for the consideration of industrial problems. Over 20 countries were represented. It was called by the I.R.I. (the International Association for the Study and Improvement of Human Relations and Conditions in Industry). Employers, Trade Union representatives, welfare workers, industrial psychologists—all those interested in industrial matters were brought together.

The Congress was necessarily of a consultative character, but this added to its value as a focus of ideas which, in a more authoritative assembly, could not have been discussed so freely. The aim of the Association is laid down as being, "To study and promote such principles and methods as tend to improve human relations and conditions in all undertakings involving the employment of a number of persons." An amendment, moved by a young Trade Union representative from Vienna, declared that this aim is based upon the conviction that work is a social function, and that, no matter what be the ultimate political organisation of industry, there will always be human problems arising from the employment of persons, and, consequently, the I.R.I. invites all sections of the industrial community to make use of the Association without prejudice or bias. It was also agreed that political and religious factors which affect human relations in industry may be used as data from which to start. The keynote of the Congress is to be found in the declaration that work is a social function, industry is a science. The human problems of management, control, organisation, production, demand concentration, and clear thought—this is the idea which the I.R.I. was ready to back to the extent of calling its first triennial Congress to discuss the fundamental relationships of industry.

Miss Hesselgren (Swedish M.P. and factory inspector), president of the Association, observed that it had taken nearly a century for us to understand that technical relations in industry were not enough. Now the question of human relations was working itself to the foreground. A grey-haired woman with a pleasant, honest, Scandinavian face, she at once captured and held the Congress with her sincerity.

The first part of the Congress was taken up with reports. Spain reported a rapid development of joint committees of employers and employed, together with State supervision of apprenticeship. In France there is a tax for apprenticeship, which employers have to pay, and the money is divided among technical schools. Protection for working mothers has been conceded, but there are not enough factory inspectors to ensure industrial legislation being carried out. French employers strongly object to works committees. The English Industrial Transfer Board to cope with unemployment was mentioned. In practice this is disappointing, as it has simply meant bringing men to districts where there are already unemployed and finding them temporary jobs. A South Wales miner, for example, was brought to London and employed as a sandwich man.

Reports from the coloured races were of intense interest. China reported an improvement in wages since the unrest in 1921, and much activity by the women's clubs in Shanghai against child labour. An Indian told us about the 30,000,000 engaged in industry in his country. Cotton workers secure an average wage of 1s. 11d. a day of eleven hours. The combined average weekly wages of three workers in the jute industry amount to 14s. 5d. Miners earn from 10d. to 2s. a day, while women receive from 8d. to 10½d. More than 60,000 women have in recent years been put to underground labour in the mines. The British miner gets as much for one working shift as ten Indian miners. For the wage paid to a single woman in Lancashire it is possible to employ from six to twelve Indian women in the cotton mills. In the Indian mills 60 hours are worked, as against 32 in Lancashire. Wages are paid monthly on the fifteenth of the month, and the Indian worker is always in debt, having to pay exorbitant interest to moneylenders. Fines—which amount to from 8 to 10 per cent. of the wages—are general, especially in the textile mills. The vast majority of Indian workers get less than 1s. a day. In Bombay a Government Committee reported that the industrial workers got less than the diet prescribed in the Bombay Gaol Manual. Millions get half or less than half the food they need. Ninety per cent. of the Bombay workers live in the "chawl," or one-roomed tenements. Elsewhere families live in single-room mud huts

shared with cattle, or in a bamboo fretwork type of hut with a thatched roof, but many use the broad highway and the open sky. Discontent is increasing, and the Western worker has an economic as well as an ethical urge to prevent such terrible sweated competition in the world labour market.

Miss Byrd, a West Indian girl from America, who is studying the question of forced native labour, told us of the growing westernisation of Africa. Huge demands are being made on native products, palm oil, coconuts, etc., for the manufacture of soap and margarine. Rubber is needed in immense quantities. The Gold Coast supplies cocoa; Uganda grows cotton. Black labourers are busy producing for the world's comfort. But a system of forced labour still operates in parts of Africa. Women work with children at the breast. Insufficient food and shelter are provided. Men, women, and children are conscripted for work on the roads, and are sometimes lent out to private firms. All methods are used to recruit native workers, from the old-fashioned "blackbirding" to the imposition of hut tax, cattle tax, poll tax, the alienation of lands, and the allurements of drink and opium.

These reports formed a warning prelude to a discussion on scientific management, indicating what might happen—what actually has happened—when everything except production has been lost sight of. The American advocate of scientific management stressed the need for efficiency. He wanted industry considered simply from a "business" standpoint. More production with everyone pulling together meant higher wages and a higher standard of life. He spoke contemptuously of "welfare artists and glad-handers." In reply, an American social worker talked of American unemployment. She had headed a deputation to the Mayor of Philadelphia to get relief, and said that the position last winter in American cities was desperate. Four millions was mentioned as a rough estimate of the number unemployed. There was no system of labour exchanges or relief and no accurate statistics. It was agreed that a serious problem of "technological unemployment," i.e., unemployment due not to diminishing trade, but to improved machinery, existed in America. Another American, Mr. Paul U. Kellogg, editor of *The Survey* (New York), in an eloquent speech, compared the American love of industrial efficiency and control from above with the English love of individual freedom. He desired an industrial form of organisation in which both these qualities could find expression.

Lord Askwith—the Clemenceau of the Congress—told of his experience in settling

industrial disputes from the standpoint of the man in the arena. He had an icy, rather tired contempt for the onlooker in the chamber. "Philosophers and theorists," he observed disdainfully, "usually lay down what they expect rather than what happens." He attached great importance to group feeling, and to personalities flung up at times of industrial struggle. I felt that Lord Askwith was probably more interested in "settlements" than in "just settlements," and it was the strength and wisdom of each side in the industrial dispute which decided the character of the settlement, while he made certain necessary adjustments to bring it about. Absence of theory becomes opportunism if pushed too far.

Dr. C. Delisle Burns spoke of the need for a common industrial language in place of the different dialects which made different sections in industry unintelligible to each other. No one who has ever heard a miner try to explain what wages he gets can doubt the wisdom of this. He talked of those psychological factors in industry which are only just beginning to be appreciated. Groups in industry are formed with certain "mental sets." Men in the workshop felt enslaved because of the huge machines they tended, quite apart from whether conditions were good or not. Modern Industry dwarfed man but exalted men. It taught co-operation. Mass production led people to regard the universe as a great machine. The receiving of wages for short periods led to short views—the worker thought in terms of weeks, not years. The shareholding group was often inert—it played for safety by resisting change. The management group was sometimes over-confident. These two latter groups occasionally came into conflict, as when some shareholders in the Mond chemical combine objected to money being spent on research work. They even went to law about it. Workers found that the regular, repetitive rhythms did not harmonise with the irregular human rhythms, and so conflict and friction—other than economic—was set up. Organised workers regarded the manager as a cog like themselves. He was an important cog, on which much depended. Consequently the conflict in industry did not centre so much round the question of workshop management as round larger questions of economic policy.

It was pleasant to hear Dr. Burns quote my book, *The Triumphant Machine* (which led to my being invited to the Congress), as an authority on the actual effect of workshop life on the thought of the worker. After ten years' experience in various workshops I thought I

knew a little about it, but professorial approbation is not lightly gained. And on the following morning a gentleman representing the Management Research Group launched an attack upon it. After discussing the training of foremen and the need for them to occupy a similar position in the factory to that which the officer occupied during the war when he called out the qualities of loyalty and sacrifice, he remarked that "Taylor had a big apology coming from Mr. Fox when he realised the benefits of the system." Consequently I had to explain how Taylor desired to remove all initiative, all thought, all criticism from the workshop, and that in his view Trade Unionism and collective bargaining were to be superseded. The workman's pay was to be fixed by "science." He was to be degraded into a productive machine. Even on the technical side the industrial psychologists have pointed out that the Taylor system is far too rigid. Needless to say no apology was coming from my side. Taylor advocates have seen the wisdom at this stage of calling their system something else, but I do not think this will help them much. A good soldier, of course, will always obey, even when he is led to the shambles, but industry can never be organised on these lines. We may safely reckon that it is easier to militarise the police force than the factories.

It is impossible to describe in detail the progress of the Congress—whose proceedings were translated into French and German—but the discussion ranged round the relation of industry to society. From many and divergent angles, opinions and information were forthcoming. It was agreed that industry existed to satisfy the wants of society without sacrificing the lives and aspirations of those engaged in it. The world is now buried under goods for which no market can be found. From a world point of view the problem of production has been solved. True rationalisation of industry means its organisation on co-operative lines to prevent the piling up of goods which has produced the present impasse.

In opening a discussion on relationships within the workshop, on the last day of the Congress, I advanced the claim of the workers to organise independently with the help of outside Trade Union advisers, so that through works councils they might be able to interfere critically and creatively in the processes of production which concern them so closely. Unless the independence and integrity of the workers is preserved so as to obtain a genuine expression of their point of view, the workshop machinery is futile. Just as the shareholders' meeting exercises an influence on management

so through workshop organisation the workers' pressure should be brought to bear. The I.R.I. in calling this first triennial Congress has taken the pioneer step in dealing with what is probably the most important problem which now confronts the world.

It must be said that the re-organisation of industry as a social service is a fundamental plank in the Labour programme, while it forms no essential part of the capitalist outlook. The shareholder does not invest his money in industry as a "social service." He does not want industry run primarily for that end, though incidentally his concern has to serve the public. The common recognition of industry as a social service introduces strange phrases to the Labour movement, phrases like "collaboration in industry." If this means giving up the generous idealism which is centred in the Labour movement and which is essential for the re-organisation of industry, then the workers will refuse to collaborate. It is largely a question of tactics. In a period of economic depression militant tactics are usually disastrous. But Labour propaganda has created a whole body of ideas which are influencing industry and society. If collaboration is taken to mean that we can push on from an independent basis towards the Labour goal, well and good. Labour has to collaborate—however regretfully—in living in the same world as the capitalist. The worker collaborates every day in the workshop when he goes to work. In this sense collaboration is a social fact. We want to add to that the right to take a growing part in decisions affecting the running of industry. That is the view which I presented at the I.R.I. Congress. Unless this is conceded "scientific management" in practice will merely be "scientific speeding up."

REPORT ON LABOUR CONDITIONS IN INDIA

By A. A. PURCELL, M.P., and
J. HALLSWORTH

*Being the Report of the British Trades
Union Congress Delegation to India,
November, 1927, to March, 1928.*

Price 1s., post free.

From the Literature Department, Trades Union Congress,
Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1.

A Danish Alsace-Lorraine

A MOVEMENT FOR SEPARATION IN THAT PART OF SLESVIG WHICH DENMARK GOT BACK FROM GERMANY AFTER THE WORLD WAR

By

CARL ANGEL ANDERSEN

Foreign Editor, "Socialdemokraten," Copenhagen

DENMARK has an Alsace-Lorraine of her own. France is having trouble in meeting and fighting the separatist tendencies and the discontent with present conditions in the provinces that were restored to her at the end of the Great War, and there is exactly the same trouble in the case of Denmark, as regards that part of Slesvig which Germany had to restore at that same time.

In Denmark, as in France, it is the economic conditions in the restored provinces which give rise to the greatest discontent. In the districts that have come back to Denmark there is a great deal of unemployment, whilst south of the new border, in Germany, there is a marked industrial revival. This is due to the fact that the latter country—for certain tactical reasons perhaps—has done everything in her power to create prosperity in that part of Slesvig which remained in her possession and now forms the new border district on her side, whilst nothing similar has been done by Denmark on her side of the line.

The interesting point of the situation, however, as regards the Danish Alsace-Lorraine, is the fact that it is very largely the former "patriots" who now, when the strain of the situation has begun to involve their pockets, are ready to sell themselves back to "the enemy," Germany, again.

The number of separatist movements are well nigh countless. Each little district has its centre and movement of discontent, its various tendencies, German or Danish. There are, for instance, the "Nustrup" movement, the "Hoptrup" movement, the "Skaerbaek" movement, the "Haderslev" movement; but all of them are at present in the course of being absorbed by the "Lei" movement, the demands of which include a Government grant of 200,000,000 Kroner to relieve the debt-ridden farmers of Northern Slesvig, autonomy for the province of that name as a sort of "republic," with the border-line of financial administration drawn at the old frontier of the river

"Kongeaen," and, finally, as a bait for the workers and the masses, reform of the unemployment legislation. The whole "Lei" movement bears the unmistakable stamp of German "Jingoism." As a matter of fact, it has received 18,000 signatures; which is to say, one-third of all the votes registered at the last election in Northern Slesvig.

The official leaders of the Northern Slesvig farmers' political movement were well on the way to ally themselves with the "Lei" movement, but were checked in time, thanks to certain revelations which Mr. J. P. Nielson, a Social Democratic Member of Parliament for one of the Northern Slesvig constituencies, was able to make regarding its true nature. Since then, these "Danes" have worked independently and have set on foot a separate Danish farmers' movement, which has adopted the demand of the "Lei" movement for 200,000,000 Kroner, but has abandoned the bait for the workers as well as the demand for autonomy and a readjustment of the frontier.

The reasons for these occurrences in the recovered province—occurrences both regrettable and serious for the Danish Government—are manifold. The whole question of the reunion between Denmark and Slesvig after the war was turned into a matter of pure sentiment. It will still be remembered how some insisted that the large German city of Flensburg should be included in the territory ceded to Denmark, while others even went so far as to desire the Kiel Canal also. Nationalist hysteria was rampant in those days, and it was entirely forgotten that, as a matter of actual fact, the reunion was a very dangerous operation indeed. Noisy jubilation was the order of the day, and the "reunion-monuments" were raised all over the country. But when that was over and done with, no one seemed to remember that Northern Slesvig was in reality like a limb that has been operated on—that it was a province suddenly severed from all its age-long economic and intellectual ties and connections, and that, as such,

it could not be left to its own resources henceforth, but required to be looked after with special care. Before the plebiscite, the nationalists and patriots had displayed the lure of social reforms in speeches and papers and pamphlets, before the eyes of the workers and the poor—just as the “Lei” are doing now—lures such as unemployment legislation, old age pensions, disablement insurance, health insurance, and the promise of a proposal for universal franchise at the age of 21, just as in Germany—in short, desirable inducements of every kind. But hardly had these people been lured across the border, before they all found that those same men were beginning to trim their sails and cut down all their fine promises. Now political rights are, on the contrary, to be restricted, the Conservative majority in Parliament having succeeded in getting a communal electoral law passed which robs a large proportion of the working men of their communal vote. At the same time a “penitentiary law”—on the English model—is in preparation, which will practically destroy the Trade Unions. What, indeed, must the working man in Northern Slesvig think of conditions like these, when he goes down where he can look across the border, day after day, towards the south, where the great German Republic is already splendidly regaining its feet after the cataclysm; where one great constitutional idea draws all together; where even the ruling classes do *something*, at least, towards attaching the working class to that great idea, both politically and economically, for they give them full freedom to organise, and full political rights from the age of 21.

The big farmers of Northern Slesvig, who are now so discontented, have mercilessly reduced all grants of assistance to working men and to poor people, wherever they have had sufficient power in the communal councils to do so, with the result that many have been driven to seek poor law relief and the workhouse is their last resource. The German papers take a malicious delight in publishing notices, day after day, recording the numbers of people who have joined the “workhouse brigade,” now in this locality and now in that. And to crown all this, comes that section of the population of Northern Slesvig which may be said to constitute the upper class, and which demands that the State shall aid them. And it is no small sum that they demand; they ask for 200,000,000 Kroner.

The root of the whole trouble is to be found in the fact that, after the reunion had taken place, the financing of industrial enterprises and concerns was left to lawyers and private financial institutions, who incited people to get into debt

and to borrow much larger sums than they actually needed. In 1920, after the collapse of the German mark, the industries of Northern Slesvig might have been almost free from debt. Instead of that, the following five or six years, during which the Danish Kroner was low, saw them floundering deeper and deeper into debt in Kroner, with the result that now, when the Kroner has risen to par, debts soar above properties like smokestacks above cottages burned to the ground.

And yet the Danish State has already come to their aid with sums by no means small. The State, by a regulation of the value of exchange, assumed the burden of their mortgages in German marks to the extent of about 60,000,000 of Kroner, namely, 5,000,000 to the Realty Loan Institute, 20,000,000 to the Mortgage Loan Fund, and 15,000,000 through the Loan Institute for Northern Slesvig, besides which the State has undertaken the guarantee of the Trust Company of Northern Slesvig, with the result that the bonds of that institution are now listed among the very best paper in the country.

But having got their “inch” they want an “ell.” Those same people who, last winter, when the workers were nearly dying of starvation, refused them even the slightest assistance from grants, cynically referring them to poor law relief, are now demanding that the State shall pay the debts that *they* have incurred.

The situation is grave, and the fact is realised in Denmark. The “Lei” movement musters about 18,000 adherents—at least on paper—most of whom are industrial owners and employers. Several “patriots” among the farmers, too, are beginning to turn their eyes more and more openly southward. The workers and the poorer classes, who belong to the Social-Democratic Party, have hitherto kept apart from the movement, thanks to the efforts and counsel of their responsible leaders; but unless something is done for these people soon, the task of the leaders in that respect will in the long run be impossible; for the bitterness engendered by the conditions now offered is so great that an explosion must be expected. *And if the day should come when the thousands of electors now mustered by the Social-Democratic Party in Northern Slesvig begin, in all seriousness, to turn their eyes toward the south—then it must be plain to everybody what this will mean.*

Alsace-Lorraine and Slesvig—Poland and Danzig—the Baltic States—the Little Entente—Hungary and Austria. There is one thing which admittedly the fathers of the Treaty of Versailles have *not* been able to create—contentment in the new States and along the new frontiers which they have created.

THE
LABOUR MAGAZINE

*Official Journal of the Trades Union Congress
and the Labour Party*

Editorial Offices: TRANSPORT HOUSE (SOUTH
BLOCK), SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W. 1.

Telephones: VICTORIA 8016-7-8

Telegrams: LABREPCOM, CHURTON, LONDON

SIXPENCE MONTHLY, by post 7d.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION 7s.

THE outstanding Parliamentary event of the month has been Labour's vote of censure on the Government for its failure to deal with the growing evil of unemployment. Despite the glowing promises which Mr. Baldwin held out to the electors at the last election, and despite all his attempts to lull the community into a state of complacency, there has of late been a rapid and almost unprecedented leap in the total numbers of people unemployed. Within a month the numbers rose by over 90,000, and at July 9th there were a quarter-of-a-million more unemployed than at the corresponding date in 1924, when the Labour Government was in office. The Labour vote of censure condemned the Government for the ineffectiveness and inadequacy of the measures taken during nearly four years of office to deal with this tragic national problem, and also denounced its attitude towards those people who are suffering privation in consequence of the industrial depression. The Government's reply was no real answer to the indictment. It contained no proposal for dealing in a wholesale manner with the evil, but confined itself merely to tampering with the fringe of the problem through the medium of overseas migration and the transference of unemployed people from areas where distress

is very prevalent to other areas where it is not quite so bad, together with the granting of an indirect subsidy to export coal, and to iron and steel, through the antedating of a portion of the relief which is to be given under the Rating Scheme already before Parliament. There is about as much chance of unemployment being solved by these pettifogging methods as of Loch Lomond being emptied with a bucket.

* * *

IT is impossible to imagine any more striking demonstration of confidence than that which the Parliamentary Labour Party has just paid to its leaders and officers by re-electing them all without a single exception for the coming session. For the position of chairman Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was re-elected unopposed; so was Mr. J. R. Clynes for the position of vice-chairman; so was the Scottish Junior Whip (Tom Henderson) and the Welsh Junior Whip (Charles Edwards). Mr. Tom Kennedy, the Chief Whip, was re-elected, and so were all the Junior Whips—Messrs. J. Hayes, A. Parkinson, W. Whiteley, A. Barnes, Ben Smith, and George Warne, together with W. Paling as the latter's deputy during his illness. Similarly the ballot for the twelve seats on the Executive Committee resulted in the re-election of all the retiring members as follow: Messrs. Arthur Henderson, Philip Snowden, Tom Johnston, W. Graham, H. B. Lees Smith, George Lansbury, Hugh Dalton, J. H. Thomas, C. Trevelyan, T. Shaw, W. Adamson, and Sidney Webb. The Press and the anti-Labour propagandists may continue their calumnies, but these simple facts are far more eloquent than all their mischief-mongering can ever hope to be.

* * *

THE by-elections still continue to give encouragement to Labour and to relegate the talk of the so-called Liberal "revival" to its proper perspective. At Carmarthen, which the Liberals had previously held with a huge majority, they only managed

to scrape in with a majority of 47 over Labour. The last three-cornered fight in Carmarthen was in August, 1924, when the Liberals polled 12,760 votes against Labour's 8,351. In the recent contest the Liberal poll fell to 10,201, a drop of 2,559 votes, whereas Labour's poll rose to 10,154, an increase of 1,083 votes. Then at Halifax, Labour captured the seat from the Liberals with a 5,000 majority. But evidence of the way in which Labour is leaving the Liberals behind does not depend merely upon isolated instances. *In the last nine by-elections the average Labour majority over the Liberals has been 3,355 votes per contest.* In these nine contests Labour has registered two gains—one from the Liberals and one from the Tories—it has held another seat that was previously Labour, and it has only just missed winning from the Liberals two of the remaining seats by the small margins of 89 and 47. These are the real facts with regard to the by-elections. They show that Sir Herbert Samuel's remark about Labour "gradually fading out of the picture" is as ridiculous as it is mendacious.

* * *

AT last the Parliamentary Liberal Party has thought it necessary to drop a hint to Mr. Lloyd George that he ought to be a little more constant in his attendance at the House of Commons. And it is about time, too; for the manner in which he has studiously absented himself from the House of Commons is little short of a scandal. In the 1925 session, out of 506 divisions, he only took part in 39, or 7·7 per cent. of the total. In 1926, he only took part in 79 out of 563, or 14 per cent. of the total; and in 1927, he only took part in 40 out of 489, or 8·3 per cent. of the total. Nevertheless, for the Liberal M.P.s to talk to their leader about putting in more attendances at the House of Commons is like the pot calling the kettle black. Ever since the beginning of the present Parliament the Liberals have been well down at the bottom of

the attendance register with a very bad record indeed. In the 1925 session, for instance, 70 per cent. of the Liberal M.P.s were absent from more than one-half of the divisions. In the 1926 session, 88 per cent. of them were absent; and in 1927, the figure was 73 per cent. Many of their records are nearly as bad as that of Mr. Lloyd George himself. And that is about as bad as it is possible to imagine.

* * *

WHEN a publicly controlled enterprise happens to incur an occasional loss on its trading, the anti-Labour Press and platform hurl themselves into a state of frenzy about what they call the "failure of State enterprise." They omit to mention, of course, that even when a State enterprise does show a balance sheet loss there is often some very good reason for this—such as the need for cheap food for the people or the provision of cheap public services. But, even leaving aside that consideration, if the anti-Socialists will persist in arguing that "Socialism is a failure" because there are occasional losses incurred on State enterprises, they must not object when we turn round and confront them with the twenty times more numerous failures of their own much-vaunted private enterprise. In this connection there is no more outstanding case than that of the firm with which their own Prime Minister, Mr. Stanley Baldwin, has for so many years been connected. Of this firm, Baldwin's Limited, the *Economist* for June 23 said: "Though it has long been evident that the deliberations of the expert and influential committee which, for the last two years, has been investigating the affairs of Baldwin's Limited must eventuate in a series of drastic reconstruction proposals, the terms of the scheme made public on June 15 came as an unpleasant reminder of the extent of the shrinkage which has occurred during recent years in the value of the capital assets of this great concern. . . . Under the terms of the scheme it is proposed to cancel paid-up

capital lost or unrepresented by assets to a total of £3,786,432." This example is much nearer home than those which the anti-Socialists usually like to talk about.

* * *

IT does not always fall to the lot of political parties to be thanked for their efforts, but the long fight put by the Labour Party on behalf of the claim of women for Equal Franchise—often when many members of the other parties were opposing it with all the power at their command—has not gone unrecognised. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has received from Mrs. Fawcett, the Women's Suffrage Pioneer, the following expression of thanks in this connection, viz.: "Dear Mr. MacDonald,—After hearing the Royal Assent given to the Equal Franchise Bill on Monday I was requested by the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship and by the London and National Society for Women's Service to express our gratitude to you and your Party for the great help and support they have given all along to our cause. It was a great point gained for us when one of the parties definitely adopted our cause and made it their own. Our thoughts go back to the staunch friends who are no longer with us, who worked so strenuously for us. With much gratitude, believe me, yours very faithfully, M. G. FAWCETT." The new women voters will do well to remember that but for the efforts of the Labour Party at the time when Liberals and Tories were opposing women's suffrage their prospects of obtaining the vote might still have been very far removed indeed.

* * *

THE Labour Party in Parliament has taken the first available opportunity of registering its emphatic protest against the indefensible action of the Government in handing over for exploitation to a private capitalistic combine the prosperous and promising State Beam Wireless Service. It is one of the most scandalous and blatant

betrayals of the national interests on record. Not only is the State to be deprived of a profit-making agency of almost unlimited potentialities, but the commercial users of the service are to lose their guarantee of a low-priced medium of communication with the overseas dominions, and as a nation we are to be deprived of what, in the event of another war, would be a strategic weapon of considerable, if not vital, importance. The facts have only to be made known for the people to rise in wrathful indignation at the shameless way in which this Tory Government has betrayed their interests.

* * *

THE history of the affair is a straightforward and simple one. During the last few years the State Beam Wireless Service, conducted by the Post Office, has proved itself to be such an efficient medium for inter-imperial communications, that it has compelled the privately-owned cable companies to reduce their message rates considerably, and unless they were to be driven out of business altogether it was obvious that the keen competition would compel them to reduce their rates still more. Rather than face up to the competition, they asked the Tory Government to hand over to them the Beam Wireless Service—the rival which was cutting down message rates so considerably and making a handsome profit for the State at the same time. And the Government has done it. It has decided to hand over the Beam Services to a merger of the cable companies and the Marconi Company for them to exploit on a 25 years' lease, at a rental of £250,000 per annum, plus certain other supplementary payments, despite the fact that the service in its infancy is already making more than half a-million pounds a year profit for the State, and that the profits in future years promised to be considerably greater. In addition, the various submarine cables owned by the British and Dominion Governments are to be sold to this capitalistic merger outright. Needless to say, every stage of the

legislation in connection with this latest demonstration of the Tory Party's determination to put private interests before the national welfare will be opposed by the Labour Party with all the power at its command.

* * *

FROM the Mond-Turner Conference an interim report has been issued which will come up for consideration at the Trades Union Congress in Swansea next month. It is an important document. It states the conclusion reached by the representatives of Trade Unionism and the group of employers on three vitally significant questions affecting the organised workers. These conclusions, in our view, justify up to the hilt the decision of the T.U.C. General Council to accept the employers' invitation and to enter upon these discussions. The report affords a complete and crushing answer to those critics of the Mond-Turner conferences who have declared that the Trades Union Congress representatives were betraying the workers' interests in entering into these discussions, and that their only outcome could be the further enslavement of the workers and the triumph of capitalism. These criticisms are refuted by the contents of the report. It is no longer possible in face of the declarations made by the Joint Conference on the question of Trade Union recognition and on victimisation to maintain opposition to the Mond-Turner conferences on these grounds.

* * *

THERE is, indeed, an amusing contrast in the criticisms that have been made. On the one hand, Trade Unionists have been assured with every variety of emphasis that Mondism, Facism and Spencerism all meant the same thing, and on the other hand, we have important capitalist journals attacking the employers' group for having made a complete surrender to the Trade Unions, and of cutting away the ground beneath the

feet of the non-unionists and the tame unions, such as the one established in the Nottingham coalfield by Mr. George Spencer, M.P. It is obvious that at the same time the report cannot strengthen and destroy Spencerism; it cannot, as the capitalist newspapers assert, contribute a charter for the Trades Union Congress and its affiliated unions and, as the Communist critics say, endorse non-unionism. These criticisms cancel out. No fair-minded reader of this report can doubt that these extremes of criticism entirely misrepresent the fact, nor can they fail to realise that the decisions and recommendations embodied in the report thoroughly justify the action of the T.U.C. General Council in entering into the discussion with the employers' group. Until the Congress itself has considered this report we must regard it as in a sense *sub judice*. It is a matter for the Trade Unions to decide at the forthcoming conference, whether they will ratify the action of the T.U.C. General Council and accept the conclusions embodied in this report. The delegates to Congress will at any rate be able to debate the matter with full understanding of the issues involved and with full knowledge of all that has been done in the Joint Conference. Its publication disposes of all the suspicion and of most of the objections that have been urged against the Mond-Turner conferences from the Trade Union side. Congress, we are sure, will debate the question in a responsible and serious spirit, and we do not, for a moment, doubt the conclusion which will be reached.

THE series of articles by Mr. J. T. Walton Newbold under the title, "FUEL, POWER, AND TRANSPORT," will be continued in the next issue of the "Labour Magazine."

The Disappearance of Rural England

By

R. B. SUTHERS

ONE morning in July last I was present inadvertently at a funeral. It was a cremation. Turning into a familiar green lane I found it painfully unfamiliar. The beautiful hawthorn hedges, whose fragrance I had enjoyed so often, and whose blossoms I had plucked so carelessly, had been hacked down, and were now burning in bonfires built by nonchalant navvies. The curling flames seemed to rage at this indignity. I writhed a little myself. Another spectator said, "It can't be helped. There's got to be a new road. It's on the Town Plan." I believe this last remark was ironical.

Now, if such tragedies can take place in districts whose development is governed by a Town or Regional Plan, what may not happen in the districts where no plans are made? All over the country the answer is the same. Dreadful things are happening. Rural England is rapidly losing its ancient beauty. The countryside is being disfigured and destroyed at such a rate that 20 years hence it will be one vast sprawling suburb. We shall have built Jeruslum in England's green and pleasant land.

We say God made the country, man made the town. God made our country beautiful. Man, the man who made the industrial revolution, made the town ugly. But about 30 years ago man began to be ashamed of his handiwork, some of him, and so came to birth the conception of Town Planning. In 1909 we got our first Town Planning Act. In the meantime the devil had made the suburbs. And the devil saw that the suburbs were not bad enough.

When Ebenezer Howard's Garden City at Letchworth fired the hopes of housing reformers and town planners, the motor-car was in its infancy. It was a thing to laugh at. It was the devil who laughed most. To-day new motor vehicles are going on the roads at the rate of 300,000 a year. The number licensed is nearly 1,500,000. In ten years or less it is estimated that this figure will be doubled, and over the whole of the roads of England there will be eighteen vehicles to the mile.

The motor vehicle has been the devil's opportunity or device. By its aid he has

smashed through the Socialist dream of garden cities or satellite towns separated by wide belts of agricultural land. He has been encouraged by the purblind policy initiated by the profit hunting descendants of the men who made the industrial revolution. What has happened? A thing most "natural." Taking advantage of the new and cheap means of transport, the people who want to get out of the overcrowded towns, and can afford to get out, remove to the first convenient spot they can discover. Where is that spot? Obviously it is by the side of the already made road on the surface of which the devil cars move.

Hence we have what is called the "ribbon" development of building along our new arterial roads, and in main roads everywhere. Suburbs strung out with devilish disregard of the original beauties and amenities of the countryside. Buildings, houses, garages, or workshops brutally indifferent to every canon of taste in architecture. Ghastly advertisement erections. Paralysing petrol pumping stations. Uglification everywhere.

We construct a splendid arterial road, with the object of facilitating the movement of people and goods from place to place. In order to save road costs the speculative builder thereupon lines the route with bungalows, houses, hoardings, and whatnot, thereby setting up a local traffic which causes congestion. Moreover, the district is loaded with the extra cost of providing for one long row of dwellings, pipes, and wires, which would serve a much larger number in a properly planned area. Children have in some cases to walk long distances to school, and shopping facilities are sometimes far distant. However, it is no doubt hoped that these disadvantages will disappear with time and the influx of further residents. But for newcomers new roads will have to be made, and the problem at once arises, are these roads to be planned, or are they to just happen and sprawl?

There is an amusing side to this terrible threat to the countryside. So long as the uglification and slummification of England was confined to the industrial centres, few of the really best people troubled themselves. It was left to Socialists to agitate for garden

cities, and town planning, and playing fields. But now that the devil's disciples are invading every nook and corner of the broad highways, and peering about in the narrow highways, a cry of alarm and indignation is heard on every hand. For example, the other day there appeared in the Press a letter from an anti-Socialist who declared it imperative that the whole of the land in the London traffic area should be brought under public ownership in order that building and traffic development could be controlled in the interest of the 8,000,000 people who dwell there!

It happens that at this very moment the Joint Town Planning Committee for the London Traffic Area, which covers 2,000 square miles, is considering the problem of preserving a belt of open country round London. It is a feature of the Metropolitan area that it tends to extend in ribbons or strips, and if this is to be stopped provision will have to be made for the surplus population in satellite towns. But, as the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres said, "We in England talk a lot about town planning, but we act slowly." This London Committee has only been in existence since November last, and as 126 local authorities are represented on it its deliberations are likely to be prolonged. Meantime . . . the devil makes suburbs.

By the end of 1927 there were 53 Joint Town Planning Committees, in addition to the London Committee. They represented 882 local authorities and covered 9,000,000 acres. Urban authorities with a population of more than 20,000 are compelled to plan, and at the end of 1927 157 authorities had submitted plans. There were, however, a greater number of voluntary schemes from rural authorities with smaller populations than 200,000, viz., 236, which seems to suggest that the leaven is working, but obviously it is working too slowly to arrest the swift suburb-making machinations of his sable majesty.

Mr. W. R. Davidge, F.R.I.B.A., consultant to the Hertfordshire Regional Committee, observed in his recent report that "a generation of students have been making suggestions for the creation of new local government units of a large order called 'provincial' or 'regional.' These units would, in the minds of such thinkers, be framed on physical conditions rather than historical tradition. Few counties are self-contained in natural or economic aspects, and coming to the urban and rural districts there is often nothing to indicate why one should cease here or begin there. The new idea is to recognise or to find 'regions,' which in nature, economics,

and social development display a certain large unity, and the aim of such study is to move towards local political local government of a far more responsible character than was or is possessed by the present local authorities."

So far, however, our "regions" are only provisional and advisory, and in consequence they lumber along slowly with their plans as if we were still living in the days of Adam Smith, when "a broad-wheeled wagon attended by two men and drawn by eight horses in about six weeks' time" travelled from Edinburgh to London and back with a weight of near four tons. The Hertfordshire report is at any rate a little in advance of some of its contemporaries in advocating the satellite town as a solution of the overcrowding of areas like London, which involves the decentralisation of industries as well as the shifting of populations. Whereas the present method of building dormitory towns seems to do little but add to the complexities of the problem by creating new problems of a similar kind. And the devil keeps on stringing out suburbs.

It seems clear that the present trend outwards of people and industries will be accentuated rather than stemmed, notwithstanding the fiscal brakes applied to road development by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The forces behind it are too strong to be dammed or diverted. As Mr. J. Walton Newbold pointed out last month, agriculture is to be vitalised by means of Government credit, the electrification schemes, and the development of chemical fertilisers. The countryside is to be mechanised. In many ways this will mean uglification, unless history refuses to repeat itself. Town and country are going to meet at last in friendly rivalry as the destroyers of natural beauty. But need they? Must they?

The eminent architect, Mr. Guy Dawber, said recently that "all appreciation of art and beauty is giving place to a devouring utilitarianism." The "all" is rather an exaggeration. In fact there has been for some time a more widespread recognition of the evils which ugliness brings in its train, and at the same time a conscious attempt to cultivate an appreciation of the beautiful both in nature and in art. No doubt there is still a mass of people who are indifferent, but they are not hostile to the movement, and if lovers of beauty would put as much passion into their propaganda and protests as the profiteer puts into the pursuit of pelf they might be won for the preservation of rural England.

A year or two ago an organisation styled to initiate legislative action on behalf of its the Council for the Preservation of Rural England was established with the object not only of preserving the amenities of the countryside, but also in order to cultivate a closer partnership between town and country. Local authorities and other public bodies, with private individuals interested in the objects, form the membership. In April last a branch of the Council was formed in the Thames Valley for the purpose of making a survey of the river from Oxford to Staines. Several local authorities are already engaged on the same problem, but it is thought that the branch will be able to make a more comprehensive survey, and thus be in a position to offer advice to the various town planning authorities with respect to building sites, new roads, bridges, and the general amenities of the Thames Valley. It will be seen that the problem of the Thames Valley is the problem of England in miniature, and more particularly so will it be when the new locks beyond Oxford open up stretches of country which are now entirely rural. Rivers as well as roads may be degraded by ribbon development.

The Council for the Preservation of Rural England has appealed to the Prime Minister objects, and Mr. Baldwin has expressed his view that "nothing could be more disastrous or more wicked than to dissipate the beauty of the country and to destroy in our profligacy that irreplaceable heritage." Will a Conservative Government attempt to grapple with the conditions this evolution is bringing? Will it even take the first step, which is the municipalisation or nationalisation of the land? The answer is in the negative. The uglification of England will continue until the Labour Party wins power to undertake its comprehensive programme, a programme which, as in the case of the anti-Socialist mentioned above, must sooner or later grip the imagination of every person who has in him the merest germ of an appreciation of the beauties of our countryside. "Wages and hours of labour are tremendously important," said Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, "but we have also to stand by the beauties of our country so that our children and grandchildren may enjoy them."

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PRESS AND PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT, THE LABOUR PARTY,
Transport House (South Block), Smith Square, London, S.W. 1

A Diary of Parliament

June 21.

Mines Department Vote. Labour Members pointed out that Government had admitted that 290,000 fewer miners were employed than in 1924, despite the fact that output had increased, wages had been reduced, production costs had been reduced, and hours of work lengthened. Government had no serious suggestion to make for remedying this state of affairs.

June 28.

Rating and Valuation Bill: Government passed Guillotine motion, "gagging" future debates on the Bill, after following Labour amendment had been rejected, viz: "This House declines to assent to any limitation of debate, other than that provided by Standing Orders, in respect of a Bill which deals with difficult questions affecting the assessment of property prior to the granting of relief from rates and is calculated to lead to many anomalies and injustices unless properly examined and discussed with a view to amendment."

June 29.

Shops (Hours of Closing) Bill passed a third time. Labour indicated that it would like the Bill improved in certain respects to give greater safeguards to shop workers, but as the opponents would have killed the Bill had these improvements been pressed, it was passed in its compromised form.

July 6.

Racecourse Betting Bill (to authorise the establishment of the Totalisator), as amended by the Standing Committee, considered on Report Stage. Owing to Labour opposition the promoters could not get the Bill through on this day—the last day of the session for private members' Bills—and it would therefore have been killed, but for the subsequent decision of the Government to take it up as a Government Bill.

July 10.

Agricultural Credits Bill, read third time, Labour tried to improve it by demanding that any enhanced value which the land acquired as a result of the Government aided credits should be deducted from the amount of the compensation to be paid in the event of a public authority subsequently acquiring the land compulsorily. The Government rejected this.

On the ground that the Bill, although far from perfect, did go some distance in the direction of Labour's policy, it was not opposed on third reading.

July 11

On Police vote, Labour criticised the appointment of Lord Byng as Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, and also the general tendency to militarise the higher police appointments throughout the country. Mr. Snowden, in moving the reduction of the police vote, said the grounds of objection were: (1) The appointment of a military man; (2) the closing of avenues of promotion for police officers; (3) the age of Lord Byng (66)—a particularly important point when it is remembered that his predecessor retired because he had reached the virtual age limit of 60.

July 12.

Post Office Estimates: P.G.M. said that for the past year, the combined surplus on the postal, telegraph and telephone accounts was £7,581,000, after the payment of interest on capital. The Select Committee on Estimates subsequently pointed out that in addition to this surplus, there had to be taken into account services valued at £1,100,000 per annum rendered by the Post Office to other State departments but not paid for.

July 17.

Rating and Valuation (Apportionment) Bill read a third time, after Labour amendment for its rejection had been rejected.

July 18 and 19.

Racecourse Betting Bill, now officially adopted by the Government, read a third time with the aid of the Government Whips.

July 19

Naval Prize Bill. Sir Basil Peto (Tory member for Barnstaple) moved the following amendment, viz.: "Notwithstanding any rule or practice to the contrary, the purposes for which provision may be made by Greenwich Hospital shall not be held to exclude any charity from which men who served at sea in the late war or their dependents are entitled to benefit." In spite of the appeals of the Tory Whips, he pressed it to a division; and, as a result of this act of "insubordination," he was subsequently "ex-communicated" from the Party by having the Whip withdrawn.

June 24.

Unemployment. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald moved the following vote of censure on the Government, viz.:—

"That this House views with grave concern the growing volume of unemployment; it deplores the ineffectiveness and inadequacy of the measures taken by the Government during nearly four years of office to deal with this tragic national problem, and their failure to relieve the plight of many poverty-stricken areas; it further declares that the attitude of the Government towards those who are suffering privation in consequence of the industrial depression calls for the severest condemnation."

The motion was rejected by 331 votes to 151. Of the Liberals, 19 voted for the motion, 5 voted against, and 20 did not vote at all.

July 26.

Minister of Health announced that Rent Restriction Act would be continued in its present form for a further year, by being included in the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill. Normally the Act would have expired at Christmas Day next in England and Wales, and at the middle of next year in Scotland.

July 30

Parliamentary Secretary to Board of Trade announced that exports from this country to Russia for 1927 were £11,141,569, as compared with £14,401,366 in 1926.

July 31.

Minister of Pensions announced intention of the Government to stabilise War Pensions at their present rate, thus obviating any possible reductions that might in future have been put into operation as result of a possible fall in the cost of living.

August 2

On the Appropriation Bill debate, Labour protested against action of the Government in handing over the State and Imperial owned cables and the State owned Beam Wireless Service to private enterprise.

August 3

Parliament prorogued. New session will begin early in November.

Unemployment Beats the Tory Government

AT last, nearly four years after all the glowing promises that it made to the electors at the last General Election, the Tory Government has confessed that it has been beaten by the problem of unemployment. For the last few weeks the unemployment figures have been mounting rapidly, and there are now over a quarter of a million more people unemployed than there were at the corresponding season of 1924, when the Labour Government was in office.

Prior to the vote of censure, which the Labour Party moved on the Government on July 24, the last four weekly unemployment totals that had been published by the Ministry of Labour showed the following enormous increases :—

Week ending.	Registered Unemployed.	Weekly increase.
June 18	1,162,500	.. 12,557
June 25	1,192,600	.. 30,100
July 2	1,217,500	.. 24,900
July 9	1,242,000	.. 24,900

In those four weeks alone, therefore, there was an increase of more than 90,000 in the number of registered unemployed, and the total of 1,242,000 for the last week is 218,000 higher than the total for the corresponding date in 1924, when the Labour Government was in office.

The real increase over the total under Labour rule, however, is much higher than 218,000, for even on the Government's own admission, 30,000 unemployed persons over 65 years of age have been struck off the register under the Contributory Pensions Act, and large numbers of other people have been struck off the register under various Tory "Economy" proposals, despite the fact that they are still out of work. The real increase in the total number of unemployed, therefore, as the result of four years of Tory rule is somewhere in the region of a quarter of a million.

Side by side with these staggering figures it is interesting to compare the promises which the Tory Party made at the last election. In one of its official publications (The Unionist Record) it said :—

"The Unionist Party has a positive remedy for unemployment, . . . Constant work at good wages will be secured for all who desire and seek it." And Mr. Baldwin, in his election address, said: "The Unionist Party would be unfaithful to its principles and to its duty if it did not treat the task of grappling with the unemployment of our people as a primary obligation."

So bad had the state of affairs become that just before the end of the session (on July 24) the Labour Party put down a vote of censure on the Government, and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald moved it in the following terms, viz. :—

"That this House views with grave concern the growing volume of unemployment. It deplores the ineffectiveness and inadequacy of the measures taken by the Government during nearly four years of office to deal with this tragic national problem, and their failure to relieve the plight of many poverty stricken areas. It further declares that the attitude of the Government towards those who are suffering privation in consequence of the industrial depression calls for the severest condemnation."

Much of the discussion on this vote of censure ranged round the recently-issued report of the Industrial Transference Board. The facts revealed in this report are staggering. A "damning document," Mr. Ramsay MacDonald called it, and it certainly is as powerful a condemnation of the Government's complacent attitude towards unemployment as could be imagined.

With regard to the coal industry, it says :—

"It would be unwise if any figure below 200,000 were taken as the permanent surplus in the industry," and it adds that by surplus it means "the difference between the present insured personnel of the industry and the number of workpeople who can count with reasonable certainty upon obtaining their livelihood from the industry."

"To this figure," adds the report, "there must be added a probable permanent surplus in shipbuilding, iron and steel, and heavy engineering. In these industries at the end of May there were over 100,000 men wholly unemployed. . . It seems probable also that ultimately certain sections of the textile industry must be prepared to face a permanent contraction of their personnel." No wonder Mr. Tom Shaw remarked: "There is no reason why we should be in this condition, except the reason that our boasted competitive system cannot make itself effective. I would like to call the attention of the practical business men of the Tory Party to this extraordinary fact that the competitive system has managed the business of this country so well that you now have 1,250,000 unemployed, you have large industries in which the machinery is lying idle, and you cannot bring those idle hands to work those machines. We are supposed to be a practical people."

What is the remedy of the Government for this tragic state of affairs that prevails? Mr. Baldwin began by confessing that it was a case of "national emergency"—quite a true statement—but it was interesting to compare the pettifogging proposals which he propounded in answer to the censure vote for dealing with *this* national emergency as compared with the way in which he mobilised the whole resources and powers of the State in order to deal with another national emergency two years ago. Briefly summarised all he proposes to do is to—

1. Assist the transference of miners from the distressed areas to other parts of the country where conditions are not quite so bad.

2. Encourage migration to the overseas dominions.

3. Give an indirect subsidy to export coal, and to the iron and steel industry, by bringing into force from December 1 this year, instead of October 1, 1929, the rate reductions which would then normally become operative under the Government's rating proposals.

4. Extend the Export Credits Scheme for two years.

Even one of his own most loyal supporters, Sir Hamar Greenwood, remarked at a later stage of the debate that the Prime Minister's proposal was not likely to do more than "touch the fringe of the problem," and Mr. Philip Snowden averred that the transference scheme would probably not transfer a thousand surplus miners within the next six months.

Moreover, as Mr. Tom Shaw very pertinently inquired, to where are the miners to be transferred? Where is the district in this country where there is not already considerable unemployment? From John o' Groats to Land's End is there a single district where there is an opening for labour? Is there anywhere where the unemployed can turn and say, "This is a district where workers are wanted and we are willing to go." There is no district of this kind. He then mentioned one or two experiences that have been brought out by question and answer in the House of Commons during the last few weeks. In one case men had been sent from South Wales by the Employment Exchanges to go round with ice cream trucks in London, although there were thousands of unemployed workers in London itself willing to do the job. "There is no question," he said, "about South Wales men having been brought to London and of some of them having become stranded in London. If it be the policy to take unemployed men from a place where unemployment is great to another place where unemployment exists but is less great the principle is no good; and if it be the case—and we have a feeling that

it has happened in some cases—that a job which does not exist has been offered to a man for the purpose of getting the man to refuse it, and then to take him off the unemployment benefit list, the action of the Government is absolutely unpardonable. *There is nothing in the Prime Minister's statement to give rise to the hope that a single new job will be found for any man.*"

Unemployed men are merely to be moved from one district to another district so that they can take jobs that would otherwise have been taken by other members of the unemployed army. There is no proposal for providing additional work or the development of national resources, despite the fact, as Mr. MacDonald pointed out, that millions of acres of land remain to be reclaimed or put in a more intensive state of cultivation, that roads have to be made, that slums have to be cleared, and that the pigeon-holes of Government Departments are filled with schemes of useful work that have to be put into operation. They cost money, it is true, but, as Labour has so frequently pointed out, there is far more sense in spending the money on providing work that will give the unemployed good wages instead of giving them small pittances for doing nothing that will increase the national wealth, and that will stem the process of demoralisation that inevitably accompanies long periods of enforced idleness.

With the oft-repeated Tory claim that there is a greater number of people in industrial employment to-day than there was four years ago Mr. MacDonald dealt very effectively. What has that got to do with the question of unemployment? he asked. Why should the Tories merely content themselves with going back four years for their comparison of the number of people employed? Why not go back forty or four hundred? That would console them in even greater measure for the state of affairs that prevails to-day.

Surely it must be obvious to everyone that with the increase of the country's population—assuming that that increased population has any economic power and has any capacity to create demand for commodities at all—there is bound to be a certain expansion in the number of people who are actually employed, whatever may be happening so far as unemployment is concerned. *But the vital fact is that the proportion between the unemployed and the employed is increasing. In June, 1924, the percentage of unemployed was only 9.3 per cent. By June, 1928, it had risen to 10.8 per cent.*

Needless to say the Back Bench Tory Diehards did not allow the debate to conclude before they had trotted their dark horse "Safeguarding" round the ring for public inspection. But although they claimed that he was a certain winner Mr. MacDonald reminded the Tories that their own tipster, Mr. Churchill, had already turned him down. *"There is no truth in the idea that you sometimes hear mooted," Mr. Churchill had said a few days previously, "that the present increase in unemployment is due to foreign importations."* That being so the whole case of the Safeguards, Protectionists, Tariff Reformers, or whatever they call themselves, is left without a leg to stand on.

That was not the only interesting feature about the intervention of the Safeguards in the debate. The other was contained in the terms of their amendment itself, which "deplored the continued opposition of the Socialist and Liberal Parties to . . . the policy of safeguarding . . ." a rather barefaced piece of impudence when it is remembered that only on the night before their own precious Mr. Baldwin and his Cabinet had sternly refused the request of 200 Tory M.P.'s that safeguarding should be applied to the iron and steel industry, to save it, as they said, "from ruin." Of course, if they wish to obsess themselves with the fuddled idea that safeguarding is a cure for unemployment in the steel and iron industry nobody can stop them from doing so, but they must remember that every brick they hurl at the Labour Party for opposing that proposal hits the honest head of their own Prime Minister as well.

Mention has already been made of the gloomy picture painted by the Report of the Industrial Transference Board of the present employment situation and of the equally gloomy prospects. But there are two of its clauses which have a refreshing tone about them, and which give a sharp reprimand to those comfortable people who are fond of condemning the unemployed as workshys and of misrepresenting the sterling character of the miners. They are worthy of being placed on record.

Clause 88 says :—

"We think it necessary to comment on a calumny which has gained some currency both here and overseas about the quality of the unemployed. A misunderstanding so obstinate in certain quarters as to appear deliberate, of our whole system of unemployment insurance, an attitude summed up in the word 'dole,' has created an impression that the unemployed are unemployable, that they could easily

find work if they wished, but that they prefer to live in idleness on money derived from the State. The misconceptions in this attitude are so obviously absurd to anyone who studies, however cursorily, the industrial history of the last few years that we should not have thought it necessary to refute them, had we not been struck by their prevalence in some quarters in the Dominions and by the damage that they caused to our people. The Unemployment Insurance Scheme is a contributory scheme to which the workmen of this country contribute, out of their wages, one-third of the total cost. No unemployed workman can draw benefits under the scheme unless he satisfies stringent conditions—among others, he must show that he is genuinely seeking work. Every impartial body that has examined this scheme, notably the Committee under the chairmanship of Lord Blanesburgh, which reported in 1927, has found that the allegations of general abuse are wholly without foundation. The body of unemployed is not a standing army of vagrants and loafers, but a number of genuine industrial workers whose composition is constantly changing. There are, of course, 'work shy' among them, as there are in every section of society, and in every country, but for the most part the unemployed are, at any time, a fair sample of the whole body of the industrial workpeople of this country."

And Clause 20, referring specially to the miners, says :—

"We are satisfied that, regarded as a type, the British miner is an example to his fellows. Part of his inheritance handed down from generation to generation is an instinctive loyalty to his comrades, and a capacity for similar loyalty to his employers, so long as unimaginative handling is not allowed to alienate his sympathy. . . . That he does deserve a better fate admits of no doubt. . . . It is a human duty to aid such men and their families . . ."

The steps that the present Government have already taken to "aid such men" and guarantee them "a better fate" are too well known—longer hours and lower wages. And unfortunately the debate disclosed no indication of any serious change of attitude towards the miners on the part of the Government and its supporters. A little tinkering about with conditions here and there perhaps there may be, but the big questions that are exerting a fundamental influence on the miners' conditions are to be left severely alone. To tackle those might anger the mineowners, who are too powerful in the councils of the Tory Party to be offended.

The Labour Vote of Censure was, of course, defeated. The voting was 331 to 151, plus two tellers on either side.

As usual the Liberals were conspicuous by their disunity and their absence. Out of their total strength of 44 only nineteen supported the censure of the Government, five voted with the Government, and the remaining twenty did not vote.

C. E. L.

Police Tyranny and Public Liberty

THE main facts of what has come to be known as the Savidge Case are familiar enough to the public mind.

The dismissal by the magistrate of the Hyde Park prosecution with ten guineas costs against the police; the suggestion that perjury had perhaps been committed by the two policemen who gave evidence in that case; the reference of that issue by the Home Secretary to the Public Prosecutor for inquiry; the subsequent action of the police officers whom the Public Prosecutor deputed to conduct the inquiry, in taking Miss Savidge from her place of work to Scotland Yard, and there subjecting her to a lengthy interrogation without proper warning of the consequences; the raising of their action in the House of Commons by Mr. Tom Johnston, M.P., and the consequent appointment by the Home Secretary of a Tribunal to investigate the circumstances of that interrogation of Miss Savidge—the full story of all these stages in the affair has already been made public in the Press.

Then came the reports of the Tribunal—a Majority Report signed by Mr. Justice Banks and Mr. J. J. Withers, M.P., and a Minority Report signed by Mr. H. B. Lees-Smith, M.P., the Labour Member for Keighley—and finally, on 20th July, there was the debate which the Labour Party initiated in the House of Commons, with a view to demanding that appropriate action should be taken upon the reports, and that an assurance should be given that the treatment which had been dealt out to Miss Savidge by the Public Prosecutor and the police should never be repeated upon any other citizen in this land.

The reply of the Home Secretary was far from satisfactory. He agreed to institute certain reforms at Scotland Yard, but he refused to accept Mr. Lees-Smith's report, which censured Scotland Yard, and announced his acceptance of the Majority Report, which had the effect of "whitewashing" Scotland Yard, and which, as the *Sunday Chronicle* said, might almost have been written in Scotland Yard itself.

"But for the minority report of Mr. Lees-Smith" (this newspaper remarked, and Mr. Tom Johnston quoted it in the debate) "the Savidge Inquiry would have been waste of time and money: the majority report, with the exception of its concluding paragraphs, might have been written in Scotland Yard."

The "concluding paragraphs" in question, whilst whitewashing the action of Scotland

Yard in the present case, suggested that there might be a modification of the rules governing the interrogation of witnesses in future.

The chief findings in Mr. Lees-Smith's report were in the following terms, viz.:—

(A) Miss Savidge's presence at Scotland Yard was secured by confronting her without notice by the police officers accompanied by a car; she was compelled to decide forthwith whether she would go or not; she was given no opportunity of asking the advice of her parents; and was misled as to the nature of the inquiry she would undergo.

These proceedings are deserving of censure, of which the chief part falls on Chief Inspector Collins, but of which a minor share must be borne by Chief Constable Wensley and Superintendent Savage, who were consulted as to the arrangements.

(B) I consider that Miss Wyles should have stayed in the room at Scotland Yard during the interview as a matter of course. Her presence in the car had been used as a reason for inducing Miss Savidge to come to Scotland Yard. There were no other important duties which called her away, for she stated in her evidence that while she remained officially on duty throughout the interrogation, she spent the time at her home, five to ten minutes away from Scotland Yard, waiting at the end of a telephone line for any message that Chief Inspector Collins might send. I cannot say whether or not Chief Inspector Collins allowed Miss Wyles to leave the room because he did not wish to be hampered by the presence of a woman; but, whatever the reason, I consider that he was to blame for what, in fact, happened.

(C) What took place inside the room at Scotland Yard between the hours of three o'clock and seven o'clock? There is a clear contradiction between the two versions of what occurred. Little corroboration can be obtained to the story told by either side. The test is the credibility of Miss Savidge on the one side, and the two police officers on the other. My conclusion is that Miss Savidge is the more credible witness.

(1) The impression that she made in the witness box was that of a frank, simple, and somewhat child-like witness, whose evidence remained unshaken under cross-examination. The police officers did not give the impression that they were equally frank in their evidence, but denied both the probable and improbable with equal force. The mechanical precision with which the chief police witnesses corroborated every detail of each other's statement cast suspicion upon their evidence.

(2) The evidence of Mr. Saxe and Miss Egan, the two witnesses who were detached from the main events, corroborates Miss Savidge rather than Sergeant Clark.

(3) There is no evidence that the original statement made by Miss Savidge to her solicitors, out of which the subsequent case arose, was made under pressure or undue influence.

(3) After the appointment of the Tribunal, and until the day before its public sittings began, the police were making private inquiries into Miss Savidge's character and interviewing informants as

to her past. The purpose of this inquiry was to obtain information by which Miss Savidge might be attacked in the witness-box. The fact that no such attack was made appears to indicate that the investigations by the police revealed nothing in Miss Savidge's character that would weaken her credibility as a witness.

I, therefore, give the preference to Miss Savidge's credibility, and conclude that she was asked a number of questions that ought not to have been asked, and that certain of her replies were forced into a form that misrepresented what she wished to say. For this, the responsibility rests with Chief Inspector Collins,

(D) It may well be that the events into which we have inquired are a manifestation of a system that has grown up within Scotland Yard, and this inquiry opens wider issues than the actions of a few police officers. What happened to Miss Savidge can easily happen to any man or woman in her position. Great perils to private citizens and to civil liberty have been revealed by her experience.

I have, therefore, suggested 15 questions as to the system of Scotland Yard. The full reply to them will need an investigation into still wider fields of police administration and control.

If the result of this case is that they are truly answered, this unhappy episode in Miss Savidge's life will work out for the public good, and save others from the experience that she has endured.

These fifteen questions which Lees-Smith suggested were as follows:—

1. Are the police the proper authorities to take statements in the case of persons who are suspected or in custody, and of witnesses whose personal character or interests are involved?

2. Statements taken at Scotland Yard or at police stations, whether of persons who are suspected or in custody or of witnesses, are almost always taken privately with no one else present except the police and the person making the statement. Is there sufficient security that the person making the statement is guarded from all improper pressure?

3. Has a practice arisen of continuing the taking of statements for so prolonged a time that a number of the statements are made under the influence of nervous exhaustion?

4. As a result of the War, the police were given extraordinary powers of interrogation under the Defence of the Realm Acts, in order to deal with spies, aliens and others. They no longer possess these powers, but do the methods that were then developed survive?

5. Are the Regulations which govern the taking of statements from persons who are suspected or in custody or from witnesses, sufficiently full and precise to give police officers clear guidance as to what they should do?

6. Are new Regulations needed to define the conditions under which those who make statements, particularly persons who are suspected or in custody and witnesses whose personal character or interests are involved, shall be enabled to obtain the presence of a friend or other representative?

7. Are new Regulations needed to define the conditions under which witnesses who are asked to go to Scotland Yard should be given due notice and offered the opportunity, if they so wish, to have their statement taken elsewhere?

8. Are new Regulations needed to enact that, when a statement is being taken from a woman who is suspected or in custody or from a woman witness, a woman police officer shall be present, unless the woman who is making the statement asks that she shall withdraw.

9. Are new Regulations needed to define the cases in which the police call for a witness at his place of employment?

10. Do the Judges' Rules, which define the method of taking statements from persons who are suspected or in custody, need to be revised?

11. The method of taking statements from witnesses is less precisely defined than the method laid down by the Judges' Rules for taking statements from persons who are suspected or in custody. Should it be more precise?

12. In particular, should there be a distinction drawn between the Regulations for taking the statement of a witness whose personal interests are not involved, such as a witness who sees a pickpocket, and a witness whose statement affects his personal character or interests?

13. Should a witness whose personal character or interests are involved be warned before his statement is taken of its possible effects upon him?

14. Should the Director of Public Prosecutions be furnished with a staff that will enable him when deciding the question of a prosecution for an offence in which police officers are concerned to conduct his inquiries and take proofs without depending upon the police for assistance?

15. The General Orders and Regulations of the Metropolitan Police are confidential. Should those parts of them that are intended to protect persons suspected or in custody, and witnesses whose personal character or interests are involved, be published and brought in each case to the notice of the person making the statement?

In opening the debate, Mr. Tom Johnston emphasised the fact that the Labour Party were not concerned in any way with what was known as the Hyde Park case. Its concern was entirely with the methods by which Miss Savidge was examined by Scotland Yard subsequent to her acquittal on the Hyde Park charge.

In that part of the Home Secretary's reply which represented a partial concession to the Labour Party's demands, he agreed that the 15 questions which Mr. Lees-Smith had propounded should be taken into consideration by the Royal Commission that he is setting up to inquire into the broader question of general police administration. He further announced that he had given instructions that "in any case where a statement has to be taken by male officers from any woman, and it appears that it may be necessary in so doing to put to her questions of an intimate character, that is only to be done in the presence of a police woman or matron, unless the person making the statement expressly requests that no woman shall be present." He added that he was ready to agree that the

subjects of the relations between the Director of Public Prosecutions and the police should also be considered by the Royal Commission. And he also said that pending the recommendations of the Royal Commission, he had given to the Commissioner of Police the following directions :—

Where a witness's own character or reputation is the matter chiefly involved in the Inquiry, and where the consequences of making a statement may be gravely to his or her prejudice, the matter shall be referred to the Central Department of Scotland Yard before any steps are taken to obtain the evidence of any such person, man or woman, and that detailed instructions must then be issued by Scotland Yard itself, through one of the heads, to the officer who is told off to take the statement. These instructions, while framed to meet the special circumstances of particular cases, shall ensure that, in any event, the witness shall be "clearly informed before a statement is taken of the nature of the statement required"; and, where the person's youth, inexperience, or ignorance makes it desirable, "of the possible consequences involved, to him or her in consenting to make it."

As to the position of the Director of Public Prosecutions (Sir Archibald Bodkin) in the matter, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald said that his conduct was worthy of the most severe censure. In the first place, he had no business to assume special rights against Miss Savidge, because it happened to be that he was making a police inquiry; in inquiries regarding police conduct, the police had no more right to obtain evidence or to approach witnesses than an ordinary citizen who required evidence in order to support him, and Sir Archibald Bodkin had violated that sound principle.

In this connection, the *Law Journal*, quoted during the course of the debate, said that :—

So far as the letter" (which Sir Archibald Bodkin sent to Sir Leo Money's solicitors, demanding that he should make a statement and threatening him if he did not) "and Sir Archibald Bodkin's evidence amount to a contention that the police, whether acting under his direction or not, are entitled to demand that an individual shall submit to be interrogated in the course of an investigation into an alleged crime, or that a person consenting to be interrogated is not entitled to the fullest protection of his legal adviser, this is wholly wrong."

The *Law Times*, commenting upon the action of the Public Prosecutor in sending police officers to interrogate Miss Savidge, although the case was one in which the police themselves were concerned, said :

"We cannot accept the statement that it was 'the only way open to him.' . . . There was an eminent firm of solicitors that act for the Commissioner of Police, who could have been trusted to conduct investigations of a delicate kind. But in spite of this, and knowing that serious allegations were being made against the police, the 'accepted practice' proved too strong."

In the second place, claimed Mr. MacDonald, the Public Prosecutor had exceeded his duty in a manner which was absolutely unjustifiable in writing his threatening, bullying letter to the solicitors of Sir Leo Money, saying to them in effect, "If you, the solicitors, do what you think you ought to do as the legal agents and advisers of a certain person, I will see to it that something is going to follow."

Mr. Lees-Smith's report said of this threatening letter that it was "couched in terms unsuitable to the correspondence of a public department."

The Government, however, showed that they were as determined to whitewash the Public Prosecutor as the majority of the Tribunal had been to whitewash Scotland Yard, despite the fact, as the Attorney-General said in the final speech from the Government side of the House, that the Public Prosecutor himself had since admitted to him that "if he had sat down with greater consideration to draft a letter appropriate to the occasion, he has no doubt there are words and sentences in it which would have been differently phrased."

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Putting Coal in Order

THE Institute of Economics, at Washington, has already given us a series of valuable studies of the coal industry in America, and one volume on the British coal dilemma, but hitherto no opinions of a definite kind have been expressed as to the remedy for the ills that have been so faithfully described and analysed.

In this new volume* the authors venture boldly into the paths of industrial therapeutics, and prescribes for the sickness of coal in a manner that orthodox economic practitioners will find alarming.

The malady that afflicts American coal is not quite as serious as that which this country has to face, but there are features in common, and we can certainly profit by the thorough analysis and bold constructive measures outlined by Dr. Hamilton and Miss Wright.

The defects with which we are familiar are to be found in the coal industry in the United States; the multiplicity of owners, the feverish competition and lack of planning, the inefficient management and organisation, the deplorable manner in which the workers are treated. In some of these matters our coal barons are worse than the Americans, in others they are better, but the general result is similar in both countries. The workers are underpaid and under-employed, there is no stability of prices, labour conflicts are frequent and bitter, distribution is wasteful and expensive.

Many industries are in this sort of condition, more or less, but what makes the coal problem so urgent in both countries is the necessity for contraction, for cutting down. In Britain, markets have permanently shrunk and we have to curtail our coal exports. In America the industry was over-stimulated and there was an expansion of production far beyond the possible limits of consumption, so there, again, a contraction is necessary.

The United States Coal Commission, a much more imposing affair than any Commission of Inquiry we have had, said almost everything there was to be said as far as the facts were concerned, but its recommendations were woefully inadequate, and nothing has been done.

The truth is that there, as here, nothing short of planning, by some central authority, for the entire industry, is of any real use. A coal division of the Interstate Commerce Commission, as recommended by the Coal Commission, would be useful, as our Mines Department is useful, but it would have no more real and effective control over the conditions that now produce chaos.

Dr. Hamilton and Miss Wright propound a scheme which is intended to secure the benefits of public ownership as conceived by Socialists together with the advantages of private ownership as conceived by the orthodox economist. It appears to be based on a scheme proposed by Professor Henry Clay for the Sankey Commission in 1919, and it is, to put it very briefly, a plan for control by a corporation representing consumers and producers. Owners would receive a fixed rate of interest on their holdings, which would become debentures, the interest being the first charge on the industry. There would be a Board of fifteen directors, of whom five would be appointed by coal users—chiefly other industries; five by an association of all employees, and four by the technical and managerial staffs, with a president, appointed by the other 14, to complete the number. The five appointed by the consumers and the five appointed by the workers would, with the president, constitute the real controlling body; the other four members would fulfil advisory functions.

The owners would therefore have no power of control whatever, but merely a fixed rate of interest, and not permanently fixed, either, for arrangements would be made whereby it could be varied to fit in with current market conditions for industrial stocks.

The industry would actually be governed by workers' and consumers' representatives, in equal numbers, with representatives of the administration as advisers and critics. The president would be the executive head, in charge of the day-to-day administration.

There is not space here to detail the proposals for district and local management, but the brief summary given shows the general lines of the scheme.

There are some interesting differences between this plan and British Labour's "Coal and Power" scheme, apart from the fact that the latter fits the coal industry into a national

* "A Way of Order for Bituminous Coal," by Walton H. Hamilton and Helen R. Wright. (Allen and Unwin. 10s.)

power and transport service. The first is that the American proposal would not disturb the private ownership of the industry, in the mere financial sense. This is not an important difference. To buy owners out by means of bonds giving a fixed rate of interest is very like leaving them their coal stock but treating it as debenture stock. It does not matter which is done, so long as there is no power of control vested in the owners. We have long since passed the stage of thinking that mere "nationalisation" of ownership is sufficient to solve problems. In the actual control of the industry the British plan proposes to bring in the consumers only at the point where their vital interests are concerned, namely, the fixation of prices. The day-to-day administration would be controlled by an Executive representing equally the mineworkers and the technical and managerial staffs. Large questions of policy concerning the development of the industry as a whole would be subject to the final decision of the Coal, Power and Transport Commission, appointed by the Government for its expert knowledge.

In the American plan the consumers would share equally with the mineworkers in the conduct of the industry and in decisions on

policy. The technical and managerial staffs would come in as advisers. There is a good deal to be said for this latter scheme, but I prefer our own, which is not only more logical but also (curiously enough) more workable. The one solid advantage in Dr. Hamilton and Miss Wright's plan is that it is not so ambitious, and it is therefore psychologically more practicable; in other words, it is more likely to be adopted within a reasonable time. It has not the appearance (though it has a good deal of the reality) of Socialism or of the dispossession of private interests, and it would probably not arouse the same opposition that the Labour scheme aroused in this country among the believers in private enterprise.

On the other hand, it would not give the relief that a scientific and thorough reorganisation of the industry would offer.

But to understand the scheme fully, and to get a very acute and closely reasoned analysis of many other proposed remedies, this book must be read with the care it deserves. I hope I have said enough to indicate that everyone who is preoccupied, as most of us are, with the question of bringing prosperity to the coal industry, should pay very earnest attention to this notable contribution to the study of the problem.

W. M. B

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Book Reviews

The Secretary's Manual. By Haydon and Garnsey. (Jordan and Sons Limited. 7s. 6d.)

This work is a legal and practical guide for secretaries and members of the secretarial staffs of companies. Its object, in the words of the authors, is to furnish information on practical matters connected with the keeping of a company's books and kindred subjects of a purely business nature, together with as much company law as a secretary requires to know in order to perform his ordinary duties with efficiency. That the twentieth edition has now been reached is some measure of the success and utility of the volume.

To the layman there is much of considerable interest. The organisation and conduct of the modern company are necessarily subject to numerous and changing rules, and it is a great advantage to be able to look up quickly any of the thousand and one points which arise. A whole section is devoted to bookkeeping, while the intricacies of capital and shares and meetings are clearly stated. Here are the things the shareholder wants to know, while the secretary must find the manual a day-to-day essential.

G. McK.

Justice and Administrative Law. By W. A. Robson. (MacMillan. 12s. 6d.)

A study of this very important and fascinating topic has been needed for some time if only to start the real discussion that now ought to follow Dr. Robson's pioneer essay. Too many controversial issues are raised in this admirable work for the matter to be left where the author leaves it. We should cordially agree with his general conclusion that so-called "administrative law" is on the whole a highly useful device made necessary by modern conditions, and that its operations will almost certainly be extended in future. But with many of his detailed observations, definitions, and recommendations we should disagree.

In the first place there appears to be a very clear distinction—and difference—between the entire theory on which the French *droit administratif* is based and the mere administrative expediency that lies behind the development of what is superficially a similar institution in this country. This is by the way, however, as the author wisely confines himself to the British type, which is in fact a type found in every country as soon as it attains to a certain degree of social and economical complexity.

We should not agree with Dr. Robson's definition of the boundary between judicial and

administrative decisions, and we feel the attempt to give such a definition leads to some rather important misunderstandings, of which the suggestion to segregate judicial functions within the Government departments appears to be one. Nor should we endorse the plea for the overriding of administrative decisions by the law courts, in the circumstances mentioned on page 321. We should emphatically disagree with the claim that "Domestic tribunals should definitely be made liable to control by the courts of law." There is a case against domestic tribunals, under modern conditions, but that is not the remedy. So we might go on. All through Dr. Robson's book we find points to dispute, but we find also a great deal of sound reasoning, acute analysis, and luminous exposition. In short, it is a brilliant and provocative volume, for which we are ever so grateful.

Income Tax, Super-Tax, and Surtax. By Victor Walton. (Pitman. 7s. 6d.)

The extensive changes in the law of income and super-tax, arising from the Finance Acts of 1926 and 1927, necessitate a wholesale revision of the old text-books. The basis of assessment and the method of charging have been considerably altered.

Under the old law there were many bases of assessment, depending on the sources of the income concerned, and numerous rules. The new scheme assesses untaxed income on the basis of the income of the preceding year, and taxed income on the basis of the income of the year. Annual charges paid out of income will be allowed as deductions from income in the year in which they are paid. Accompanying changes in super-tax overcome a number of old difficulties, and from 1929-30 the name is changed to surtax—not necessarily Winstonian flattery of the Labour proposal. Above all, only one return has to be made, and this does duty for both income tax and surtax; while only one demand note will be received.

To the layman the whole matter still appears pretty complicated, but undoubtedly a measure of simplification has actually been achieved, and a manual like Mr. Walton's, which admirably surveys both the old and the new positions, will clear away any difficulties for those with complex incomes.

The manual, of course, also pays particular attention to company taxation, and there is a useful chapter on the increasingly important agreement with the Irish Free State.

G. McK.

Christianity and the State. W. Temple.
(MacMillan. 4s. 6d.)

The Bishop of Manchester has courageously essayed a very difficult task in these lectures—now reprinted—and if he has not quite succeeded it is perhaps because of the limitation at which the title hints. Certainly, if Dr. Temple is only concerned with the State as it appears to one type of Christian, he may claim to have succeeded in putting a modern dress on a by no means modern conception. But he seems to be aiming at something more universal—a theory of the State that may have some validity for all, Christians and non-Christians—and this he cannot achieve.

One feels that at heart Dr. Temple is an idealist in his political theory, but he wants to find a pluralistic interpretation, and so he strives to clothe his ideas with the phrases of Gierke and Maitland. Actually he is much more at home with T. H. Green and MacIver than with Laski and Duguit. His references to the National Strike of 1926 and to “conscientious objectors” during the war show this very directly, though indeed it is implicit in all he says. Always he returns to what is perilously near a deification of the State, a belief in the existence of a “general will,” and a touching faith in sovereignty.

The concepts he reaches will certainly not appeal to many people. Perhaps it is impossible to formulate a political theory, based on Christian dogma, which shall accord with modern tendencies, but one feels that J. N. Figgis would have gone much farther in this direction than does Bishop Temple in the present volume.

Though they do not satisfy, these lectures are nevertheless brilliant and stimulating.

The British Employment Exchange. By J. B. Seymour. (King. 12s.)

This admirable study deserves more space than can be given to it here, for it is the fullest and best account yet written of one of the most interesting administrative adventures in our history. The Employment Exchange has come to stay. Its functions may perchance be curtailed, though they are more likely to be enlarged, but they are firmly established as one of the most valuable pieces of administrative machinery.

Mr. Seymour traces their history, paying a deserved tribute to Sir W. Beveridge, and proceeds to a very detailed description of their actual work to-day in connection with “placing,” unemployment insurance, and other functions.

Finally, there is a thoughtful section on the social and industrial results of the working of

the Exchanges, the benefits being by no means exaggerated, but, if anything, understated.

Mr. Seymour has provided us with a most able and pleasantly written book, based on authoritative documents, and dealing with an important topic on which information has hitherto been all too scanty.

Leninism. By Joseph Stalin. Translated from the Russian by Eden and Cedar Paul. (George Allen and Unwin. 7s. 6d.)

This volume, which comprises certain writings and addresses by Stalin, one of the outstanding leaders of Soviet Russia, is a very interesting exposition of “Leninism,” which we are told on the jacket is “the twentieth century development of Marxism.” Its sections deal with “Problems of Leninism”; “Foundations of Leninism”; “The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists”; “Work of the Fourteenth Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union”; “The Nationalist Question of Yugo Slavia”; “Political Tasks of the University of the People of the East and the Political Report of the Central Committee to the Fourteenth Congress.” The latter document is an interesting and readable account of the conflict between the Central Committee and the Trotsky-Zinoviev-Kameneff “Opposition,” and contains a vigorous defence of the new Economic Policy.

Stalin sets about his opposition comrades in a vigorous style, and Zinoviev, in particular, is handled with severity. His remarks about “unity” are worth mentioning. “We want unity. We are opposed to the policy of lopping off. The party wants unity, and will establish unity. With Comrades Kameneff and Zinoviev, if they like, and without them, if they do not like. Well, what does unity demand? Unity demands that the minority should yield to the majority. Unless this rule be followed there can be no unity, and there can be no party. . . . Discussion must not be driven too far. We must never forget that we are a *ruling* party. We must not forget that any open expression of our differences may reduce our influence in the country—to say nothing of the effect it may have abroad.” Then again, “Collective work, collective leadership, unity in the party, unity in the organs of the Central Committee, subordination of the minority to the majority—these are the essentials of to-day.”

These are not the principles of a political faith or of an economic policy; they are the essentials of party discipline, efficiency, and stability, and they apply with equal force to any other political party that seeks to become “a ruling party.”

War in the Coalfields

A TRAGEDY OF ECONOMIC CONFLICT

IT is a statistical fact that about half of the total number of working days lost through disputes in British industry are attributable to troubles in the coalfields. No industry has been more often ravaged by strife and conflict. Relations between the mineowners and the miners have been more embittered than is the case in any other industry. From one year to another the mining industry has lurches from crisis to crisis, culminating in the debacle of 1926, and in the tragic aftermath of unemployment, misery, and social ruin by which once thriving and populous townships have been converted into one vast suppurating sore.

A complete record of this long conflict—complete in the sense of analysing causes as well as of describing events—has not yet been written. Mr. J. R. Raynes, in a large and well-documented book* just published, has come nearest to writing the story of the conflict as a chapter of social history. But his book, although it deals fully and in great detail with the actual disputes which have taken place in the mining industry, is not an attempt to analyse causes or probe the psychology of the disastrous conflict between the miners and mineowners. He claims that he has studiously avoided the taking of sides. Yet his book is one-sided. It is, indeed, partial, in the literal as well as the opprobrious sense of the word. The result is a falsification of the record, which may not be deliberate or wilful, but is nevertheless a fatal disablement in the interpretation of the tremendous historical tragedy that is moving towards an inexorable climax in the coalfields.

We are witnessing, more or less passively, the break-up of a social economy founded on the exploitation of raw coal. An obstinate refusal to recognise the nature of the forces that have sapped these foundations of the British economic system explains most of the latter-day struggles of the mining industry, just as blind greed and lust for quick riches explain much of the earlier conflict between miners and mineowners which Mr. Raynes describes. It is a fantastic misreading of history to attribute the coal conflict to Trade

Union policy and leadership. Mr. Raynes commits himself in the introductory chapter of his book to the astounding assertion that—

“The industrial records of this or any other country can produce nothing which for sheer effrontery is comparable to the demands of the Miners’ Federation between 1919 and 1921. They failed calamitously, of course, and yielded a decade of lean years—lean for all organised labour, for all industry, almost for the whole nation. It was very wrong of the Miners’ Federation to lure its members on from the fine position of 1919 to the precipice of 1921, and almost as great a wrong to defy blindly all the economic danger signals of 1925.”

Such an assertion raises a cardinal issue. That a writer with Mr. Raynes’s pretensions to knowledge, professing a strict objective interest in his chosen subject, should so profoundly misunderstand the events of 1919 to 1926 fills one with dismay. It is a matter of high importance that the meaning of the struggle that has been proceeding in the mining industry for a whole decade should not be misrepresented. One can feel philosophically indifferent about Mr. Raynes’s interpretation of the earlier troubles in the coalfield, and may even achieve a wry smile in reading passages of the book which indicate that Mr. Raynes disapproves of Mr. A. J. Cook and approves of the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act, 1927. It is possible to feel pleased with the disclosure of Mr. Raynes’s belief that the dictators of Moscow lounge at full length on soft couches and trim their nails with gold-mounted manicure sets whilst issuing their orders to clerical assistants (who wear, no doubt, a minimum of clothing, though Mr. Raynes omits to mention this circumstance); and one can afford to be amused by his pensive interest in the methods of suppressing strikes practised by King Herod, Constantine, William the Conqueror, and Peter the Great, as well as by his opinion that the individualistic pursuit of the almighty dollar in the United States has not only produced there a working class paradise but accords with the eternal verities and with human instincts. But there are grave reasons for objecting to Mr. Raynes’s

* *Coal and Its Conflicts*. John R. Raynes. (Benn.) 4s. 1s.

presentation of the facts and circumstances surrounding the disputes in the coal industry.

As one reads the chapters dealing with these disputes one perceives that Mr. Raynes is concerned to develop a thesis. It is the thesis of the coalowners—that the policy and leadership of the Miners' Federation in particular, and of the Trade Unions generally, produced the whole of the mining industry's troubles. He has adopted this thesis so wholeheartedly that he holds the miners equally guilty of sin when they claimed wage advances to meet the rising cost of living and when they sought to force down prices. He considers that it was wrong for the miners to insist upon the pre-war equivalent of wages whilst the owners were assured, under control, of pre-war profits. In his view the miners were wrong for demanding a reduction of 14s. 2d. in the price of inland coal, and wrong for claiming an advance of wages when coal was selling abroad at fabulous prices. He thinks the miners were wrong to claim specific performance from the Government of the Sankey Report; that they were equally wrong in demanding specific performance of the Samuel Report; that they were wrong in advocating the principle of the national pool as a means of equalising wages; that they were wrong in resisting the coalowners' policy of basing wages on each district's capacity to pay. The policy of Frank Hodges and Robert Smillie, in his judgment, was wrong; the policy of Herbert Smith and Arthur Cook is equally wrong; only the coalowners have been right.

From first to last, in a large book of more than 300 pages, there is not one single word of criticism or reproach directed against the coalowners or against the Governments involved in the events of the last ten years.

It is not a small achievement to write a big book of which all this can be said truthfully and without exaggeration. It is a still greater achievement to describe in minute detail the course of events from 1920 to 1926 without giving even inadvertently a glimpse of the case presented by the Trade Union and Labour Movement against the present system of ownership and control of the mining industry, and of the constructive alternative formulated to meet the existing situation. The coal war is essentially the outcome of two fundamentally opposed ideas of control. Beneath the surface in all the disputes that have taken place there has been a conflict between those who hold that by organising the mining industry as a unified social service it can be made once again a national asset under the changed conditions

of to-day, and those who prefer to leave it at the mercy of the coalowners, with full liberty to them to pursue their traditional policy. Mr. Raynes is not ignorant of the meaning of this conflict. He is not unaware of Labour's case. But he has elected to write as an apologist of the coalowners, in defence of the existing system of ownership and control.

For some mysterious reason, which is nowhere made intelligible, the alternative to the existing system Mr. Raynes treats as something beneath criticism. Its advocates, he seems to think, are guilty of gross impropriety and folly in suggesting that a case has been made out against the existing system. That the nationalisation of mines has been recommended by a majority of one Royal Commission and nationalisation of the minerals by two, may not strike him as a matter of political importance. Yet it is not wholly irrelevant to a discussion of the causes and consequences of the disorder in the mining industry. The disorganisation and anarchic competition in electricity production and supply compelled even a Conservative Government to undertake its organisation and co-ordination under a Central Electricity Board; and the same ineluctable logic has driven many apologists of "private enterprise" to doubt the wisdom of leaving the coal industry in the hands of 4,000 mineral owners, 1,400 colliery companies, and 20,000 distributors, all bent on levying a toll on the industry, and all willing to see the wages and working conditions of the mineworkers progressively worsened rather than allow control to pass from them into the hands of the community. And Mr. Raynes really ought not to write as if national ownership and social control of an essential industry like mining is both an unethical and an uneconomic proposition.

The case for nationalisation of the mining industry would not be invalidated either on ethical or economic grounds if it could be shown that the industry under private ownership was well managed and efficient. But that case is enormously strengthened when, as everybody knows, and as inquiry after inquiry has proved, the industry has been brought practically to ruin under private ownership, and carefully considered proposals for its reorganisation and improvement have been contemptuously ignored or obstinately resisted by the coalowners. Mr. Raynes, like the coalowners and the Governments that have supported them, makes the mistake of thinking that the policy of reorganising the mining industry as a unified national service, as an

integral part of a great scheme of co-ordination for coal, power, and transport, represents the triumph of a theory. It is not; it is a policy dictated by commonsense and hard facts as the only means of extricating the industry from the morass into which it has fallen. Until that policy is applied the conflicts described by Mr. Raynes will continue in varying forms.

Although Mr. Raynes's book possesses small value as an essay in historical interpretation, it contains much useful data. It brings together a mass of detailed information and numerous documents. It fails, however, to present a complete and impartial story of any of the disputes with which it deals. The account given of the events leading up to the crisis of 1920-26, and of the several stages of the crisis itself, is not inadequate; but he attaches much less significance to the effects of decontrol than the circumstances warrant, and he certainly fails to appreciate the responsibility resting upon the Government for so abruptly terminating control, months before the date which the Government itself had fixed and in defiance of the recommendation of Mr. Justice Sankey, who proposed its continuance for three years from the date of his report. There is not the smallest doubt that the Government's action in decontrolling the industry at the time when both sides were negotiating for the regulation of wages on a national basis precipitated the crisis of 1921. It played into the hands of the coalowners, who were striving to impose district determina-

tion of wages. It involved the industry and the community in enormous losses which far exceeded the cost of maintaining control. And it destroyed the possibility of an easy transition to either the proposals for reorganisation made by the Sankey Commission or the more far-reaching and scientifically planned scheme of co-ordinating coal, power, and transport framed by the Trade Union and Labour Movement.

Herein lies the real tragedy of the coal war. The mineworkers and the community as a whole have paid heavily for the resistance which the coalowners, supported by capitalist Governments, have offered to the forces of change that are working in the direction of unifying this essential industry as a national economic service under public ownership. The conflicts around coal are the outcome of a conflict of interest. It is not in the interests of the community that the industry should remain in private hands. The judgment recorded by Mr. Justice Sankey declaring that "the present system of ownership and working in the coal industry stands condemned and some other system must be substituted for it, either nationalisation or a method of unification by national purchase and/or by joint control," has been reinforced by later events. Unemployment, starvation wages, the closing down of pits, the bankruptcy of whole communities, ruin and despair among the mining population are the price we are paying for refusing to act on that judgment.

H. T.

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Industrial Developments

Wage Movements in June

In the industries for which statistics are regularly compiled by the Ministry of Labour, the changes in rates of wages reported to have come into operation during June resulted in a reduction of over £5,000 in the weekly full-time wages of 60,000 workpeople, and in an increase of £3,900 in those of over 37,000 workpeople (states the Ministry of Labour Gazette).

During the first six months of 1928 the changes reported to the Ministry in the industries for which statistics have been compiled have resulted in net increases of £14,450 in the weekly full-time wages of 155,500 workpeople, and in net reductions of £119,850 in those of about 1,115,000 workpeople. Of the total net reduction coal mining accounted for over £58,000, and the building and allied industries for nearly £42,000. In the corresponding period of 1927 there were net increases of £22,200 in the weekly wages of 325,000 workpeople, and net reductions of nearly £245,000 in those of 1,286,000 workpeople.

* * *

Statistics of Trade Disputes

The number of trade disputes involving stoppages of work, reported to the Ministry as beginning in June, was 20. In addition 13 disputes which began before June were still in progress at the beginning of the month.

The number of workpeople involved in all disputes in June (including workpeople thrown out of work at the establishments where the disputes occurred, but not themselves parties to the disputes) was about 23,700, and the aggregate duration of all disputes during June was about 452,000 working days. These figures compare with totals of 21,500 workpeople involved and 114,000 working days lost in the previous month, and with 22,000 workpeople involved and 79,000 days lost in June, 1927.

The aggregate duration of all disputes in progress in the first six months of 1928 was about 930,000 working days, and the total number of workpeople involved in these disputes was about 94,000. The figures for the corresponding period of 1927 were 686,000 days and 61,000 workpeople respectively.

* * *

Weavers' Lock-Out Ends

The lock-out of the Nelson weavers terminated on July 12 after a stoppage lasting more than six weeks.

Under the terms of settlement an employee of one of the mills, dismissed for alleged faulty cloth, was found employment at another mill. It was agreed that the joint committee of employees and employers should be set up to investigate the system of fining and dismissals at the mill at which the trouble started.

* * *

Turner-Mond Conference

At the annual conference of the National Asylum Workers' Union at Plymouth on July 12, unanimous agreement was expressed with the action of the Trades Union Congress General Council in meeting the employers' group on the questions of Industrial Re-organisation and Industrial Relations (the "Turner-Mond" Conference), as being the best means of proving itself concerned with the prosperity of industry.

The annual conference of the National Union of Blast-furnacemen, which opened at Blackpool on July 2, unanimously approved the continuance of the Turner-Mond Conference.

The Conference was also endorsed by the National Union of Railwaymen at their Annual General Meeting by a vote of 64 to 16. The motion of condemnation was defeated by the same majority.

A motion condemning the conferences was rejected by the Miners' Federation of Great Britain at its annual conference by 309,000 to 192,000.

The annual conference of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers carried, without dissent, a resolution denouncing the discussions.

* * *

Whitley Council Suspended

The Post Office Whitley Council has been formally suspended, following the resistance of the Staff Side to attempts of the Official Side to insist on representation of two breakaway associations.

When the constitution of the Council was amended to admit these bodies, the Union of Post Office Workers and the Civil Service Clerical Association withdrew from the Council; and at the meeting of the Council, held on July 6, the chairman (Sir Evelyn Murray) announced that, in these circumstances, the Council could not be regarded as representative of the relevant section of the staff, and the meetings, therefore, had to be suspended.

* * *

Miners' Victory

New and improved minimum wages for underground workers in the Notts. coalfield have been fixed in the Coal Mines (Minimum Wage) Act of 1912, following agitation by the Notts. Miners' Association. As an instance of the improvement perfected, the new wage raises the minimum in some cases from 7s. 3d. per shift to 10s. 9d., while for certain day workers the minimum is raised from 7s. to 9s. 9d. per shift.

These rates are enforceable at law.

This result represents a considerable victory in view of the difficult circumstances caused by the attempts of the employers to frustrate the activities of the N.M.A. by means of the so-called non-political union.

* * *

New N.U.A.W. Secretary.

Mr. W. Holmes has been elected General Secretary of the National Union of Agricultural Workers in succession to Mr. Walker who resigned through ill-health.

The result of the ballot was:—

W. Holmes.....	14,976
W. T. Fielding	1,460

Mr. Holmes has been President of the union since March, 1924.

* * *

Railway Wage Agreement

Following four days of negotiations, the railway companies and the railway Trade Unions—the National Union of Railwaymen, the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, and the Railway Clerks' Association—agreed at a joint conference on July 25 to a readjustment of the wage position by an all-round cut of 2½ per cent. on all salaries and wages.

At the same time the companies guaranteed not less than five days a week working time for railway shopmen, the full five and a-half day week to be worked wherever possible.

International Trade Union Notes and Labour Abroad

(Specially contributed to the LABOUR MAGAZINE by the International Federation of Trade Unions.)

I.L.O. and Migration

In one of the resolutions passed by the Migration Congress which was held in London in June, 1926, under the auspices of the I.F.T.U. and the L.S.I., the necessity was urged of establishing an international migration office, whose function would be to draw up international conventions and recommendations concerning migration and to furnish adequate and reliable information on the subject.

Several discussions of the subject have taken place in the Governing Body of the I.L.O., and eventually it was decided to ask the two organisations which took the initiative in organising the London Migration Congress to send a delegation to Geneva to interpret this resolution.

Hence, on the occasion of the Eleventh International Labour Conference a discussion was held between Fontaine, the President of the Governing Body, and Comrades Adler, Jouhaux, Mertens, and Tom Moore. Jouhaux pointed to the desirability of creating a Migration Office within the framework of the I.L.O., more especially because the I.L.O. is a neutral body and hence possesses the necessary authority. The appointment of a Migration Office would also be in accord with the resolutions passed by the International Economic Conference and the Advisory Economic Committee of the League of Nations. It would be the duty of such office to examine to what degree freedom of movement could be adjusted to the necessities and reservations of certain countries. Tom Moore reminded the meeting of the standpoint of the minority at the Migration Congress, according to which, although migration is closely allied with many international questions, it is primarily a national problem. The Chairman of the meeting gave an assurance, before it closed, that what had been said would be communicated to the Governing Body of the I.L.O., which would consider the question further.

* * *

German Trade Standstill

In view of recently published reports, sometimes contradictory, coming from various quarters, of Germany's present prosperity, we should like to call attention to certain remarks occurring in the "Gewerkschafts-Zeitung" (No. 25), on the results of inquiry by the German national centre concerning the state of business at the beginning of June.

The journal states that although as a rule business improves during the summer months, this year the various reports all point to a standstill. Various reasons are adduced for this—rises of price in the coal industry, the lack of capital in the building industry, the long-continued cold weather (affecting the textile industry, the clothing industry, the vegetable-tinning industry, etc.). The bad state of trade is very clearly reflected in the Trade Union unemployment records. An increase of unemployment, partly due to the weather, took place not only in the clothing industry, and the trades allied to it, but also to a very striking extent in the hairdressing trade and in market-gardening. The Miners' Union has been hard hit by the closing of pits, partly due to the general slump, and partly to the seasonal decline in the coal demand.

I.L.O. Workers' Group

The results of the election of the workers' delegates to the Governing Body of the I.L.O. (by the Workers' Group of the International Labour Conference) were as follows:—

Ordinary members: Jouhaux, Mertens, Moore, Müller, Poulton, and Thorberg. Substitute members: Caballero, Hueber, Joshi, Schürch, Suzki, and Zulawsky. Mertens was elected to the Governing Body of the I.L.O. in the place of Oudegeest.

A telegram was sent to Oudegeest expressing the gratitude of the Workers' Group for the services rendered by him to the Labour Movement in the Governing Body of the I.L.O.

* * *

Compulsory Arbitration in Norway

The Norwegian Act concerning compulsory arbitration procedure in labour conflicts has given rise to a conflict which is perhaps not very widespread, but has taken on a somewhat singular form. According to the new Act the authorities may, if they consider that it is necessary in the public interests, submit any and every dispute to arbitration for settlement. In fact, the Government has, during the last few years, ordered every dispute to be submitted to arbitration, so that the right to strike has practically ceased to exist.

The renewal of the collective agreements which expired this spring was also referred to an arbitration court, and the award pronounced for a wage reduction of 12 per cent., although the fall in the cost of living figures only warranted a cut of 8 per cent. The award, therefore, aroused great indignation among the workers, and the building workers of several large towns, numbering about 3,000 in all, decided not to recognise this award, and downed tools at the end of May. Later, about 1,000 printing operatives and book-binders joined them.

* * *

Strikers' "Committee of Action"

Under the Act, however, every labour conflict which aims at establishing working conditions other than those fixed in the award is illegal and an offence against the Law. In order that they might not be sentenced to pay damages or to undergo imprisonment, both the national centre and the unions in question were compelled to warn their members not to take part in the strike. They themselves were also forced to refrain from participation in it. The conflict was therefore managed by a Committee of Action appointed by the strikers.

It is also an offence against the Law to aid the strikers in any way. This has made it impossible for the Trade Unions to grant any money for this purpose, so that an attempt was made to collect money by voluntary collections from Norwegian workers. But no individual may legally give to such collections. Many of the leading comrades, therefore, have been fined from 50 to 700 Kronen by the magistrates.

The whole of the machinery of Government has thus been mobilised against the workers, so that their struggle is by no means an easy one. It is to be hoped, however, that they will nevertheless succeed in bringing the fight to a successful conclusion.

International Labour Office Notes

Accident Prevention

The International Labour Office of the League of Nations has lost no time in sending out to Governments the series of questions approved by the last Conference on accident prevention. In accordance with the present procedure of the Conference, a general discussion of a question takes place and the Conference then decides what are suitable questions to ask each Government regarding the scope and practicability of an International agreement on the subject.

At the following meeting of the Conference, a year afterwards, a final decision is taken.

* * *

Dockers' Accidents

Two series of questions have been sent out, the first on the general question of the prevention of industrial accidents, and the second on the protection against accidents of workers engaged in loading and unloading ships. The Office has included with the questions a brief introductory note of events at the Conference, and also the reports of the special committees set up by the Conference to deal in detail with these questions.

* * *

World Textile Conditions

Apart from the formal agreements reached at the Eleventh Session of the Conference and recorded in last month's notes, a number of important resolutions were adopted by the Conference. One of these dealt with world textile conditions, and was proposed by Mr. Yonekubo, the Japanese workers' delegate.

The Conference agreed to request the Governing Body of the Office to consider the possibility of undertaking an investigation as early as possible into the conditions of work of men, women and children employed, including wages, hours of work, hygienic conditions, and other conditions affecting their employment, in the textile industries of the various countries of the world.

* * *

Japanese Delegate's Plea

Mr. Yonekubo, emphasising the urgent need for such an inquiry, said that he could not conceal his shame for the fact that in their part of the world, not excluding the country of his birth, the conditions of labour in the textile mills were notoriously bad, and the amelioration of those inhumane conditions had not been carried out rapidly.

Mr. Kasama, Japanese Government delegate, said that although his Government was in favour of Mr. Yonekubo's proposal, it did not accept the facts quoted by him as true.

* * *

Motor-Vehicle Drivers

A request to the Governing Body to consider under what conditions an investigation regarding motor-vehicle drivers could be made by the Office, and in what form a report on it could be published was proposed by M. Mertens, Belgian workers' delegate, and adopted by the Conference, in view of the fact that motor transport has increased considerably in all countries and that certain dangers are involved in the work of motor-vehicle drivers and of other workers in the motor transport industry and that it is important to ascertain the extent of these dangers.

Housing Problems

Mr. Chaman Lall, Indian Workers' delegate, proposed a resolution which was unanimously adopted by the Conference, requesting the Governing Body, in view of the unsatisfactory nature of the housing and general living-in conditions of the workers in many countries, to undertake an investigation of the question of industrial housing and the general living-in conditions of the workers, with a view to placing the question on the agenda of an early Session of the Conference.

Mr. Lall said that in Bombay, 97 per cent. of the working-class families are living in one-roomed tenements, as compared with 11 per cent. in London, and 6 per cent. for the whole of England.

* * *

Hindrances to Production

On the motion of Mr. Champ, Canadian employers' delegate, the Conference adopted a resolution requesting the Governing Body, in the common interests of employers and employed, to consider the advisability of instructing the Office to collect reliable and detailed data regarding methods adopted to decrease or eliminate various causes of decreased production such as accidents, inadequate attention to ill-health and physical defects, irregularity and instability of employment, and mutual fears and suspicions, and barren conflicts which might be avoided by better understanding between employers and employed; such portions of the subject to be referred to other organisations of the League of Nations or to the International Institute of Scientific Management as may be considered to come under their competence.

* * *

Rationalisation

A resolution, proposed by M. Jouhaux, French workers' delegate, and adopted by the Conference, asked for a continuance by the Office, in liaison with the Economic Organisation of the League, of its studies and research concerning the effect of rationalisation and international industrial agreements upon the conditions of labour, and, in particular, upon the wages of the workers and their purchasing power, hours of work, employment and dismissal and transfer of workers from one undertaking to another, including changes of domicile and the learning of a new trade which may accompany it, and conditions of hygiene and safety under which work is carried on in rationalised undertakings.

* * *

Locomotive Drivers

A similar request by M. Mertens was approved by the Conference regarding the dangers which may be caused to workers on the railways and to the safety of railway traffic through one-man driving of locomotives and self-propelled vehicles used on railways.

Further resolutions dealt with an inquiry into existing systems of collective bargaining in agriculture; the results obtained in the various countries for the occupational adaptation and the employment of disabled persons; the development of private associations making known the work of the "I.L.O."; the keeping up-to-date of information on freedom of association; and consultation with the Trade Union organisations in the different countries on the question of calendar reform.

Co-operative Activities

Capitalistic Opposition

The Co-operative Union is taking up the question of combinations of private manufacturers' refusals to supply co-operative societies with certain goods. This is usually done where societies insist on allowing the customary dividend on purchases. Some manufacturers decline to deal with the C.W.S. because the C.W.S. supplies retail societies with the goods on the usual dividend conditions; it is a matter, however, into which societies do not throw themselves too seriously.

Well known syndicates of proprietary articles have wiped the C.W.S. off their list, but societies get them through private sources and submit to the conditions which the makers insist upon. Similar articles of other manufacturers, often of foreign origin, could be obtained through the C.W.S., and if societies were to combine with the Wholesale Society in a determinedly organised manner it might be possible to break down some of the rings, or provide supplies from other efficient sources.

* * *

Board of Trade Approached

The Joint Parliamentary Committee of the Co-operative Movement has approached the Board of Trade on this subject and even constructed a Bill to deal with this increasing difficulty. But what chance has a Bill of this kind in a Parliament of traders and traders' friends? Co-operators as a body will have to give more direct interest in the constitution of the House of Commons.

All that can be done at present, and it has been resolved to do it, is to circularise retail societies explaining the situation and asking them to discard the largely advertised articles and help the C.W.S. to put on the Co-operative market goods that are not hedged in by embargoes calculated to destroy the co-operative trading principle. They will have to do this or subsequently find themselves the victims of growing syndicates, which are co-operative only in the sense of accommodating capitalists and not the consumer.

* * *

State Purchasing and Co-operation

The question of Imperial trading and State purchasing is engaging the attention of the Co-operative Movement. To see how and in what way it may affect co-operation, it has been decided by the United Board of the Co-operative Union to set up a committee of inquiry.

This will consist of representatives of the Union, the C.W.S., the Co-operative Party, the Scottish C.W.S., and the Women's Guild, with Mr. A. V. Alexander, M.P., as secretary of the joint Co-operative Parliamentary Committee, and Professor Hall as adviser of studies to the Central Education Committee of the Co-operative Union. As State Socialism proceeds, no doubt, the Co-operative Movement will have to consider what is to be its attitude towards it. One would assume there would have to be a working arrangement till the one system becomes absorbed by the other.

* * *

Growing Trade

Despite the continued unsettled state of British industry co-operative trade continues to increase. The latest quarterly report of the C.W.S. to be dealt with at divisional meetings and the general meeting on July 21 and 28 respectively shows an increase of £2,224,000, or 11½ per cent., over the corresponding quarter of 1927. The total trade for the thirteen weeks ended April 14 was £21,115,201. The value of supplies to retail societies

from C.W.S. factories was £7,388,219, being an increase of 8½ per cent.

The meaning of this is not quite certain—whether it is that the trade of the movement is actually increasing, or that societies feeling effects of industrial depression find it more economical to deal with their own wholesale society. No doubt it is due to both causes.

* * *

Tribute to Co-operative Leader

On June 28 a bronze bust of the late Sir Thomas Broderick was unveiled in the directors' boardroom of the C.W.S. Sir Thomas, who died in 1925 after two years' retirement, had been with the society since 1872, when he was engaged as a clerk at the age of 16 years. This was eight years after the C.W.S. started business, and later as accountant and secretary he had had much to do with the enormous growth of this working-class institution.

A knighthood was conferred upon him in 1922. The bust, which is the work of J. C. Blair (brother of a C.W.S. director), was unveiled by the president of the society (Mr. H. J. A. Wilkins), who was supported by directors, ex-directors, and principals from Manchester, London, Newcastle, Bristol, and Cardiff. This striking likeness of the late knight will remain as an adornment and a memory in the Manchester boardroom, the headquarters of the society.

* * *

C.W.S. Directorate Change

Mr. J. W. King, a life-long co-operator, has had to resign from the board of the C.W.S. owing to the age limit. Mr. King was previously secretary of Carlisle Society, and before that chief clerk of Newcastle Society.

He is succeeded by Mr. T. Smaller, of Haswell Society, who was elected on an alternative vote system, with a majority over other candidates.

* * *

Better Business Morality

The most effective way that co-operation is making itself felt in respect to colonial development is in the financing of wheat "pools" in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. The C.W.S. has already laid out millions sterling in backing up farmers who place their produce in these "pools," and in this way have helped to stabilise prices and give security to producers.

A C.W.S. deputation, working jointly with the Empire Marketing Board, has just returned from the wheat-growing areas of Canada with the conclusion that the new wheat "pools," supported largely by co-operative farmers' societies are placing wheat dealing on a higher level of business transaction. Out of a total crop in three prairies of 400 million bushels the co-operative "pool" now handles 225 millions.

* * *

The Great Day

July 7 has now become an impressive day in the Co-operative Movement of Great Britain and the Continent. It is simply known as "Co-operators' Day," an annual event first suggested at the triennial International Co-operative Congress at Basle in 1921, and begun in 1923.

All countries are expected to make a show that day, and reports from British societies this year indicate that July 7 was more emphasised than ever in the way of demonstrations for co-operative progress and world-wide peace and disarmament.

THE LABOUR MAGAZINE

Incorporating The British Trades Union Review and the Labour Party Bulletin

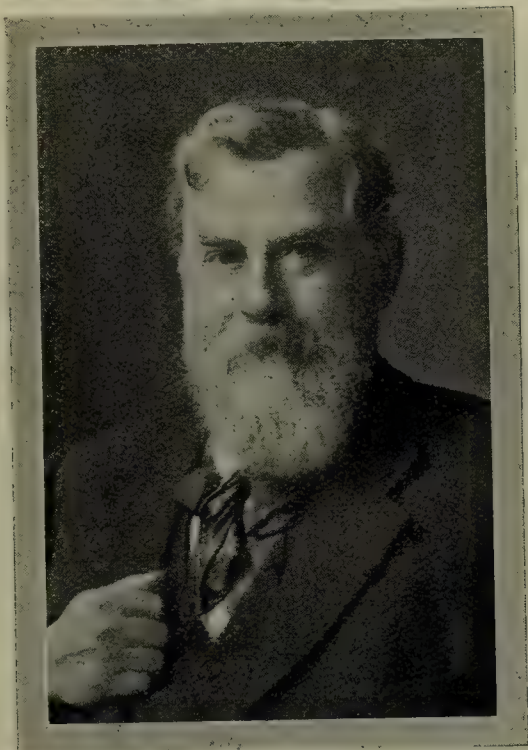
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SEPTEMBER, 1928

No. 5

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BEN TURNER
(President, 1928)



GEO. HICKS
(Vice-President, 1928)



W. M. CITRINE
(General Secretary)



A. FIRTH
(Assistant Secretary)

CONGRESS OFFICIALS, 1928

Still Going Strong

TRADES UNION CONGRESS, 1868-1928

SIXTY years ago 34 Trade Union delegates, representing a handful of societies with a total membership of considerably less than 120,000, met at the instance of the Manchester and Salford Trades Council to consider measures for the defence of the Trade Union Movement against the attack which was then known to be impending. This was the first Trades Union Congress, and the fact that it was not also the last is evidence of the soundness of the plans formed for establishing it on a permanent basis and the quality of the men who took in hand the task of laying its foundations. The omens were far from encouraging. Trade Unionism was not in particularly high favour in the public mind; one or two societies in the Midlands had shown something of the naughty temper of the little creature, mentioned in La Fontaine's delightful fable, which defended itself when attacked, and had thus given public opinion a rare fright. A glance at two contemporary novels—"Put Yourself in His Place," by Charles Reade, and "Hard Times," by Charles Dickens—will reveal how far even quite intelligent people were affected by the nervous tremors of the times. A Royal Commission had been appointed to examine the legal position with regard to Trade Unions, and to investigate allegations of terrorism against one or two minor bodies, and it was undoubtedly hoped by the enemies of the movement that the result of the investigation would be a recommendation to the Government to do something to "Larn 'em to be Trade Unions."

Even within the movement itself the position for the newly founded Congress was one of some uneasiness. A powerful combination of Trade Unions was already in existence, and though its aims, where they were not comprised in the wider aspirations of Congress, did not conflict with the aims of that body, there was a perfectly understandable feeling that in Trade Union, as in other matters, there was something to be said for the policy of "First come first served." Identity of interests presently resolved all these doubts, and difficulties, and in 1871 the two bodies combined to issue a protest against the Trade Union Bill then before Parliament. This manifesto was framed in language refreshing in its vigour and commonsense. It declared

that "the common and statute law is sufficient to punish every unlawful act committed by Trade Unionists or any other person," and refused to "sanction a Bill that in its provisions presupposes criminal intentions or tendencies on the part of workingmen as a class." Such a declaration was a challenge to the middle-class conscious idea that the only way to keep the workers from lapsing into crime was to see that they lacked either the time or the energy to take up—even as a part time occupation—a criminal career.

Representation at the earlier Congresses was not arranged on a wholly Trade Union basis. In the first few years of its existence Congress was also attended by representative bodies of a political or quasi-political character; thus at the Birmingham Congress in 1869 the National Emigration Society, the National Education League, and the Barr Street Reform Association were among the organisations which sent delegates, while at the 1871 Congress there was a delegate from the Greenwich Advanced Liberal Association. In 1873 the question of representation was settled on lines which remained unchanged until 1895, when a new Standing Order for the exclusion of Trades Councils, on the ground of duplicated representation, was adopted.

The discussions at the earlier gatherings were naturally of a somewhat tentative and academic character. The 1868 agenda was to a very great extent planned with a view to educating the public mind as to the real character and functions of Trade Unions. The final item on the agenda, which proposed the establishment of Congress on a permanent basis, revealed a firm grip of the realities of the present and a broad vision of the possibilities of the future. These sagacious men had seen how profoundly the whole outlook had been changed by the extension of the franchise in the preceding year, a step which, while it did not give anything like adequate suffrage rights to the working class, did undoubtedly add substantially to the influence they were able to exert indirectly on the electoral situation. It was obvious that a central organisation constantly "on the job" could be sure of gaining the real attention of a considerable section, at any rate, of House of Commons legislators.

The purely industrial topics selected for discussion indicate the extent to which industrial problems "resemble themselves" (as the Americans say) from one generation to another. At Birmingham there were two "papers"—one by W. Owen, of the Potteries Trades Council, and the other by George Howell, of the South London Bricklayers—which centred round the possibilities of what to-day is prefigured as industrial peace, while the most effective means of establishing working-class newspapers and the question of emigration were among topics which are still among matters of moment to the movement. At the first London Congress in 1871 (there was no Congress in 1870, owing to some sentimental differences of opinion between Congress managers and the Committee of the Amalgamated Trades alluded to above) internationalism made its first appearance on the agenda, which also included proposals for dealing with the problem of unemployment by the utilisation of waste lands.

The first great victory gained by Congress over anti-Trade Union prejudice was in 1875, when the Home Secretary of the day, under strong pressure, carried a measure repealing the obnoxious Criminal Law Amendment Act—under the provisions of which thousands of workers had been gaoled for exercising the most ordinary rights of Trade Unionists—enacted by the preceding Gladstonian administration. An active part had been taken by Trade Union M.P.s, including Thomas Burt and Alexander MacDonald, in carrying on the campaign on the House of Commons front, a fact which undoubtedly reinforced the views of those who argued the advantages of a working-class political party.

By this time Congress was as much a part of the life politic of the country as Parliament itself, and its decisions on all matters within its scope were accorded a full measure of respect. Astute politicians of the two existing parties were in no doubt as to the value of Congress support, while vested interests did a little unprofitable angling from time to time. Vested interests got short shrift, but it was not always either necessary or expedient to disdain the proffered assistance of politicians who were able to prove a bona fide interest in working-class political objects. But it was evident from the first, however, that organised Labour could not rest content with voicing its demands in the national councils by proxy. The establishment of a working-class party independent of either of the other parties, and proposing itself as an

alternative Government of the country was an idea of which the men who made Congress did not say much, but in one way or another thought a great deal. With the spread of Socialism—according to Davis's history of the Trades Union Congress, the introduction of Socialism into Trade Union politics was first discerned by the Parliamentary Committee of the T.U.C. in 1887, the year of the first Swansea Congress—the tendency towards distinctive political action grew rapidly, and at the Plymouth Congress in 1899 the Labour Representation Committee was voted into being. From this beginning the present Labour Party, which has already formed one Government, and is likely to be called upon in the near future to form another, developed by processes the rapidity of which caused consternation to the enemies of organised Labour.

The triumph of Socialistic ideas was greatly assisted by the severe industrial depression of the eighties and to a lesser but equally important degree by the permeation of ideas from continental sources. The former influence worked paradoxically. A succession of lean years had caused a definite reaction against political action as it was then understood, and had brought about a great rally in favour of the New Unionism, which with its weapon of "direct action" won a notable victory in the great dock strike of 1889. The leaders to whom that victory was largely due were men of fervent Socialist faith, however, and their disbelief in political alliances did not preclude the conviction that something could be done by the "socialisation" of the working class masses.

International influences found their most useful response in the instincts of the rank and file. The Parliamentary Committee indeed was barely tolerant of internationalism, and it was only on the emphatic instructions of Congress that they sent delegates to the International Congresses of 1883 and 1886. In 1887 an International Congress was held in London—again the initiative was taken by the rank and file—and this gathering proved, despite the efforts of the Parliamentary Committee, to be prevailingly Socialist in tone.

Congress assumed the form in which it exists to-day in 1895, when, as mentioned earlier in this article, Trades Councils were excluded from representation. At the same time it was decided that delegates must be Trade Unionists working at their trade, or officials of their unions. In this connection it is interesting to recall that the earlier Congresses included among the delegates

"visitors" who had evinced friendliness for the movement, and who were sometimes asked to read papers on the aspects of Trade Unionism in which they were known to be specially interested. The last trace of this custom is to be found in the presence on the platform at the formal opening of representatives of the Ministry of Labour.

From the beginning of the present century to the outbreak of war Congress steadily gained in influence, though it was still very far from acquiring the authority which it possesses to-day. In 1906 the efforts of the Labour Representation Committee resulted in the return to Parliament of 29 Labour M.P.'s, and within two years the accession of the miners' M.P.'s, who until then had held aloof, brought the strength of the new party to 40. It should be noted that in 1904 a number of resolutions dealing with the Labour Representation Committee were ruled out of order on the ground that Congress had no jurisdiction over that body, the independence of which was thus formally acknowledged.

The war years were anxious years for the working-class movement. In 1914 the annual meeting of Congress was abandoned in view of the gravity of the national crisis, and by the time Congress met again, at Bristol in 1915, the decision to assist in the prosecution of the war had been taken. It is not easy to see what other decision could have been made, taking into account the attitude of the bulk of the nation, but there was nevertheless a real if concealed division of counsels, which was reflected in debates which took place on the various issues raised by the war. The main preoccupation of the Labour Movement, however, was the maintenance of Trade Union standards against the greedy encroachments of employers — excited by the vision of unlimited opportunities of profiteering — and the double-dealing of the Government. Mr. Lloyd George was one of the politicians on whom Congress had to keep a pretty sharp eye, in the interests of its constituents.

The end of the war brought a period of steadily growing unrest due to the reluctance of the Government to fulfil its wartime pledges and to the unequal distribution of the enormous financial burdens imposed on the nation by

four years of costly warfare. Large scale strikes, caused by the reckless wage-cutting policy of the employers, took place in one key industry after another: the effect of these struggles was to emphasise the necessity for a central co-ordinating body, a "General Staff" of organised labour, as a phrase of more recent coinage had it. The first results of the discussions on this important subject was the establishment at the Cardiff Congress in 1921 of the General Council, which with wider powers and a more effective basis of representation, superseded the Parliamentary Committee.

Since its establishment the General Council has in every way proved its value as an instrument for giving full effect to working-class industrial policies, and its steady progress to a position of fuller authority has given great satisfaction to Trade Unionists. One of the most important of the topics to be discussed at Swansea is the question of reconstituting the General Council on a basis which will render its authority still more complete.

The volume of administrative work carried on under the direction of the Council to-day would surprise and probably startle the men who founded the first Congress. Every aspect of national and international Trade Union activity is adequately dealt with by the appropriate department, who by a careful system of co-ordination are able to cover every corner of a field which grows daily larger in extent. The result is that the advice and assistance of the General Council are more sought by local and sectional units of the Trade Union Movement than at any time in its history, while the knowledge that the concentrated influence of the organised working class can be brought instantly to bear on danger points acts as a wholesome deterrent to enemies of Trade Unionism. At the same time the progressive tendencies of the movement are amply cultivated by a continuous process of investigation and research. In a word, organisation for defence or for attack is equally complete.

The foundations so well and truly laid by the pioneers of sixty years ago have proved capable of sustaining a structure which is the prime asset of the organised working class in their future dealings with destiny.

Socialism as a World Force

By

THE RIGHT HON. ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P.

[Presidential Address delivered at the opening of the Labour and Socialist International Congress at Brussels.]

NEARLY four decades have passed since an International Congress took place in Brussels. When we compare the Congress of 1891, when the movement everywhere was in its early beginnings with the Congress of to-day, we can appreciate the enormous advance that our International has made throughout the world. This development may be better understood when we remind this gathering that a young delegate of a small party attended that Congress, and he will speak after me as the leader of a host of 600,000 organised workers in this country. Together with Emile Vandervelde we greet in Edouard Anseele, Camille Huysmans, Louise Bertrand, and others, the triumphant pioneers of the Belgian workers. These comrades placed their talents at the disposal of the International along with others when its headquarters was in Brussels, and we are greatly indebted to them for their devoted services.

The spirit which lives in the Belgian Labour Movement was demonstrated in an atmosphere of peculiar emotion when a year ago, in this building, we unveiled a memorial to our martyr comrade, Matteotti. We rejoice that we are privileged to assemble in a building consecrated to Internationalism, and which is so great a centre of activity against every form of reaction, and where, by constructive methods, our comrades endeavour to make an end of capitalist exploitation, and to lead the workers to peace and freedom.

The Labour and Socialist International can now look back, with a measure of satisfaction, upon the *first five years* of its activity. The major difficulties with which we were faced at the foundation Congress in Hamburg have been overcome, and even to a great extent already forgotten. The three years which have elapsed since our Congress in Marseilles have been a period of continuous and successful reinforcement for our organisation. Indeed, we may assert that to-day, the Labour and Socialist International is better organised than ever before, and we do not assemble at this Congress as representatives

of parties who have still to make each others' acquaintance. Our international institutions, in an ever increasing degree, are acquiring that certainty and force which belongs to the national Congresses and Conferences of Labour within the various countries we represent.

If, at the time of the Hamburg Congress, the workers were still agitated with disturbing doubts as to the form in which the international instrument of its emancipation ought to be constructed, to-day, it is firmly convinced that the International can only have its foundation in the right of self-determination of the working class, which bases its organisation, both within the various countries and as a world organ, on the democratic equality of rights between all its members. It is not by words of command from leaders, nor by a doctrine of salvation in which we have to acquiesce as mute believers, that we can move forward, but solely by means of untiring work in our respective organisations on all the problems affecting human well being.

If you will consider the agenda of our Congress, you can clearly recognise the advance made during these five years. Whereas at previous Congresses we had in the first place to build up our own organisation and had our attention fully occupied by the pressing problems of the day, we can now proceed to take in hand the formulation of a far-reaching, constructive programme of our activity. Beyond doubt, we have still to surmount grave difficulties, and subsequent Congresses of our International will have not only to continue the study of the problems which engage us on this occasion, but will also have to give consideration to other problems of equal importance. But by making a beginning at this work, and placing in the forefront of our deliberations a problem of such difficulty and complexity as the Colonial question, we are proving that we are confident of being able, at the cost of hard and arduous toil, to arrive at general guiding principles for the workers of all countries.

We shall hear several statements regarding the economic situation of the post-war period and the economic policy of the working-class. In all matters of this kind, we work in closest connection with the International Federation of Trade Unions in Amsterdam. We can assert that during the five years this co-operation between the two international organisations of the workers, while observing the fullest mutual respect for the autonomy of each, has steadily become more and more intimate and fruitful. We are, therefore, glad once again to greet to-day, as at our previous Congresses, the representative of the I.F.T.U., and more particularly do we rejoice that the greeting of the International Trade Union organisation is being offered to us by Comrade Mertens, the successful organiser of the great Belgian Trade Union Movement.

Among the economic problems, we find in the forefront that of the international legal establishment of the eight-hour day, for which the political and Trade Union Labour Movements must work with equal energy. The main obstacle at present impeding the fulfilment of the solemn pledges given by Governments after the close of the war is the British Conservative Government. It is our duty to proclaim again and again that we regard the non-ratification of the Convention of Washington as a breach of faith and as a fraud upon the workers.

In a large number of countries election contests have taken place this year or will take place next year. In Poland, France, and Germany, the parties affiliated to our International have secured great successes. In Poland, their vote has risen by half a million since the previous elections; in France, our party, with its 1,700,000 votes, is the strongest party in a land split up amongst so many. In Germany, the Socialist success at the elections was so remarkable that our comrades have had to assume the responsibility of forming the Government. In the country to which I belong, and in the country in which I am to-day, the elections will take place only next year. We cherish the hope that these elections, and those in Sweden, Holland, Switzerland, and all countries where elections will shortly take place, will bring the same decisive swing to the left as the elections on whose results we can already congratulate ourselves to-day. This sure and sustained ascent of the workers which—provided they are capable of bridging the divisions amongst themselves—must ultimately create an unconquerable force to confront the representatives of capitalism, is one of the fundamental

assumptions upon which is founded our judgment of the world political situation and the policy which the workers have to pursue.

We are aware that unhappily this natural and least costly road towards the establishment of the workers' power does not stand open in all countries. Again and again the representatives of the capitalist order endeavour to interfere by acts of violence in the course of democracy, and to erect a system of despotism which forces the workers back into a status in which they are deprived of all rights. Since the Marseilles Congress we have witnessed how in Lithuania, in defiance of the will of the people expressed at the elections, a military dictatorship has established itself and has swept away the whole of the young democratic development in that country. The fate of this land must be a warning to the workers as to what perils threaten their efforts from the will to violence of the bourgeois. We do not, however, draw from this the moral that we should repay like with like; we do not desire that the working class should sink to the level of barbarous violence and terrorism, which the representatives of capitalism do not shrink from applying. On the contrary, in all countries in which right is overborne our programme can always be only that of the restoration of democracy, the restoration of this fundamental condition of existence for the Labour Movement.

It is unnecessary once again to recite the list of all those regimes of dictatorship of which we spoke so fully at our last Congress at Marseilles. There is only one case that has occurred in the period reported in addition to Lithuania that calls for special mention. In Poland, Pilsudski is still toying with the idea of establishing himself as a military dictator; he is reviling, in the tone of an irresponsible person, the institution of democracy, and the workers of Poland have already been compelled to suffer in every possible kind of violence and persecution the consequence of his irresponsibility. And in the examples of Lithuania and Poland we can perceive more unmistakeably than ever what dangers the system of dictatorships can hold for the peace of the world. We are bound to feel the profoundest mistrust as to the intelligence and goodwill of Valdemras and Pilsudski. Both have arrogated to themselves dictatorial powers which might enable them, through their antagonisms, to set the whole world ablaze. Dictatorships involve not only the oppression of nations in the country where

they exist, but likewise an aggravation of the danger of war, and therefore our primary demand, not only in the sphere of domestic politics, but equally in that of foreign politics, is for the restoration of democracy.

We know, however, that we have to perform on behalf of peace tasks that extend much further still. We shall have to treat of these complex problems under the item "Militarism and Disarmament." In the treatment of these problems we can still detect the after effects of the chaos of war-time. For as representatives of the workers the outlawry of war has always been the unquestionable preliminary condition of all our activity. Whatever differences of opinion we may have had on the question as to the best method of preventing war, in the sentiment of loathing for war, we have always been, and are, at one. And, accordingly, we can only rejoice if the representatives of capitalist Governments find themselves constrained to adhere to this idea of ours, and to secure universal acknowledgment of this watchword of the outlawry of war. There were times when anyone who failed to show enthusiasm for war and militarism used to be regarded as a traitor to his country. We may, therefore, perceive a slight advance when the repudiation of war, of which formerly the workers were almost the sole exponents, now becomes an idea accepted by Governments.

We are well aware that, for the time being, this is but a magnificent declaration concurrently with which armaments are maintained at an alarming level and foreign armies remain entrenched within the frontiers of Germany. We intend, however, to take the Governments at their word, and we shall use the opportunity to confront their professions with their deeds. As a profession of belief, the "outlawry of war," proposed by the Government of the United States, is a significant and may be a far-reaching step forward, provided the suggested reservations are not permitted to detract from its potential possibilities. We are not, however, unaware of the immense and formidable task that we have still to face. For its solution the workers must first and foremost attain clearness not only as to the goal, but equally as to the road towards it. But it is encouraging to know that in the course of the five years since Hamburg, we have succeeded in progressing continually towards the goal of pacific internationalism, and nearer to a better understanding within the working masses. We have also been able in proportion as we mastered our own prejudices to exert effective

pressure on the social and economic policies of Governments.

We open our Congress in the spirit of hope and confidence, as I believe we stand on the threshold of victory, and with opinion in advance everywhere of the Governments in power. Our policies which the Governments with few, though notable exceptions, have refused or hesitated to carry out, are going to prevail. Let me briefly state the grounds of my faith.

Four years ago in Geneva the fifth assembly of the League of Nations, under the leadership of two great Governments of the left drew up a document known to history as the Geneva Protocol. As everybody knows, the work of that fifth assembly was temporarily destroyed. The Protocol did not become, as we had hoped it would, part of the established law which the nations of the world observed. But none the less that work of ours lit a beacon which has never been put out. It aroused a great hope among the peoples, a hope which nothing could extinguish when once it has appeared even far away on their horizon.

The Protocol was a great charter for the pacific settlement of international disputes. It was an instrument which made reason, justice, and law—not force and the might of armaments—the first line of approach when seeking to dispose of the differences between nations. As you know, it solemnly declared that all aggressive war was an international crime. It laid it down that governments should take all their justiciable disputes without exception before the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague. It provided arbitration in the last resort for other disputes, which the Council of the League was not able to settle by agreement. It provided for effective preventive action whenever there was threat of war, action to be taken—and note the vast importance of the point—before hostilities actually broke out. Then it also provided for disarmament, for the reduction and limitation of all national forces by international treaty, and it laid down that without such disarmament before such disarmament had been agreed upon and carried out, no part of this system of the Protocol could come into force.

The fifth assembly, in short, made for the first time a full answer to the unsolved problem of international war. It provided a complete mechanism, a complete law, for the establishment and maintenance of peace. It would thus have slain the hideous monster of international war, the monster which with every

passing year now takes new forms, and each more terrible than the last. We know something in Great Britain of these changes in warfare, for our Government is never weary of military displays, exercises, and manœuvres of every kind, and we know, therefore, what is being prepared. Tanks, poison gas, aircraft bombardment and attack are already making the horrors of the last war seem like child's play in comparison with the next war if it should ever come.

I will not dwell on the hideous picture which some of our present rulers seem to contemplate with such Olympian calm. By tackling this problem of war, by laying down the methods by which it can be destroyed, the fifth assembly blazed the trail which sooner or later the governments will have to follow. For war has now become the most vital of all the problems with which governments have to deal. Until the monster is slain there can be no sure foundation for international peace. Until there is true security among the nations—not security merely against defeat, or security of one nation at the expense of all the rest, but security of all nations against all war—until there is such true security as this, the international institutions which have been created for the promotion of universal peace, and the establishment of social and economic justice, can never develop as they should. Moreover, the governments can never co-operate as we intend that they should co-operate, in building up the common prosperity and welfare of mankind.

But owing to the reactionary governments who were against it the Geneva Protocol failed to become a part of the established law of nations. You may say, therefore, that it was a total failure, but would that be true? I say no. Let me ask you to look at the other side of the picture. What did the work of this Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations accomplish? What have been the lasting results which it achieved? It awoke, it aroused the public opinion of the world. I have said that public opinion everywhere is in advance of the governments in power. That is true, but it is true only because of what was accomplished by the Fifth Assembly. Once the policies of general arbitration, security, and disarmament, of the ending of war and the substitution for it of the pacific settlement of all international disputes had been laid before the peoples of the world, once these policies had been offered to them as political realities, which they could have if they desired, the demand for those policies could no longer be smothered or ignored. The forces of

reaction did everything they could to burk and to evade the issues that were raised. But they failed. The demand for these policies became more and more insistent as each year went by, and in Geneva our comrades Vandervelde, De Brouckere and the rest gained more and more support, as they strove for the programme for which we stand. And they got not only support, but in a certain measure they got satisfaction; certain definite and not wholly negligible results have come about.

What are these results? Let me recall them to your mind. The Preparatory Commission for Disarmament was set up. In its turn that Commission appointed technical committees of various kinds; in these committees the technical aspects of disarmament were examined in the greatest detail, and by that examination it was proved that disarmament could be brought about, that the technical difficulties were not nearly so formidable as had been previously believed, that directly the Governments desired to have a draft disarmament treaty such a treaty could quite easily be drawn up. I say without hesitation that what has been done by these committees, over one of which De Brouckere with great ability presided, was of the first importance.

Next, as the result of the pressure of the Assembly and of world opinion, a year ago the Committee of Arbitration and Security was set up. That Committee, again, has done important work in the preparation of draft general conventions concerning arbitration and security. If you look at the Security Committee's draft Convention A, and if you compare that draft with the draft all-in Arbitration Convention which we here approved a year or more ago, you will see how great has been the influence of our draft on the policy and ideas of those in charge.

We have now before the world the Kellogg proposals for the total renunciation of war as an instrument of the national policy which our Governments pursue. There again we have concrete definite proposals put forward for the acceptance of the Governments on the vital matter of national security. If these proposals were adopted they would go far to create the security which so many Governments demand. They would also achieve another part of our programme by closing the "gap" in the Covenant, by making all aggressive war an international crime, and by excluding from international relations the uncontrolled use of private force.

Therefore on all these three parts of the problem of armaments and war there are now

definite proposals before the world, and it must be said that since 1924 much preparatory technical work has been accomplished. In all this preparatory work we in this gathering can claim that the Labour and Socialist International has indirectly had a not inconsiderable share.

We all know that far more could and ought to have been done. Far more would have been done but for the hesitating or openly reactionary attitude of the capitalist Governments who are in power. If the Governments in power had meant business about getting rid of war, they would have built on the foundations which we laid in 1924. The Option Clause of the Permanent Court would have been generally accepted long ago, all-in arbitration treaties would already have been made; not on the bi-lateral basis which for some mysterious reason the present British Government seems to favour, but on a general basis open to all the nations of the world. Above all, far more progress would have been made with regard to disarmament itself.

More recently, they would have signed and carried through the Kellogg Pact without delay. Why, unless they secretly desired to use the right of war as an instrument of their national policy, should it have taken all these months of wavering negotiations and diplomatic notes to bring them to the point of signature of the Kellogg Pact? What is the reason for this delay if it be not some reservation which they do not venture publicly to avow? We all know, too, who are the prime movers in this policy of obstruction and delay. We know that a few powerful and reactionary Governments are holding back others who genuinely desire to go forward. We know also that these reactionary Governments cannot long maintain the attitude they have taken up without exposing their evident bad faith.

The hour of testing is at hand, for at this next session of the assembly, which is about to meet, they must either agree to definite action or they must expose to the world at large the plain unvarnished fact that they have no serious intentions in their promises about these questions of disarmament and war. For what, if they mean business, will these Governments do in the assembly that is about to meet? How will they use the technical preparatory work that has been done? How will they give satisfaction for the public opinion that has been aroused? They will have before them the report of the Preparatory Commission. They will have the report of the Committee on Security and

Arbitration; they will be apprised of the Kellogg negotiations that have gone on; they must consider the important proposals on arbitration, conciliation, and security, the draft conventions, and the other proposals which the Committee on Security have made.

What action should they take to prove that they are sincere? In the first place, if I may deal first with arbitration, they should, I believe, as an assembly, definitely adopt "Convention A." They should turn it into a treaty, they should open it, as the first assembly opened the Optional Clause of 1920, for the signature of all those Governments that are now ready to agree. That is the absolute minimum of what they ought to do. Unless they will do that, then I say that their pious resolutions of a year ago about generalising arbitration are no better than a fraud and farce.

Second, they ought to seek to give some practical result to the fair speeches they have made, to the resolutions they adopt so often about the Optional Clause or the Permanent Court of International Justice. The time is long overdue when all the Governments should be bound by an absolute obligation to submit all their justiciable disputes to that impartial Court.

Third, I believe that this year's assembly cannot pass over in silence the great proposals made by the Government of the United States. I believe they should take the opportunity at the gathering of the delegates of more than 50 nations to make a solemn declaration pledging all these nations to accept, and in due course to ratify the Kellogg Pact as soon as the Government of the United States may decide to invite them to do so.

Not only so, but I believe that the assembly should help to clarify the situation by adopting a resolution explaining that in the view of the delegations there assembled the Kellogg Pact will mean the total outlawry of all aggressive war, that therefore for those who sign it it will close the gap in Article 15 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and that thus it will carry through, as regards one part of the problem of armaments and war, the work which the fifth assembly started four long years ago.

Lastly, the assembly must at length take some definite decisions about disarmament itself. The time for platonic resolutions, for expressions of empty hope is now long past. The time for action has come. They must no longer vaguely ask the Council, therefore, to "make haste." They must do more than

that. I believe they will fail in their solemn duty—I say this after full deliberation—unless they fix the date for the long-delayed disarmament conference for the summer of 1929 at latest. In order that that Conference should be properly prepared to do its work when at last it meets, it should further, I believe, give a definite instruction to the Council to summon the Preparatory Commission at a given date, and they should fix a time by which that Commission shall complete the draft disarmament treaty which it must prepare. For experience has shown us that only if a fixed limit of time has been established can we hope that the forces of inertia and reaction can be overcome.

That is the least that this year's assembly ought to do; that is the minimum programme of immediate action that the Governments must take to prove their good faith to the peoples for whom they speak. This action they must take at once or face the grave responsibility of risking a failure far more disastrous than that of the Coolidge Conference a year ago. For if they delay much longer with this vital matter, they will be risking the whole future of the League. In the growth and evolution of the League a turning point has now been reached, and the future will depend upon the wisdom or the folly of the decisions that may now be made.

There are other matters, of course, with which this year's assembly ought to deal. It must repel the dastardly attack of the Fascist Government on the economic work that has been begun. It must build up and consolidate the economic machinery which the Economic Conference of a year ago proposed. That is important, and only those who have examined the international aspects of the economic and social programme for which our Labour Parties stand can realise just how important for us effective international economic institutions are going to be. The desperate plight of the coal industry in England is only one example of very many which prove that international action is an indispensable part of the Socialist policy which we shall have to carry through.

But important though these economic questions are, they are as dust in the balance at the present juncture in comparison with the

vital issues of armaments and war. For it is by the decision which it makes on these vital issues that the League of Nations must live or die. And let the Governments remember that those decisions must be taken now. For they have now the greatest opportunity in all history to destroy the monster of international war. The peoples of the world are weary of the blood and misery of the past. They are ready and eager for the measures that will bring perpetual peace, and if they lose this opportunity let the Governments beware. They will have betrayed the dead of all our countries, who gave their lives upon this soil of Belgium, where we stand, in the war that was to end all war. What man can say when the opportunity they will have lost will come again? Let them remember, therefore, that the eyes of all the nations of mankind are now upon them, and let them know that for what they do in this hour of fate we of our parties shall hold them to merciless account.

Never before, perhaps, in the modern world has public opinion been so far beyond the Governments in power. Never before have the peoples been so ready for progress which their Governments would not give them. Never before have the Governments so cravenly held back when those for whom they speak have wished them to go on. Not even the rising tide of popular opinion has yet sufficed to break the power of the Governments conservative and bureaucratic traditions and ideas. Thus it is that we, and we alone, can give the world the true spirit of international co-operation. It is we who can build at last on the unstable foundations which have been laid, a real League of Peoples. And it is because we can do so, because we, and we alone, have a policy that meets the urgent needs of the present hour, that we stand with regard to the vital question of world peace on the threshold of victories greater than any we have won. But we must continue to struggle against those forces which resist the onward march of the working masses against reaction in every form until we make an end to class privilege and exploitation. It is our responsibility to lead the workers into the realm of peace and freedom, and thus clear the way for the establishment of the Socialist and Co-operative Commonwealth.

New Tasks for Trade Unionists

By

BEN TILLET

THE revolutionary changes being made in the industrial methods of the world can rightly be described as marvellous. Organisation of industry is proceeding apace on a grouping basis, either in "combine" form or in such a manner as to provide for a business co-ordination of interest, the more materialistic the interest the more close and effective the organised alliance of the concerns involved.

It is a matter for regret that the official mind of the Trade Union and Labour Movement is not as informed, apprehensive, alert, and as anxious as it should be to see or understand the character of the changes being enacted. An indifferent attitude reveals a supineness that spells danger to the individual and the movement alike.

The financier, the banker, the manufacturer, the producer, the captains of industry—all these, like great generals, are for ever estimating, organising, separating, divisionalising, interlocking, and building up in every possible direction movements which affect finance, banking, credit, interests, loans, costings, and the thousand and one other factors that go to form a basis of values, of costs, and potentialities of trade and profit alike.

The "combine" form of organisation is steadily coming into being all over the world with the relentlessness of a glacier and with a determining power which is formative. A survey of the iron, steel and engineering industries, for instance, reveals to the keen observer, masterful reorganisation, mergings and agreements. Even the cartel becomes a very useful and important factor. Our coal industry, working under the worst catastrophic difficulties, is now being organised and cajoled into groups for the purpose of securing more economical and

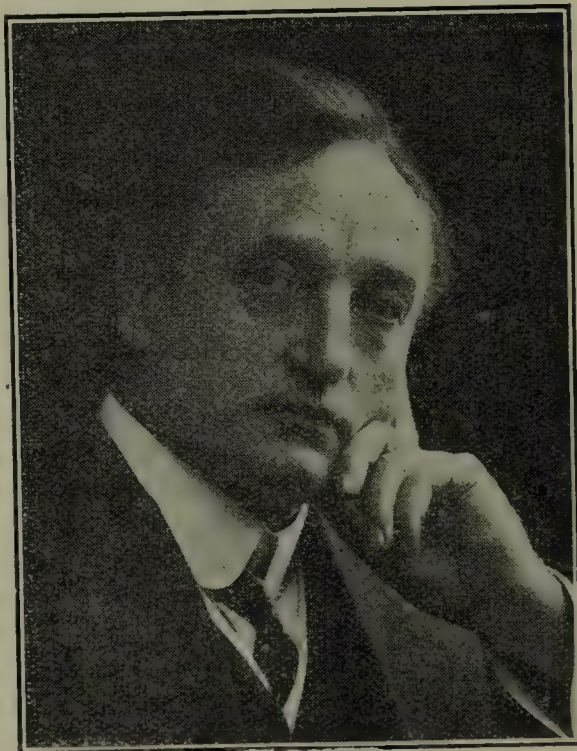
efficient production. In the iron, steel and coal industries, the human factor of labour has been exploited to the utmost limits. New means, new measures, new machinery, new organisation are coming into being, and competition is being ruthlessly cast aside. Turning to the textiles: here, in spite of an inflation of the capital to an extent of six times its value, that is from £2,500,000 real, to £15,000,000

inflated, there is a movement afoot, the progress of which will not be deterred, if the cotton industry is to be saved.

The financier has flouted the industry instead of really financing it; and the burden of the £15,000,000 (600 per cent. inflated) cannot be borne on the necks of the Lancashire cotton operatives. And so to the woollen trades, which tell a similar story, and to the shipbuilding and transport, where the same conditions of change are proceeding, and will continue to proceed, until groups of interest with central domination and control are formed. In the newspaper world—the great publicity department of the financier

and the capitalists generally—there is a nationwide organisation. The improvements and facilities of printing and publicity, the vast wealth accumulated by advertisements, and the importance of the market value of advertisements, all are being organised swiftly and completely under group and monopolistic conditions.

Those who say that any one man or group of men is responsible for these inevitable changes are giving expression to an opinion from brains that will not study or appreciate the realism and vital factors of economic change going on before their very eyes. In many cases they themselves are party to and servant of the changes which are fructifying into reality.



BEN TILLET

Many and wonderful are the changes made since, and as a consequence of the conditions created by the war. Such economic upheavals as those witnessed in recent years are enough to make Marx or Ricardo turn in their graves.

The capitalists with their technical staffs, their intelligentsia drawn from the public schools and universities, their trained scientific classes, their laboratories, their study groups and schools, their pick of the best brains of the land developed by mathematics, the science of chemistry, metallurgy, and every practical scientific factor of industry, which gives to them power which is truly enormous.

But it is not they who have willed these things; it is the circumstances of the period. Whether it be a Mond, a Turner, or any other person, whether it be a Baldwin Government or a MacDonald Government, the changes to which I have referred would still have taken place, and will continue evolving without check, let, or hindrance. What is taking place in our country is taking place the world over. America is moving the fastest of all toward a greater capitalistic dominance of her people, and even of the world as apart from her own States. America's method of utilising her money resources, her financing, her banks, and her credits have already made her the greatest creditor of the world. She has taken our place of a hundred years ago in the world development of trade; taken it with a greater scope, a wider horizon, a broader frontier, and with a commanding resource, compared to which our own beginnings and lean successes are insignificant.

The Labour man who does not see this does not know his business. His business as a responsible Trade Union leader, official, Labour advocate, or what you will, is to do as much with the wage system as the capitalist does with the capitalist system, of which the wage system forms part equally as the capitalist system forms part of the wage system. Whatever his religion, his politics, his economic theories, or his philosophy, whether his opinions or leanings be towards the "left" or the "right," the actuality of his work lies in making the best out of every situation. A branch or district official settling disputes, obtaining advances in wage rates, securing higher standards of health and life from employers, on behalf of his members, does more good by one victory than all the blatherskite of the extremist, however numerical, or camouflaged and superior the so-called philosophical terminology of the latter may be.

Many and many are the occasions in connection with the settlement of disputes when the gains to the workers concerned have

represented thousands, hundreds of thousands, and even millions of pounds per annum. One of our basic teachings has been that the contributions of the workers to their Trade Unions are in themselves a capital investment utilised to protect their labour, life, and health. The sixpence or shilling per week brings a greater compensation and dividend than the investment of the average employer. There are cases of yearly occurrence in Trade Union activity where for every shilling paid in the form of contributions one pound in wage has been gained in return. No capitalist can give examples of profits and dividends such as these; yet the cases could be enumerated by the thousand, the tens of thousand, and the hundreds of thousand, and the million. As a matter of fact, the gains to the members run into thousands of per cents.—a dividend which no market or stock jobbery could ever hope to emulate.

And what of the other side? Is it appreciated that the wealth of the world has been won for the capitalist class by an investment realising little more than 5 per cent.? That is a fact. Surely, therefore, if the capitalist will risk £100 to gain £5 in a year we should have the logical acquiescence of our people to an investment of 5s. for a 100s. return in a year. This is an object lesson of which those officials—branch, district, area, and national—who are carrying out their work conscientiously, alertly, and energetically, might well be proud. There are, of course, a hundred and one other benefits made possible by the comradeship in the organised workshop, the factory, and the mill or dock, etc., which, if accurately estimated, will be found to represent considerable capitalistic value.

It is out of these everyday, practical and mundane things, that our great Trade Union and political organisations have come into being. The recognition labour receives from the capitalist class has been secured as a result of the Trade Union methods employed every day in a practical manner by honest and intelligent men and women. The system of voting and the citizenship in our country has only been obtained by the solidity, organisation and unity commanded by the builders and makers of our movement.

As an old "drill sergeant" I am able to look back with others upon the mind-training of our workers, the seizing of the economic chances to better their conditions, and I am satisfied that no movement of workers outside of Trade Unionism, no movement of non-Trade Unionists or anti-Trade Unionists, can be other than malignant or destructive in their activities whatever their semblance of interest in, or sympathy with Labour may be, or whatever

the manner and character of their slogans. Trade Unionism is the one definite way to organise and to build up economic and political power enabling a wider and more strenuous view and activity being adopted.

There is no material distinction between the development of industry in Russia or Mexico and the development of industry in America and Britain. The new economic policy of Lenin saved the Soviet. The workers of Soviet Russia demanded wages—wages in money instead of wages in kind. The workers of Soviet Russia are digging a canal from the Don to the Volga; they are erecting great hydro-electric power stations and organising and grouping their great industries on exactly the same lines of the development in this and other countries. One can feel only too glad that this is being done as a democracy, but what the Soviet toiler is doing for democracy and labour the capitalist in organising on a grand scale is doing for his own class first; his country's interest assessed from the same viewpoint.

But even in Soviet Russia the workers' wage standpoint, their hours of labour standpoint, their health, medical care, and their home life, have to be adjusted, and at times the adjusting takes place with great difficulty, accompanied with great agitation, equally as our Trade Union wage and other difficulties arise.

My only reason for offering the foregoing comments is to show that the Trade Union leader and the Trade Union worker can only appreciate the great revolutionary changes, now in process of being carried out, by a keen and close knowledge and participation in the advantages that are arising. The Trades Union Congress General Council, in taking its present attitude, is only dealing with a system that is being exploited to greater length and possibilities every day. Whatever change takes place in the industrial world, or even in the form of government, Trade Unionism must prevail. In Russia to-day there is more Trade Unionism pro-rata of workers employed than in any other country of the world. "A Trade Union smasher" in Russia would himself be smashed and punished without hesitation or scruple as a renegade and a traitor to the cause, and that by the workers themselves, even though punishment was not demanded by the States or presidiums.

The capitalists of our country are no more responsible for the defects of capitalism than the managers of the defective socialised capitalist system of Russia are responsible. There is a fate that drives them on.

My regret is that whilst our movement has made progress—not so fast as I would like it to have been, but nevertheless exceptionally

good progress—the intelligent interest of our people is not keeping apace with the development of the industrial and economic powers that are determining their lives.

A bitter example of this is witnessable amongst that heroic section of people in the mining industry. I am sure that the disruptive tactics being employed in that movement would not be tolerated in Soviet Russia. Turning to our own capitalist class, and presuming for a moment that it were possible for that class to have a "left" disruptive factor, there is no doubt that it could very easily spoil and wreck the finances of industry without a farthing or a fadge of benefit to the workers. The "Rip Van Winkles" amongst the capitalists are a great danger, but the "Rip Van Winkles" in the Labour Movement who, like Nero, imagine vain things and attempt impossibilities, are vomiting the oldest nostrums of obsolete political economy. These incompetents are a danger to themselves and a nuisance to the movement.

The educational value of our movement is pronounced in municipal politics as well as in our industrial life. There are improved no features of medicine, of feeding, of sanitation, of wages and labour conditions, but what is not being undertaken at one and the same time, in every city, town, village and hamlet. This work is going on day by day. Hundreds of thousands of agencies are actively at work in adjusting, improving, and in defending the conditions and rights of our people. The last railway incident where the conditions of the workers have been stabilised and their benefits fully secured against a small reduction, is a case in point. I regret that even small reductions, as do the sponsors of the agreement, but there is no doubt that it was one of the best pieces of business accomplished as a result of Trade Union leadership and sagacity.

I would emphasise that even the Turner-Mond relationship is a relationship which carries the Trade Union leader to the round table of the conference room for the purpose of dealing on conditions of equality with such important factors as finance, industrial development, and the organisation and placement of finance and labour alike. It gives opportunity for a new standard and outlook, and whatever the future may hold in the way of social revolution, there are vast revolutionary possibilities in the interchange of viewpoints, of knowledge, and of experience, which, by unremitting labour and patience, may represent a step along the road to the desired co-operative commonwealth than would be possible by the insane methods of the extremists on both sides.

(To be continued.)

The Prevarications of Mr. Pollitt

By

EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD

MR. HARRY POLLITT has replied seriatim in the columns of *The Workers Life* to the fourteen points that form the summing up of Mr. Citrine's able series of articles on "Democracy or Disruption," and these inculcations have now been issued in the form of a pamphlet.

While his "replies" may satisfy those who read *The Worker's Life* and no other paper, they contain such glaring prevarications, such shufflings and quibblings to avoid the disclosure of the truth, that they cannot pass unnoticed. It will be instructive to unmask thoroughly a few of these prevarications as samples for what currently passes as Communist logic and Communist honesty.

Mr. Pollitt replies to Point 5, dealing with the allegation of violence, as follows: "The Red International DOES NOT BELIEVE IN VIOLENCE, but it does point out the lesson of history, one of which is that no ruling class ever voluntarily gives up its political power.

If this *can* be achieved peacefully it will be because of the superior class organisation of the workers' forces, and if it *cannot*, the violence necessary will be reduced to a minimum because of this same superior class organisation."

Fortunately for honest people, and unfortunately for Mr. Harry Pollitt's argument the International Headquarters of his organisation show much more refreshing candour and straightforwardness in their pronouncements than he does. I have before me Volume 8, No. 30, of the "International Press Correspondence," under date June 6, 1928, containing the "Draft Programme of the Communist International," adopted by the Programme Commission of the E.C.C.I. on May 25, 1928, for endorsement by the coming sixth Congress of that body. It is a document of approximately 22,000 words, and is probably the most detailed and thorough going exposition of Communist method we have yet had.

One of the concluding sentences of this programme reads as follows: "Communists do not think it necessary to conceal their views and intentions. THEY OPENLY DECLARE THAT THEIR GOAL CAN BE ACHIEVED ONLY BY THE VIOLENT OVERTHROW OF THE WHOLE OF THE PRESENT SOCIAL SYSTEM."

Is that plain and clear language, or is it not. Is there any talk of "does not believe in violence" or any "if this can," or "if it cannot," about it.

Mr. Pollitt's language may be useful to delude some English I.L.P'ers and Left Wingers, and other dupes who are being enmeshed in the webs so skilfully spun by our spider-like friends from Moscow, but it has no basis in truth, nor is it endorsed by his own International Headquarters in Russia.

Nor is this all by any means. This same Draft Programme outlines in the most detailed fashion the steps to be taken by Communists so as to ensure that any chance there is of a peaceful transition from capitalism to Socialism may be rendered impossible. It outlines in the most detailed fashion the steps to be taken to ensure the whole of the working-class being embroiled step by step into courses that can but end in wholesale bloody slaughter and heavy civil war. It outlines the steps to be taken "in the reactionary Trade Unions with a view to capturing them and to secure a change in the reformist leadership," i.e., it outlines the necessary Communist machinations which in this country take the guise of the "Minority Movement."

The following extract from Section VI. of this programme, dealing with the "Strategy and Tactics of the Communist International, and the Road to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," speaks for itself.

"When the revolutionary tide is flowing, when the dominant classes are disorganised, the masses are in a state of revolutionary ferment, the intermediary strata are inclining towards the proletariat, and the masses are prepared for action and for sacrifice (sic), the task of the Party is to lead the masses into the direct attack upon the bourgeois State. This is to be achieved by propaganda in favour of all transitional slogans (Soviets, workers' control of industry, the slogan of peasant committees for seizure of landlords' land, etc.) and the organisation of mass actions, to which all other branches of Party work, agitation and propaganda, including Parliamentary work, must be subordinated. THIS INCLUDES STRIKES, STRIKES COMBINED WITH DEMONSTRATIONS,

THE COMBINATION OF ARMED DEMONSTRATIONS AND STRIKES, AND FINALLY THE GENERAL STRIKE CONJOINED WITH THE ARMED UPRISING AGAINST THE POLITICAL POWER OF THE BOURGEOISIE. This struggle must be subjected to the rules of military art, it must be conducted according to a plan of war and in the form of a military offensive. It calls for the devoted loyalty and heroism of the proletariat. Such actions must be preceded by the organisations of the broad masses in military units, which by their very form attract and set into action the maximum number of toilers."

There is little prevarication about that part of the programme. One might even guess, after perusing it, that the formation of "Workers Defence Corps" was not such a chance and adventitious phenomena as might be imagined.

Another extract from the same section is also illuminating. "Of special importance is the work—which must be carried on day in and day out—with the view to capturing the Trade Unions, which are the broadest mass proletarian organisations. Work must be carried on with ability (shades of Lanarkshire), even in the reactionary Trade Unions, with a view to capturing them."

A still further extract may help us to fathom the inspiration that lies behind the continual vilification of our own trusted and chosen Trade Union representatives in this country. "Before it can fulfil the historical task of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Party must first set itself and carry out the following *strategical* aims . . . it must discredit, expose, and destroy the political influence of social democracy, and of the yellow Trade Union bureaucracy, who are the most reliable bulwark of capitalism."

As part and parcel of the same set plan and programme of international slaughter of the toiling masses to which the Communist International has set itself, the following extract, dealing with the Communist tactics in this country at the present moment, is not without instructiveness:—

"When the revolutionary tide is not flowing, the Communist Party, in accordance with the everyday needs of the toilers, must advance partial slogans and demands . . . in this connection the tactics of the united front represent an important part of the tactics of the Communist Party throughout the pre-revolutionary period . . . these partial demands and transitional slogans include—in the sphere of the labour

problem in the narrow sense of the word—the economic struggle (resistance to the offensive of trustified capital, wages, the working day, compulsory arbitration courts, unemployment), growing into problems of the general political struggle (big industrial conflicts, right to strike, political rights of the Trade Unions)."

It is certainly all beautifully cut and dried, but fancy being victimised because you happen to be the dupe of some artful transitional slogan of the violence-crazed bugs in the Kremlin?

Probably the above are sufficient to expose the prevarications of Mr. Pollitt in his reply to Point VI. and V., and his jejune plea that the "Red International does not believe in violence." We will now deal with Mr. Pollitt in reply to Point 3, that the principal officers of the Minority Movement are all paid Communists and take their instructions from the Communist Party, nationally and internationally. Pollitt naively replies "that the officials of the Minority Movement are appointed by the Executive Committee, and that this is elected at the Annual Conference by the delegates from amongst the delegates, and that the Executive Committee consists of workers belonging to all working class political parties." How delightfully naive and refreshingly democratic, just as if the blessed word "fraction" had never been coined.

Mr. Pollitt forgets that although the Communist Party in this country has 5,000 members there are also something like 50,000 ex-members of the Communist Party at large in the country, and its methods and systems are by no means the secret and closed book he would have us believe. Surely he is aware that everybody knows that in every organisational unit of the Minority Movement, whether it be the E.C., the Delegate Conference, the local committees, or what-not, the Communist members of that unit are bound by their creed and system to hold a preliminary secret meeting, in advance of the actual meeting of the unit in question, and to decide in advance exactly what is to happen, how it is to happen, through whom it is to happen, and exactly when it is to happen—so that the non-party dupes at the E.C., the conference, the branch committee, or what-not, may be regaled by a well-oiled, smooth-running, businesslike procedure, which appears on the surface to be spontaneous and natural, but which is in reality carefully planned, rehearsed, and cut-and-dried to the last syllable. Such methods and tactics make the whole Minority Movement, and not only the Minority Movement but in many cases Trade Union Branches, Trades Councils, and other bodies where Communists are taking part,

merely a plaything and creature of the conspirative Communists controlling it. Mr. Pollitt must try again in his efforts to pull the wool over the eyes of "honest toilers."

If space, and the Editor's patience, permits, it is possible to show up every one of Mr. Pollitt's replies to the 14 points for the prevarications and evasions of truth that they are. Surely he is intelligent enough to realise that truth is a more effective weapon than subterfuge, vilification, and pretence. The Communists have at least a case, that can be discussed and examined scientifically and in the light of knowledge. Whether it is a case that will withstand the logic of the events of the last decade and answer to the tests of commonsense is another matter however. This is 1928 and no longer 1918, and in the interim we have been permitted to examine the results of these Communist tactics in working-class politics—to examine them in Finland, in Hungary, in Bulgaria, in Esthonia, in Germany, in Latvia—to examine them in terms of casualties and centuries of imprisonment. From the situation in Germany in 1921-23 we have been able to judge whether a working-class physical force revolution in any western industrial country can possibly be successful when the objective conditions are turning even the stones in the streets into Communists. The answer is undeniably "No."

In face of the extraordinary genius of the Communists for making enemies of every honest and sincere working-class protagonist who happens not to see exactly eye to eye with them in every phase of tactic and principle, in face of the continual stage-managed outpourings of calumny and abuse, it is time to call a halt and to insist in clean, honest methods in their dealings with us.

Ethics—honesty, sincerity, and the rest—the Marxian will tell us are nought but an illusion—a reflex of the economic state of society at the moment. That is a postulate that can be questioned. Whether it be true or whether it be a dialectical false quantity the fact remains that the great majority of the working-class continue to express what must be a bourgeois weakness for clean, honest, straightforward dealing, and no confusion and quibbling and evasion is likely to be of any avail.

Any mathematician will tell you that to get from point A to point B, whether they be two points on a sheet of paper, two spots on the face of the earth, or two stages of society, there are always an infinite number of paths. In their wicked insistence of forcing on the working-class the one path of heavy civil war, enormous sacrifice in life and freedom, before every possible

alternative path has been examined and tested, the Communists are guilty of a wicked dis-service both to the workers and to humanity. The science of political struggle is not subject to the same known and exact laws as is the science of chemistry or physics. New phenomena arise that leave the pundits guessing, just as the phenomena of Fascism and the appearance of the Stahlhelm and kindred organisations in Germany left the Moscow pundits guessing. Mr. Pollitt may prevaricate and quibble, and his friends may cartoon Ben Turner as a Nanny-goat and Citrine as a Mephistopheles—it's all in the game of bunk—but it is not by such tactics that he and his friends will ever secure even a respectable minority of decent elements of our working-class to function, for more than a few short weeks or months, as the dupes and tools of their Marxian fanaticism.

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From the

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DEPARTMENT, TRANSPORT HOUSE,
SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1.

Making Machinery Safe for the Workers

NOTES FROM THE HOME OFFICE INDUSTRIAL MUSEUM

A FEW years ago one of the miners' leaders caused a sensation at Congress by disclosing the fact that in twenty years there had been no less than 3,000,000 casualties in the mining industry. This revelation, startling to the community at large, was less so to Congress delegates, the greater part of whom were constantly being brought face to face with the hard fact that the great mass of the workers have to take in the normal course of their daily toil risks of which the rest of the community only learn through the occasional comment of a coroner. For as with mining so with building—an occupation with an increasingly high casualty rate—with railway work, and with a score of occupations, the dangers of which are only too imperfectly appreciated by the general public.

The official figures are eloquent. In the year 1927 there were 156,000 accidents in the factories, workshops, etc., of this country, of which 973 were fatal. According to the *Ministry of Labour Gazette* there were 1,797 fatal industrial accidents (including 383 amongst seamen) in the seven months, January to July this year. During the same period 419 cases of industrial disease arising from poisoning, anthrax, epitheliomatous, and chrome ulceration were reported, and there were 67 deaths from industrial diseases. In addition there are many cases not reported which would have to be added.

Now most, if not all, of these accidents were preventable if sufficient interest in the matter had been aroused. In this country safety and welfare work falls far short of what is being done elsewhere, but efforts are being made to secure for the subject the attention it undoubtedly warrants. When one reflects that in addition to the maiming and killing of the workers there is the misery and destitution of their dependents, the question is prompted: "What can I do to lessen accidents?" In this connection the Home Office Industrial Museum in Horseferry Road, Westminster, S.W. 1, opened in December last, furnished valuable aid. The Exhibition is the first of its kind in this country, though similar exhibitions have existed in important industrial countries

on the Continent for some time, e.g., in Milan, Berlin, Munich, Amsterdam, Paris, and Lawsanne.

The purpose of the Museum is to show the best methods for the time being which are known to the Home Office for protecting the industrial workers against accidents and promoting conditions most favourable to his or her health and efficiency. It will be of use chiefly to employers and workers and their organisations, but it will also render an important service to designers of factories, designers and makers of machinery and other protective appliances, and designers and makers of ventilation plant, to medical practitioners, welfare and social workers, and inspectors of factories.

The Museum shows not only what is best, but by contrast and by way of warning exhibits specimens of dangerous plant and appliances which have been found in actual use, e.g., in the electrical section it shows apparatus which has been the cause of fatal accidents. Similarly in the lifting gear section are examples of ropes, chains, etc., which become dangerously worn, while in the boiler section there are shown parts from boilers which have exploded, showing the conditions which caused the accidents.

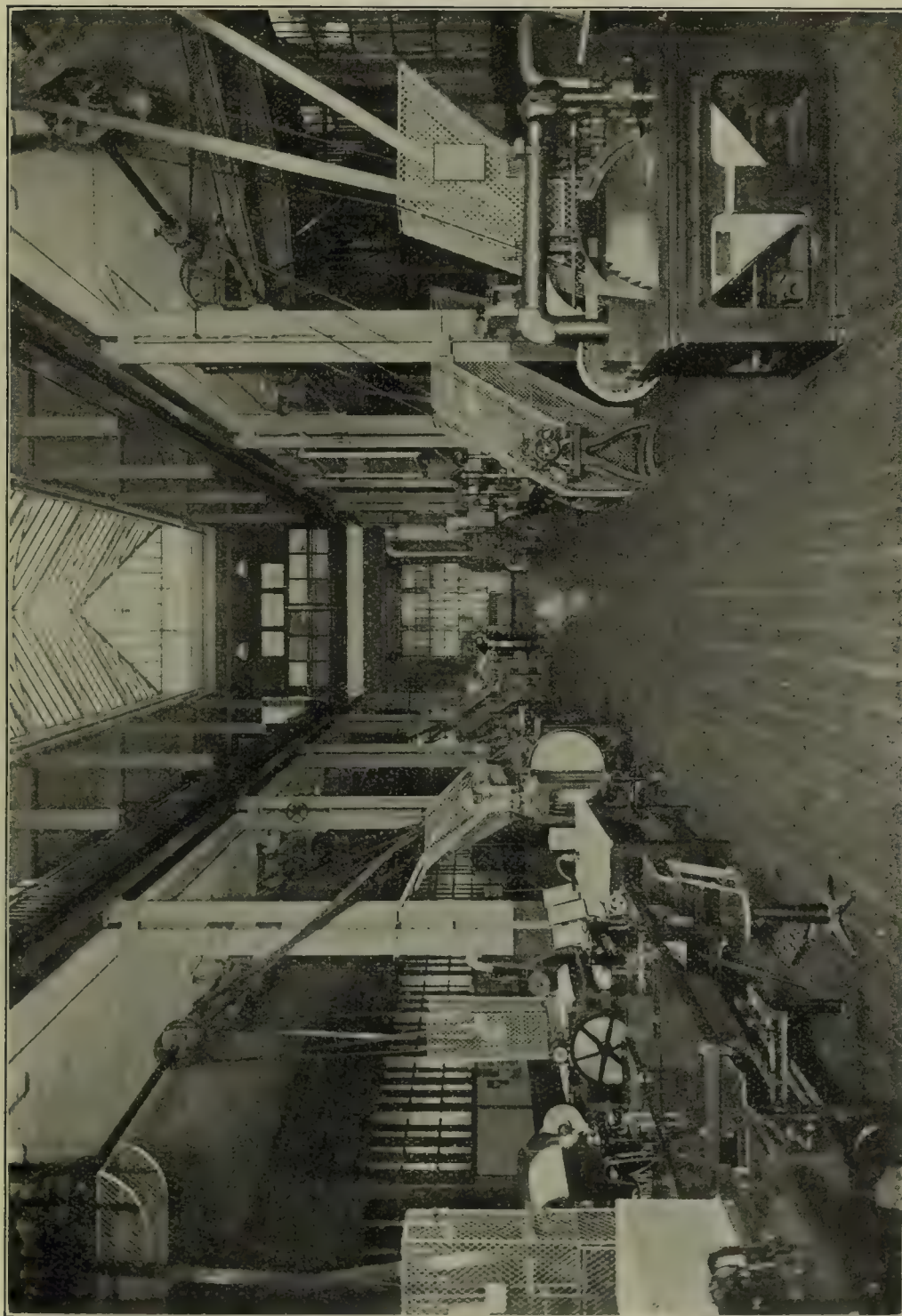
The building itself, though of necessity primarily designed to serve the purposes of a Museum, has been used as far as possible to illustrate in its arrangement matters such as ventilation, heating, lighting, fire escape, etc., which are of importance in the construction and equipment of factories.

The following is a very brief description of some of the sections:—

Safety

In this section the exhibits consist chiefly of the actual machines, plants, and appliances as they would be installed in a factory or elsewhere. Power is provided so that the machines can be shown in actual movement. The exhibits necessarily include only a small fraction of the many types of machinery employed in industry, but care has been taken to choose machines guarded in such a way that the main principles of safeguarding are

General View along Central Aisle



[Illustration from the Home Office Catalogue, by permission of H.M. Stationery Office]

shown. Power presses have in the past been the cause of many serious accidents, and the safeguarding of them has been a task of considerable difficulty. That it is possible to show in the Museum six power presses securely fenced in different ways, and yet so as not to interfere with the intricate operations which have to be performed on them, is a fact of some note.

As every part of the transmission machinery in a factory is a potential cause of accidents, and in view of the number of fatal accidents occurring on overhead shafting, it is good to note that the Museum shows every form of safeguarding transmission machinery possible. Hence the transmission machinery which has been installed in the Museum for running the machines exhibited illustrates the various ways of safeguarding such machinery, and has been fitted with belt-mounting and lubricating appliances by which the need for approaching the machinery while in motion is avoided.

The exhibits include samples of machinery from all the various industries. In the textile industry the complexity of the machinery and the nature of the processes renders the risk of accident very high, and the work of safeguarding the machinery has been carried further in this industry than perhaps in any other, and there are examples of the various inventions which make the work of the spinner and weaver less dangerous.

The exhibits in the building section illustrates the following points of safety: properly erected scaffolds, a firm platform, guard rails and toeboards on the platforms, reasonable width of platform for ordinary work, short overlap of the planks over their supports, and safe means of access.

The exhibits in the electrical section include samples of apparatus which do not comply with the regulations and which have caused fatal accidents, side by side with apparatus which shows how the requirements of the regulations have been met. Shipbuilding, the loading and unloading of ships in docks, explosions, fire-fighting and escape, and many other subjects are dealt with.

There are also shown examples of some of the principal types of labour-saving devices, as the importance of applying labour-saving principles to industry has been long recognised as a means of reducing the risk of accident and injury to health. There are pulley blocks, overhead runways, self-landing and delivering hoists, and many others which are calculated to lessen the heavy strain on workers in various industries. In addition, a large number of

photographs are on view illustrating the application of these appliances.

Health

In the health section the exhibits are necessarily of a different character. The important section devoted to the chief industrial diseases includes photographs showing the methods for the prevention of lead poisoning, silicosis, dermatitis, etc., in the various industries, and charts indicating the incidence of the diseases over a period of years. In addition, there are wax models illustrating the lesions, etc., produced by such industrial diseases as epitheliomatous ulceration, chrome ulceration, chronic benzol, anilin and mercury poisoning, and micro-photographs of lung sections, dust, etc. It has been claimed that more days' work are lost from dermatitis than from any other complaint. In this section the visitor is shown on one side photographs of dermatitis and other skin diseases, wax models of hands showing dermatitis, etc., and on the other side the measures which should be adopted to prevent the disease.

A number of cases occur every year in which persons engaged in cleaning, repairing, or other work inside tanks, chambers, and other receptacles are overcome by gas, often with fatal results. Considerable research has been devoted to discovering means to prevent this, and the Museum contains examples of various types of rescue apparatus for use in certain dangerous occupations, as for instance, in certain branches of the iron and steel trades, breweries, cement works, and india rubber works.

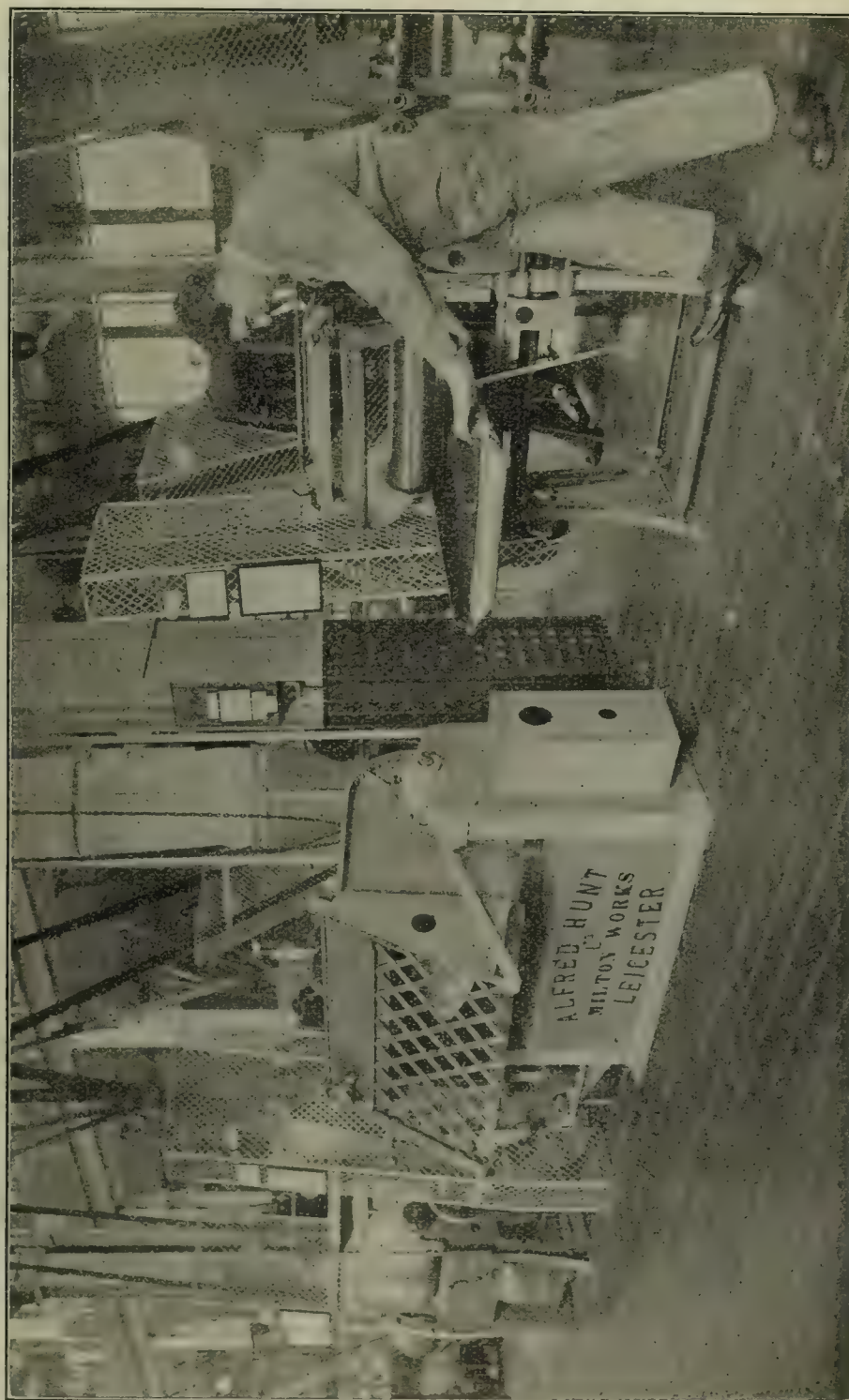
There are also outfits of protective clothing shown, for workers engaged in the pottery industry, in iron foundries and various other trades, where there is need for protection against wet, dust, extremes of temperature, grease, oil, acids, cuts from handling sharp or rough edges, burns from handling hot material, etc.

Ventilation

As it is now generally recognised that adequate ventilation, by which is meant the maintenance of a pure and fresh atmosphere, is essential for health and efficiency a considerable amount of space in the Museum has been allotted to this exhibit.

The two chief ways of securing a change of air in workrooms are (1) by forcing fresh air into the room (the Plenum system), and (2) by extracting the vitiated air from the

The Baking Section, showing large Mixer, tilted, in centre. On stanchion behind, Push Buttons for Stopping and Inching Shafting. On right, Dough Mixer; on left, Cake Mixer



[Illustration from the Home Office Catalogue, by permission of H.M. Stationery Office]

room (the exhaust system), and a full exposition of these two systems can be obtained at the Museum, where examples of all the various types of air fans can be seen.

Lighting

Within recent years factory lighting has come to be recognised as a very important section of industrial hygiene, and the large amount of investigation and experiment that has taken place has established clearly that good lighting has a marked influence both on the safety, health, and comfort of the worker and on the ease and efficiency with which the work can be done. It is fitting, therefore, that in the Museum of this kind considerable space should be devoted to an exhibit showing how to secure good lighting in a factory. A darkened room has accordingly been set aside and has been divided into a number of cubicles, in which by means of the necessary illumination the effects of colour, shadow, direct (specular) reflection, dirty fittings, glare, wall materials and the effect of illumination on rate of perception, in addition to many other interesting scientific facts are all shown.

Welfare

The development of welfare in the factories of the country noticeable in previous years is still continuing. In arranging the welfare section the aim has been to show that the exhibits do not represent the standard of perfection which exists only in the official mind, and which the factory occupier or manager who has to carry on his business and get his work done cannot be expected to reach, but indicate actual practice in many works. In this section all the exhibits, and there are many, indicating an infinite amount of detail, have been put to one test, namely, are they in use in the factories, and if so have they been found satisfactory.

The question of how best to secure the prevention of fatigue for the worker has received considerable attention. Less fatigue is caused to workers when work can be done sitting, but in many industries this is not possible, and the fatigue caused by long standing may be lessened by occasional rest. At the Museum will be found examples of all the various kinds of seats, calculated to give relief to the worker by providing the healthy and uncramped position which is necessary to enable him to carry out his work efficiently.

There are many exhibits in connection with first-aid appliances, including model first-aid boxes and a model ambulance room. With

regard to first-aid boxes, various types are shown complying with the two standards prescribed by the Home Office (a) for factories employing 50 persons or less, and (b) larger factories.

The canteen and messroom exhibit includes a model of a canteen, with the furniture, cutlery, crockery, etc., needed. Canteen kitchen equipment, a refreshment trolley prepared ready to go round a factory for the 11 a.m. interval, a service carrier, hatch and counter, and an album giving specimen bills of fare from a number of works in different parts of the country, are some of the arrangements shown in this exhibit.

Apart from the valuable information it offers, the Museum is highly interesting, because of many ingenious but simple contrivances on view, and no visitor to London should miss it. For example, there are power machines which refuse to budge unless all the safety appliances are in working order, and which stop instantly if there is any interference with them whilst running. There are machines which quite effectively, if unceremoniously, push out of danger incautious or forgetful persons. Thus the machine protects the worker against himself. More ideas of this kind are required and the greater the interest aroused the quicker progress will be made. Trade Unions can do a great deal in this matter, as, for instance:—

(a) Taking an active interest in the work of safety and welfare organisations.

(b) Encouraging visits to the Home Office Museum, either by individual members visiting London or by organising parties for the purpose.

(c) Making a visit to the Museum a definite part of the business of any conference held in London.

The Museum is situated in Horseferry Road, which is close to Transport House. It is open to the public each day from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. and on Saturday from 2 p.m. to 4 p.m. Other evenings and afternoons are reserved for parties desiring to visit it. The efficient and courteous staff of the Museum conducts parties and explains everything in detail. A line to the Chief Inspector of Factories, Whitehall, S.W. 1, is all that is necessary to arrange for a party, or arrangements can be made through the T.U.C. Offices, Transport House, Smith Square, S.W. 1.

The active interest of Trade Unionists will bring nearer the elimination of unnecessary suffering due to industrial accidents and diseases.

J. L. S.

View in Gallery. In front, Canteen Kitchen Equipment and Refreshment Trolley



[Illustration from the Home Office Catalogue, by permission of H.M. Stationery Office]

THE

LABOUR MAGAZINE

*Official Journal of the Trades Union Congress
and the Labour Party*

Editorial Offices: TRANSPORT HOUSE (SOUTH
BLOCK), SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W. 1.

Telephones: VICTORIA 8016-7-8

Telegrams: LABREPCOM, CHURTON, LONDON

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THE Aberdeen by-election once more emphasises Labour's electoral progress, and should silence finally Sir Herbert Samuel and the other Liberal propagandists who will persist in trying to cloak the real facts by repeating misleading parrot cries about a Liberal "revival." The Labour majority went up by more than 1,000, the Tory vote went down by nearly 5,000, and the Liberal was at the bottom of the poll, with a vote so ludicrously small that he had to forfeit his deposit for failing to secure one-eighth of the votes polled. Moreover, as is explained in a special article on another page in this issue, Aberdeen was not an isolated example of Labour's success. It came rapidly on the heels of Halifax, where Labour won a traditional Liberal seat from them; Carmarthen, where another traditional Liberal seat was brought within easy reach of Labour at the next election; Hanley, where Labour increased its majority nearly six-fold; Linlithgow, where Labour won a seat from the Tories with a huge majority; and Middlesbrough, where Labour reduced the Liberal majority from 9,424 to 89, and thus made the seat almost certain for the Labour candidate at the next General Election. As a result of the by-elections that have taken place since the last General Election, Labour has a net gain of eight seats, the Liberals have a net gain of only one seat, and the Tories have a net loss of nine seats. And in the 16 by-elections since the beginning of this year, whilst the Liberal "revival" is supposed to have been in full blast, Labour has had a majority of 33,117 votes over the Liberals, equivalent to an average majority of 2,070 votes

per contest. Finally, while the Labour vote in these by-elections shows an increase over the last election, the Liberal vote shows an average decline of 1,254 votes per constituency. And we are asked, in the face of facts and figures like these, to believe Sir Herbert Samuel when he tries to assure us that a Liberal "revival" is in progress.

* * *

THE agenda for the 28th Annual Conference of the Labour Party, to be held at the Town Hall, Birmingham, on Monday, October 1 and the four following days, has now been issued. Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., Chairman of the National Executive of the Labour Party, will preside. The outstanding business of the Conference will be to consider the draft General Election Programme "Labour and the Nation," which the National Executive has prepared and issued in accordance with the decision of the last Annual Conference, and which has been under the consideration of affiliated societies since July. The National Executive is of opinion that the importance of this document is sufficient to justify the Conference in concentrating attention upon it, and that the usual agenda of resolutions and amendments should not be prepared, it being understood that the National Executive and affiliated societies, in conjunction with the Conference Arrangements Committee, should bring forward any emergency resolutions that events at the time may demand.

* * *

THE main subjects of the Conference discussion will, therefore, be as follows: (1) Report of Conference Arrangements Committee. (2) Annual Report and Financial Statement. (3) Report of the Parliamentary Party. (4) "Labour and the Nation." In view of its form the National Executive proposes that draft amendments to "Labour and the Nation" should not be taken, but that the document be proposed paragraph by paragraph at the Conference, that delegates be empowered to put forward suggestions upon motions to "refer back" such paragraphs, and that a verbatim report of all such proposals be considered by the newly-elected National Executive, which shall be instructed to revise the draft for publication, in accordance with the Conference decisions. The usual election of

officers will take place during the Conference, and the nominations for the various offices have already been circulated to affiliated societies. One of the outstanding features of the nominations is that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is nominated unopposed by 47 organisations for the office of Treasurer, so that his re-election once again to this position will merely be a matter of form. The special attention of Constituency Labour Parties has been called to the decisions and rulings of previous Conferences, which lay it down that members of the Communist Party are not eligible to attend the Labour Party Conference as their delegates.

* * *

JUST before Parliament adjourned Labour Members extracted from the Minister of Health some further damning admissions with regard to the way in which his reduction of the subsidy last October has brought about a reduction in the building of working-class houses. In June of this year the number of subsidy houses completed during the month was 9,404; in June of last year the number was 16,414; and in June of the previous year it was 12,141. Even accepting the Government's contention, therefore, that last year's figures were not normal, and that they were swollen by the rush to secure the subsidy at its old rate, *the number of houses built during June of this year shows a falling-off of 25 per cent. as compared with the corresponding month of the last normal year.* Another set of figures corroborated the distressing story from another angle. They showed that at 1st July this year the number of subsidy houses in course of erection or authorised for erection was 144,449; at 1st July last year the corresponding number was 212,439; and at 1st July, 1926, it was 227,507. *Comparing this year's figures, therefore, with those of the last normal year (1926) they show a decrease of 33 per cent.* A further set of statistics obtained from the Minister of Labour showed that *the number of building workers now out of employment is half as many again as before the subsidy was reduced.* On 30th June last year the number was 52,112, on 30th June this year it had increased to 77,869. There is the Tory Housing Policy—Reducing the number of houses and increasing the number of unemployed builders. It is supposed to be Statesmanship!

JUST as inhuman and ridiculous as the Tory policy of "economising" by reducing the rate of house building is the policy that the Minister of Health has also adopted of "economising" by cutting down the supply of milk for nursing and expectant mothers and babies. He has sent circulars to local authorities informing them that their estimates in regard to this item of expenditure are to be cut down, and imposing a number of restrictions that will result in the supply of milk being withdrawn from many mothers and babies who are now receiving it. One London borough alone, Shoreditch, has had its estimates for the supply of milk, etc., cut down by the Minister of Health by £1,500. How many pints of milk the necessitous mothers and babies of this distressed district will have to sacrifice in order to provide the Minister of Health with that £1,500 can easily be calculated. Conscious of the ill-effects that the Minister's latest order is likely to have upon the valuable work that the Maternity and Child Welfare Centres have been performing among the mothers and babies a deputation from several of the London boroughs waited upon him a few weeks ago to ask him to reconsider his decision. In the words of one of the Labour M.P.'s, who accompanied the deputation, however, "he would not budge." He did not even suggest that the authorities had been incurring wasteful or extravagant expenditure, but he said that even the Ministry of Health, in view of the national financial stringency, had to make some contribution towards economy, and surveying the field he thought this was the most proper direction in which saving could be effected. And so the Government proceeds to "economise" by "saving" a few thousands of pounds a year on the babies' milk, while continuing to spend nearly £120,000,000 a year on armaments!

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MR. BALDWIN continues to preach one thing and practise another. A few weeks ago, before he went off to the South of France, he addressed a letter to 150,000 big employers of labour telling them how sorry he was supposed to be for the unemployed, and asking these employers to assist in the solution of the problem by taking on more men wherever they could, or at least to refrain from aggravating it by abstaining from carrying into effect projected

dismissals which were in their minds. That was the policy he preached. But what about the policy he practised? Well, a few days after he had signed the letter, his own Cabinet began a "sacking" campaign at the expense of ex-Service Civil Servants, all of them men who had served in the war, and most of them married men of middle-age, who will have considerable difficulty in obtaining fresh employment. That is not all. A White Paper has been issued from Whitehall showing that the Government have decided on a five-year programme of "Staff Reduction," under which the staffs of the Civil Service Departments (excluding industrial staffs) are to be reduced by 11,127, in addition to a 7,996 reduction that they have already effected. So that is Mr. Baldwin's contribution to the unemployment problem—turning Government employees out on to the streets so that they may join the queues of workless outside the Employment Exchanges. It is about as sensible as his policy of retarding house-building and increasing unemployment among the builders while hundreds of thousands of people are looking for houses.

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THE Protectionist split in the ranks of the Tory Party, despite the attempts that are being made by Mr. Baldwin and the Chief Whip to cover it up, is growing more and more acute and serious. "Jix" is demanding that there ought to be Protection—for that is what "safeguarding" a basic industry like iron and steel involves. Churchill says there must not be Protection. These two leaders of the respective Protectionist and Free Trade groups in the Cabinet are poles apart. Yet Mr. Baldwin tries to pour oil on the troubled waters by meekly saying "Ditto" to them both. "Yes," he says in effect to Mr. Churchill, "there must not be Protection. I remember how I was bitten by it in 1923." And then in effect he turns to "Jix" and says, "Yes, I agree that we should not veto the proposal for safeguarding iron and steel," although he knows as well as we do that a fundamental industry like iron and steel, with its far-reaching ramifications, with its products forming the raw material or part of the plant of practically every other industry in the country, cannot be safeguarded without similar treatment being meted out to every one of the other industries

involved. And on this point Winston Churchill very definitely says: "We ought not to contemplate any fundamental reversal of the fiscal system upon which the whole industrial and economic structure of this country is erected, and with which it is profoundly interwoven." The position that Mr. Baldwin has taken up is absolutely untenable. The fence on which he has perched himself is far too ramshackle and insecure to support him in safety, and before long he will be made to know it.

* * *

ON September 3 the Trades Union Congress opens the 60th Annual Meeting, in circumstances which reveal how far the movement has travelled since in 1868 the Manchester and Salford Trades Council convened the representatives of a little more than a score of Trade Unions to consider measures for the defence of Trade Unionism against a spiteful outburst of capitalist rage. The historical aspects of the occasion are reviewed in another part of this issue; we may turn in these columns to those considerations which present this year's gathering as one of the most momentous of a long series. For the evidences supporting this view we have the report which the General Council will present to Congress—always a document of the highest importance, and particularly so this year—and the agenda, framed by the affiliated unions, from the discussions of which will spring decisions, which are anticipated this year with special eagerness both by the friends and by the enemies of the movement. For the General Council, the year under review has been one of arduous and too often thankless endeavour to blaze a trail through the thickets of modern industrialism, and whatever view is taken of the direction in which these efforts have led, it must be conceded by everyone that the task has been one of very great magnitude, and that the results are substantial.

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THE outstanding topics dealt with in the report, taken in the order in which they occur in the introductory section are the Turner-Mond Conference on Industrial Re-organisation and Industrial Relations, Workmen's Compensation, the Nottinghamshire Miners' Campaign, and the Delegation to India. The section dealing with the Industrial Conference

gives in very full detail a chronological narrative of the various meetings held and of connecting events, and sets out the justification of the General Council against the criticisms which have been brought forward in this connection. Put briefly the argument of the General Council is that as the Trade Union Movement could not very well affect to ignore a situation of which the salient features are severe unemployment and a progressive decline in the standard of living, it is necessary to take up a definite attitude towards the problem: that the most hopeful attitude from the point of view of the movement is one which vindicates its claim to have a voice in the conduct of industry. "The ultimate policy of the movement," says the report, "can find more use for an efficient industry than for a derelict one, and the unions can use their power to promote and guide the scientific reorganisation of industry as well as to obtain material advantages from that reorganisation." And it is urged that "a very grave responsibility would have been taken by anyone who refused to consider the possibilities of such a course, or who neglected to take any opportunity that offered of pursuing it."

* * *

IT will be more difficult for the opponents of General Council policy to find opportunity for criticism in the chapters which describe the intervention of the Council on behalf of the Nottinghamshire miners against the perils of non-unionism, "non-political" unionism, and a virulent offensive by the employers. The campaign is described in the report as one of the most difficult feats of organisation which the General Council have ever undertaken, and the most casual study of the details given in the report will show that this phrase is thoroughly justified. The ballot of the coal field which may be described as the immediate objective of the campaign was a particularly impressive piece of work, involving the minutest of precautions and a very high standard of efficiency and devotion on the part of those engaged in the work. The report reveals that the expenses of the ballot and campaign totalled £3,000, and that nearly 200 men were taken on to supervise the voting. It is not easy to estimate the propaganda value of this unprecedented demonstration, though the fact that it led to the accession of 2,500 new members to the Notts Miners' Association, in the face of spiteful subterranean methods of intimidation, is sufficient testimony to the extent to which it reinforced the Trade Union loyalty in the district.

IN the agenda there is ample evidence that the Turner-Mond Conference is to occupy the place of honour in the discussions. There are indications in some of the resolutions that the careless or unscrupulous use of the entirely misleading phrase "Industrial Peace" in connection with the Conference has led to a confusion of the whole issue. However, the practice generally observed at Congress of sticking to the realities of debate is likely to effect a winnowing out of "chaff" of this description. The point of view of the General Council is defended in vigorously worded amendments, which disclose more than a suspicion as to the source of the criticism, while one union—the coal trimmers—declares in unequivocal language the opinion that "the General Council acted in the best interests of the Trade Union Movement in accepting the invitation to the Mond Conference." The same resolution affirms the view that "there can be no permanent improvement in the conditions of the workers under the present order of society," which is, of course, the qualification with which the General Council entered into the discussions.

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NEXT in interest to the resolutions on the Mond discussions—if it be possible to make marked distinctions in an agenda packed with topics of first-class importance—are those dealing with proposed revisions of the Standing Orders. The crucial motion is that proposed by the Transport and General Workers, who after expressing appreciation of the success which has attended the work of Congress since the institution of the General Council, suggests "that the constitution, grouping system, and method of electing the General Council should now be reviewed in the light of experience gained, changes which have occurred in recent years, and present tendencies to greater consolidation in the movement." We believe that progressive Trade Unionists generally concur in the view that the time is ripe for another step forward on the path of evolution, and that the disposition to concentrate more and more authority in the hands of the General Council—to effect, as it were, a "trustification" of Trade Union resources—is very strong. At the same time, undue precipitancy would tend to militate against the achievement of a first-class result, and the proposal of the Transport Workers—in the same resolution—that the matter shall be the subject of investigation and report by the General Council during the coming year has everything from the point of view of Trade Union statesmanship to recommend it.

A Memorable International

By

GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.

THE International Labour and Socialist Conference held at Brussels in the People's House from August 5 to August 12 was one of the best attended and most businesslike ever held. We represented peoples of many races and creeds. In addition to the 600 delegates, a considerable number of fraternal visitors daily thronged the public galleries. Among these were Indians from India, Chinese from Cochin China and from China proper, Japanese and negroes; in fact, the galleries looked even more cosmopolitan in character than the floor of the Conference itself.

The Belgian party, acting in co-operation with the Executive Committee, went all out to make the Conference a great success. Great pains were taken to make us all feel at home and to render the daily task of the Conference a pleasant and easy one. The fine People's House, with its small and large rooms, was placed entirely at the disposal of the Conference as offices and for meetings of the various committees. One room, described as the Matteotti room, is dedicated to the memory of one of the first Socialists martyred by the Fascists of Italy. In addition to Matteotti's Memorial, this room also contains a wonderful picture of Christ, painted specially for the Party. It gives a picture of the Man of Gallilee quite different from any I have ever seen, and although Continental Socialists are supposed to be anti-religious as well as anti-Christian, the acceptance of the picture and the hanging of it in a room which is in daily use proves that our Belgian comrades may be anti-clericalists but are not "anti" the Founder of the Christian faith.

The Conference, which I shall describe later, opened on Sunday morning at 10-30. In the afternoon we met in the centre of the town to witness a demonstration organised by the Belgian Youth Movement, Co-operators, Trade Unionists, and Socialist organisations. I have seen many demonstrations during my 60 years of active life, but never before has it been my lot to witness such a fine gathering of working-class children, women, and men. Congress delegates were placed in the middle of a fine circus at the top of a rather long hill, up which the procession marched, after having

marched down an equally long slope at the other end. The procession took at least two hours to pass; each of the scores of contingents, consisting very largely of young people, was headed by its own band, and represented either a town or trade. This vast gathering showed us, in national costume, Czechs and Germans, Austrians and French, Dutch and Flemings, Poles and Palestinians—all marching to the strains of the "International." At the end came a mass of flags of every sort, size and colour, carried on poles surmounted by trophies designed to describe the trade or town to which they belong. This blaze of colour under a tropical sun was most effective. I am told over 2,000 banners and flags were thus grouped together. No words of mine can describe the marching; it was simply perfect, and as each section approached the stand on which we delegates stood, each tiny child, boy and girl, man and woman came to attention, held the right or left arm straight out as a salute, which we delegates from all lands received by cheering ourselves hoarse. The actual marching was also perfect, especially was this so with the Belgian Labour guards, all of whom carried hefty sticks which, as they came to salute, were raised high over their heads. These Labour guards have been organised in preparation for any Fascist uprising which might take place with Labour in power, and I must say the precision of the marching, the intensity of the salute, the serious expression on the faces of the men as they swept by all proved that to them the danger was real, and their determination was something all who had designs on the Belgian constitution would have cause to dread.

Comparison with British demonstrations of any sort or kind is impossible. We march and behave like a mob and do not, at least in these days, possess anything like the enthusiasm which these comrades from many lands exhibited. After the procession had passed us a portion broke up, but a large body marched to the Stadium where for two days sports of all sorts were indulged in. The whole of this part of the proceedings appeared designed to show that Socialists were as eager

to develop healthy, virile bodies as they are to create healthy minds.

A very considerable body of co-operators took part in the demonstration; nearly every big town in the lowlands was represented—the Ghent contingent being led by comrade Anslem, who founded the society 50 years ago. He received a tremendous ovation, as with strong healthy step he led his contingent past, giving the salute by placing his hat on the stick he carried. This section and its association with the Socialist Movement is typical of Belgium, because in that country there is in practice full and complete unity and co-operation between co-operators, Trade Unionists, and Socialists. The meeting place, called the *Maison du Peuple*—or as I describe it, the *People's House*—is a fine block of shop and business premises from which you can buy everything or anything you need to eat, drink, or use, from a bedstead to an *attache case*, from wine to coffee, etc., etc. The union offices are also here, and at the very top across the whole building is the huge hall, capable of seating between two and three thousand people, in which the Conference was held. On top of that is a roof garden, in which it is possible to obtain refreshments of all kinds and at the same time get a bird's eye view of Brussels.

Although many women took part in the procession, and women in fair numbers belong to the Labour and Socialist Movement, there is no woman suffrage in Belgium, and as far as I could gather, not much enthusiasm either in France or Belgium for the political emancipation of women. In conversation with comrades, I discovered a very strong anti-clerical bias, and this is occasioned because of the alleged hostility of the church towards Socialism. Walking about the towns of Belgium—Ghent, Bruges, Antwerp, and Brussels—it is possible to understand how strong the Church and its influence is, by the number of churches and clerics one meets with.

The entertainments provided for us by the Belgian Labour Party, Co-operative Societies and Labour Press were all first class. On Monday night we had a great dinner party. I should think well nigh a thousand of us sat down in a huge banquet hall. Arthur Henderson presided, and was supported by Vandervelde and a host of comrades from many lands. The meal was an excellent one, well served but badly interrupted by three long, sombre, solemn speeches delivered by de Brouckère for Belgium, Breitscheid for Germany, Paul Boncour for France. Britishers

are accustomed to cheery, lively speeches after dinner. Our comrades were too serious in interest and outlook to do other than rightly keep our minds on the tasks which lie before the International. The British delegation tried to be boisterous by singing "He's a Jolly Good Fellow" and giving rounds of cheers. I am afraid we were a bit of a failure. Anyhow, this gathering closed with the chairman giving the toast of the International, and, like a good teetotaler, drinking it in water.

On Tuesday we were invited out to the Labour College situated on the main road to Waterloo, about five miles from the famous battlefield of 113 years ago. This College is in the grounds of what was once a well-to-do merchant's residence. We were supplied with meat sandwiches, an abundance of pastries, lots and lots of wine, and beer. As is usual with our class, we all did more than justice to the good fare provided; then we let ourselves go. Gathering into groups, we Britishers leading the way in noise and boisterousness, we sang, or at least made noises that passed for melody, "Billy Boy," and one after another the songs attributed to Joe Hill of the I.W.W. We vented our utmost strength on "Oh, Why Don't You Work" and "John Brown's Body," etc. After an hour of this we were treated to a short speech about the College and its work from Vandervelde, and then came a most delightful concert given by a Belgian Labour choir. This singing and some beautiful songs by a lady soloist brought a delightful evening to a close. We all went home sober, but very tired and happy.

You must not think we spent our time simply on shows and demonstrations. All who were delegates did an extremely hard and at times a very exacting week's work. This year, in preparation for the Conference, the Executive of the L.S.I. sent out questionnaires dealing with Colonial questions. The replies from Great Britain, Holland, France, Belgium, and America fill a decent sized book, which I hope our Party will reprint and sell by the thousand. Draft resolutions dealing with the world situation, disarmament, Colonies, economic questions, and the report of the Women's Conference were also sent out in three different languages—French, German, and English.

Arthur Henderson, as chairman of the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International, delivered an address of welcome to the delegates, recalling the fact that this gathering owed its inception to the fact that before the end of the Great War steps were

taken to organise the gathering which took place at Berne during the days the statesmen were discussing how to make future war inevitable by the peace treaties. I think few of us realise the great debt of gratitude we all owe to Henderson for the courageous manner in which he tackled the International Socialist Movement in the dark days when the word international was anathema on the lips even of some who had done yeoman service for the cause of Socialism. It must have been for him a very inspiring moment when, after a magnificent welcome, he settled down to deliver his address. This was responded to by Vandervelde, who is indeed a very polished orator. Then, as mentioned above, we adjourned to meet again in plenary session on Tuesday.

I cannot give the text of resolutions, sufficient it is to say that all of them are long, indeed, most of them are in the nature of manifestoes. The procedure for discussion was for a general discussion to take place in the full Conference, after which the subject was referred to a representative committee for consideration and report in the form of manifesto or resolution. These committees are the most important part of the Conference, because there is always a great desire expressed that in open conference there should be not merely verbal but real unanimity. There were some fine speeches in the Conference; Hillquit, the American Socialist, spoke well on the new economic situation which had arisen in Europe and America as a result of the war, showing how American money lords, combines, and trusts were now the controllers of world finance. C. T. Cramp, on behalf of the British, read a very long paper on the same line, accepting as inevitable the rationalisation schemes, but making it quite clear that the business of Socialists is to aim at control and ownership of trusts, combines and monopolies. The outcome of this discussion and the work in the committee is a resolution setting forth the facts regarding the new International Labour situation created by this development throughout the world of international monopoly.

Disarmament was treated in the same manner. It is extraordinary how voluble everybody is in declaring against war. Men who in 1914 threw all their Socialist principles to the winds at the call "Our country in danger," now vie with each other in denouncing future wars. Often I asked myself what will the answer be if the same question again arises in ten years time, and Press and pulpit unite in inciting the world

of men once more to fight on behalf of some vamped up lie or the other.

The British and German delegations took up a very strong line which was accepted by the Congress, not merely supporting the Kellogg proposals, but also demanding the inclusion of Russia and all other nations as signatories to the proposed Pact. They also united in demanding complete disarmament—the Independent Labour Party delegates pointing out that Great Britain through its Labour Party resolutions, was pledged to resist all wars of every description. The Congress went as far as could be expected by declaring it to be the duty of Socialists and workers to resist any government that attempted to go to war without first submitting to arbitration: such resistance should be pushed to the point of actual revolution.

On Colonial questions the British delegate, Lord Olivier, made a very long and useful speech, telling the story of Colonial conquest and making clear the many recommendations contained in the resolutions.

One morning there was a desultory discussion on the world situation looked at from the political and social standpoint. This discussion overlapped the others owing to the fact that in looking at the world from China to Peru, and from Britain to Russia, it was impossible not to consider Indian conditions as well as the position of Egypt and middle Europe. The Russian Social Democratic emigrés who are admitted as delegates outside Russia to represent Russia, took full advantage of the opportunity then, to say their say against the Soviet Government and all its works. The British delegation while expressing its opposition to Communist propaganda and activities outside Russia, dissociated itself from these attacks on the ground that each nation must work out its own economic and social salvation in its own way.

The women's report, the result of a two days' conference of women only, which preceded the main conference, was fairly discussed. This report dealt largely with questions connected with the health of women and children, but two other questions gave rise to considerable discussion, viz., birth control and abortion and the mobilisation of women for war. The first question was energetically debated by women from Austria, a country in which we were told at least 500 women are in prison charged with practising abortion. Some women wanted this practice declared legal; their own conference declined to pass any such resolution.

A number of women delegates, however, signed a personal declaration, not of approval of the system, but protesting against the heavy penalties inflicted. No resolution was passed on birth control. On the other question of mobilisation of women for war, a severely logical French comrade, an out-and-out pacifist, argued strongly in its favour, declaring if there is to be war there should be equality in danger and sacrifice, but the Conference would have none of it.

The end of the Conference came at mid-day on Saturday, when Henderson and Vandervelde almost embraced in their fervent declarations of love for the cause and esteem for each other. It was announced that a new international banner is to be given the Belgian Party as a memento of their magnificent hospitality and efficient organisation for the carrying on of the Conference, and then once more we sang the "International."

Now you will ask is such a conference worth while. This is a hard question to answer. The cost is very great, not more than a dozen delegates get a chance of making an effective speech in the Conference; the number is larger in the committees, though even on these the men who make long speeches in public also manage to get the floor behind closed doors. Of course, everyone cannot speak no matter what size an assembly may be. I think though speeches by leaders should be shorter. On one occasion one leader, who had apparently been selected as a speaker, actually read the full text of a document we all had in our hands, because technically he was reporter of a Commission. I am told that Otto Bauer, the Austrian Socialist who spoke in German, made the best speech of the Conference. We Britishers were loud in our praise of our own speakers—Henderson, Brailsford, Buxton, Dalton, and Olivier. Charles Trevelyan worked very hard in the Commission which drafted the manifesto on the world situation.

Apart from speeches, resolutions, and manifestoes, my view is that the value of such big international gatherings is the mixing together of working people from many lands to spend a week in each other's company—eating, reading, arguing, speaking together must make people understand each other better. Some day, either by the adoption of Esperanto or some other international language, we shall meet without the language difficulty, then I am confident much better results will follow such assemblies.

Meantime do not let any of us be misled by resolutions, demonstrations, or manifestoes,

whether these come from our own people or from Governments. The whole world is in a state of unrest and disquiet. Our people are feverishly pushing on with the Singapore base; as I write aerial mimic warfare is taking place over London. Super aircraft, super submarines, super guns, super poison gases—all these infernal machines and appliances increase and multiply by the ten thousand. Great Britain on the look-out for an all-red Asiatic route to India is quarrelling with Persia, and any day may see a collision. Japan, in spite of warnings, declines to allow the national unity of China to be consummated, and Russia waits, locked out by America and Britain from normal contact with the world. These things show how thin is the veneer on which we are treading as between peace and war.

During the great war one of the slogans which drew young men to the Army was the cry "Never again!" We all should be crying this from the housetops. The Bolshevik theory that out of another war must come the world revolution is only a theory; there is no certainty that out of the universal ruin and chaos another world war would produce Socialism or any better social order will arise.

I hope at the next International and Socialist Conference, Canadian, American, Indian, Chinese Socialists and Labour people, and all other nationalities will be fully represented by delegates. I want to see an inclusive international, wide enough to include Russians, Africans, and Asiatics. This will mean that our Russian friends must cease their efforts to dominate and dictate the internal policy to be followed in all lands; they must understand that just as each man or woman must be allowed to go to heaven in their own way, so must each nation be left free to work out its own salvation by such methods and such organisation as itself shall choose. Although there is much to disquiet and perplex in the world of affairs to-day, there is much to make us hopeful and confident of the future. The world is every-day becoming smaller, we can meet each other oftener, there is more education, more knowledge, more understanding than ever before, and as a consequence it will be much more difficult for the imperialists of any land to plunge the peoples of the world into war. All the same, eternal vigilance is still the price of liberty and freedom, and there is only one sure way to prevent war, and that is to cease raising armies and the manufacture of the implements and means of warfare.

The Trials and Tribulations of the Red International

By
G. TOPOLOVITCH

ACCORDING to Paragraph 4 of the constitution of the Red International of Labour Unions, the International Congress of that organisation should meet as often as possible, but in any case, not less than once a year. When the organisation was founded the Communists believed that they would capture the Trade Union Movement as by assault and would celebrate their fresh conquests in Moscow each year. Experience, however, has been a sad one for them. In every country only disgruntled minorities still manage to survive, and owing to their work of disruption in the ranks of organised labour they have only succeeded in arousing the hatred of the working classes. It is for this reason that the International Congresses of the Red International of Labour Unions have become less frequent, inasmuch as it has cost the Russians too much to carry on ineffective work of this kind, and, incidentally, because there was nothing for such a congress to discuss, since apart from Russia, the Communist sects of Europe had only to carry out the instructions received from headquarters.

It is, therefore, no wonder that since the last Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions four years have passed away. In order, however, to prevent the whole structure from dwindling into abysmal obscurity, the Russians have felt themselves constrained to indulge in the luxury and expense of organising a further Congress in Moscow.

Such procedure may be explained, however, by the profound dissatisfaction of the Russians themselves, in relation to their so-called international Trade Union confrères. The General Secretary and prophet of Communist Trade Unionism, Lozowsky, for example, stated in an article published in the organ of the Red International of Labour Unions just before the opening of the International Congress that: "Many of our revolutionary comrades reiterate every day that world imperialism is vanquished. Each day they destroy Fascism and reaction, render powerful support to Soviet Russia and the

Chinese Revolution, and then immediately disappear from the public eye, to leave the entire initiative to the reformists whenever they are placed before the test of making a practical contribution to the solution of everyday problems. Why should one higggle over the paragraphs of collective agreements? Why should one agonise oneself over factory kitchens and workers' dwellings? Why should one split one's head on such questions as social insurance, and a cheap food supply for workers, if the end of capitalism is so near at hand? It is only necessary to want it seriously! Fervent tactics of this kind will leave the workers quite cold, where they do not arouse doubts in the integrity of Communist Trade Unionism. The working masses will not be converted by mere slogans."

The General Secretary of the Communist Trade Union Movement has forgotten to mention how his friends throughout the world still managed to subsist, and what they might do if they abandoned their tactics of formulating slogans and uttering abuse against the so-called Reformist Trade Union Movement. *The reports presented to the Congress show quite clearly that the entire Communist Trade Union Movement is in a state of internal putrefaction and disruption.* Accordingly, it is to be clearly seen that all Communist hopes in Germany have proved entirely false. The German Trade Union Movement has not only been able to show powerful resistance to Communism, but also is now resuming its task of developing its enormous power, with the result that the influence of the Communists in the Trade Unions is an ever-diminishing one. In France and in Czechoslovakia, two countries where the Communists actually succeeded in establishing a considerable Trade Union Movement after an act of criminal folly in splitting the existing Trade Unions, the position of the Communist Trade Unions has considerably worsened. According to *Troud*, the central organ of the Russian Trade Union Federation (issue of March 11, 1928), the representative of the French Communist

Trade Unions, Monmussot, at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Red International of Labour Unions, referred to the "development" of the Reformist General Confederation of Labour, and to the "interruption in the development" of the Communist Unitarian Confederation. On the other hand, the reporter on organisation questions, Mr. Gey, declared, according to the report in *Troud*, of 28 March, 1928, that the Unitarian Trade Unions in France were losing members, particularly in the metal and textile trades, etc., etc., and that as regards Czechoslovakia, the Red Trade Union Bulletin, of 1 March, 1928, declared that the Red International of Labour Unions had lost more than one-third of its affiliated membership in Czechoslovakia in the period from 1924 to 1927.

In the course of the past four years, the Red International of Labour Unions has not been able to secure the affiliation of a Trade Union Movement in any single European country; it is, however, faced with the secession of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, and the National Labour Secretariat of the Netherlands. To compensate the International for these losses, however, the report refers to the affiliation of extra-European countries, for example, Mongolia, without mentioning any details with regard to the Trade Union Movement which is supposed to exist in this Japanese colony. Furthermore, Columbia is quoted with an affiliated membership of 1,400 members, and the Railwaymen's Union in Sierra Leone, with 1,350 members. This extra-European increase of 3,000 members in the course of four years is, of course, not satisfactory, and for this reason, doubtless, Lozowsky brings into bold relief the number of 3,000,000 new affiliated members in China. But in the printed report, which Lozowsky presented to the Congress, it is to be observed that the Communist Trade Unions in China only manage to subsist on a "revolutionary tradition," which actually means that no real Communist Trade Union organisation exists in that country. The only organisations which exist on a bona fide basis—and according to Lozowsky's report these amount to some few hundred thousand members—are regarded by him as exclusively yellow organisations. The Red Trade Unions in China, with their 3,000,000 members, are not only in process of being completely broken up, but also present a thorough confusion of ideas. The Communist Trade Union leader, Ljan Men Tsin, for example, stated in *Troud*, of 11 March, 1928, that the Communist Trade

Union leaders in China are pursuing a policy of "economic terror." Certain groups of revolutionary workers are actually practising individual terror, are shooting the leaders of yellow Trade Unions, and forcing workers to lay down their tools, without any regard to the state of mind of the working masses. Cases have actually occurred where workers have been summarily forced to strike. Even Lozowsky himself declared at the Moscow Congress that: "In China a stoppage of work is very often decided upon without any preparation of the workers, in fact, without the workers desiring to go on strike." (Quoted from *Pravda*, the central organ of the Russian Communist Party of 21 March, 1928.)

Actually, therefore, the so-called Red International of Labour Unions is nothing more than the Russian Trade Unions in a thin disguise. These Trade Unions, however, are an official organ of State to which the Russian workers are compelled to join if they are desirous of obtaining work. The Russian workers are, at the same time, compelled to accept the Communist leadership of the Trade Unions, inasmuch as such leaders are appointed to their offices in the Trade Unions by the Russian Communist Party.

Under such circumstances, the existence of the Red International of Labour Unions is really redundant. No wonder that at the Congress, itself, the question was raised as to whether it was expedient to dissolve the Red International of Labour Unions. According to a Moscow report to the *Socialist Messenger*, dated 17 April, 1928, the representatives of the German Trade Unions, Heckert and Brandler, proposed that the Red International of Labour Unions should be dissolved, and the Czechoslovakian representatives expressed themselves in agreement with this proposal. On the other hand, the Russians were not unanimous on this question, and for this reason were reluctant, at the outset, to define their attitude. The representative of the Russian Trade Unions, Tomsy, who, as is well known, is a member of the Right Wing of the Russian Communist Party, actually refrained from taking part in the discussion of this question.

It can be readily realised, however, that the Russians could not face such a drastic moral defeat as the formal dissolution of the Red International of Labour Unions would betoken, and for this reason they are desirous of keeping alive this decrepit organisation. They will now attempt to find other ways and means of making the Red International of Labour Unions a body with influence. The

Russians hope to save themselves by propaganda in favour of Trade Union unity. The dare not trust themselves to take action under the true colours of the Red International of Labour Unions, and have therefore decided in extra European countries to organise Trade Union secretariats which shall have for their object the federation of all existing Trade Union organisations, without any condition of affiliation to the Red International of Labour Unions. A secretariat on these lines shall be formed for South America, and for the countries bordering upon the Pacific Ocean. On the other hand, in the case of Europe attempts will be made to form International Trade Union Committees. As is well known, the tactics hitherto pursued by the Communists have only had as their object the splitting of the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions. They have attempted to capture the international trades secretariats from within, and have made continuous efforts to graft themselves on to these international Trade Union organisations. This policy has been noticeably unsuccessful, and consequently they are now attempting to form international

Trade Union committees, from which it is either proposed to form new Trade Union internationals, or to continue the work of splitting the existing Trade Union internationals, under the glorious watchword of Trade Union unity.

There is only one conclusion to be drawn by the Trade Unions affiliated to Amsterdam from these trials and tribulations in the leadership of Communist Trade Unionism, namely, to abide constantly and consistently by the work of organisation which they have conducted hitherto, and to answer the Communist clamour for unity by proving that the established Trade Union Movement is the only bona fide Trade Union Movement, and that unity can only be achieved within the ambit of bona fide Trade Unionism. To obtain unity it is necessary to have a formal and absolute liquidation, not merely of all Communist organisations which are attempting to split the existing movement, but also the Red International of Labour Unions itself.

If the Communists do not agree to this course they will have to learn the error of their ways by the grim logic of events.

WEEKLY NOTES FOR SPEAKERS

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Fuel, Power and Transport

By

J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

V.—The Tories and the Tariff for Steel

SELDOM if ever referred to in all the manifold discussions that have taken place inside and outside of the House of Commons upon the ever more embarrassed condition of the country's basic industries of coal, iron and steel, the determining factor in the sudden acceleration of Conservative Party interest in this matter is something much more urgent and immediate than the next General Election. Ever opportunist as that Party is inclined to be in situations such as the one wherein it now finds itself and educated in the bitter school of experience in the unpopularity attaching to its protectionist proposals, not of its own accord would the Conservative Party have chosen again to advance an idea so unwelcome. But a crisis impends more grievous for the section of the capitalist class interested in the basic industries even than that which pushed Mr. Baldwin five years ago into the disastrous General Election campaign of 1923.

September 1st marks the commencement of the fifth year of the operation of the Dawes Plan. That is the coming event which, casting its sombre shadow before it, has caused the Conservatives to busy themselves about the plight of the coalfields and the steel-producing centres. Again and again, in the speeches of Messrs. Baldwin, Churchill and Cunliffe Lister, it may have been noted there has come this ceaseless concern for the steel trades. In the debates on the Budget, the Finance Bill, the Rating Proposals, Relief for the Railways, always the major insistence of the Government and its supporters has been upon steel.

For months now, as one after another firm in the iron, steel, and heavy engineering trades has undergone financial reorganisation, there has hung fire a grandiose project for the rationalisation of the disjointed and unbalanced companies and combines of companies in the iron and steel industry. Something drastic to ready to be adopted—so much the Premier as good as said, for in the absence of reorganisation in cotton and coal, it could only be to steel he was referring when he spoke of the rapid rate whereat industry was now being reorganised—and it only awaits the most favourable moment at which to be announced.

The immediate relief of rates, which is to be conceded to the railways ten months ahead of productive industry, they are to pass on at once in a concentration upon the cheap carriage of coal for bunker and export trade and for the use of blast furnaces. That gives the clue, immediate and obvious, to the causes which move the Government to rapid action. That explains, without any more ado, the reason why the industrialists within the Conservative ranks are pressing so insistently for a commitment of the Party and, if possible, this present Ministry to an extension of "safeguarding" to iron and to steel. Equally that suggests why Winston Churchill, with everything seemingly to lose by opposition to the Tariff Reform section in his new-found political home, courageously takes his stand for his ancient standards of Free Trade.

The banking interest is everywhere favourable to Free Trade and it is to the banking interest that Winston Churchill has irrevocably given the talents that he possesses.

The banking interest intends to use to the full the advantages which it possesses to bring into absolute submission the industrialists who can no longer carry on save at a loss to themselves. Whether, once having foreclosed upon the industrialists, the bankers will continue to stand firm for Free Trade is another proposition altogether. For the present, a flood of foreign pig-iron and steel is to their advantage. It hastens the capitulation of their debtors. Later on, the bankers may, with other economic interests, be of another political persuasion. When that happens, we shall see Winston Churchill relax his vigilance and Stanley Baldwin yield to those with whom he is already in private agreement.

For, the developments which have taken, and are still taking place in the steel and in the coal industries of Germany—and in that order—are such as to spell stark ruin to whomsoever it is who owns the heavy industries of this country.

The payments of reparations, it may be remembered, are levied not only on the revenues of the Reich and on the earnings of the railways, but also upon industrial debentures.

In the year 1924-25, no interest on industrial bonds was charged. In 1925-26, it amounted

to \$31,250,000; in 1926-27, it rose to \$62,500,000; in 1927-28, it was \$75,000,000. At that level it is to continue. Now, this interest is met by extensive borrowing which, so far as the iron and steel industry is concerned, has been almost entirely from the United States. The Steelworks Union, organised by the whole of the "big D" banks upon a plan prepared by Dillon, Read and Company, and by that New York house financed, controls, to-day, almost the entire "raw steel" production of Germany. It is by far and away the largest member of the Ruhr Coal Syndicate. It dominates the giant concern which has latterly commenced to lay its pipes into the rest of Germany ready for the long distance transmission of gas to countries that have hitherto got their gas coal in the main from this country.

"The fact," enunciated by George P. Auld, former Accountant General of the Reparations Committee, in a recent book on "The Dawes Plan and the New Economics" so plainly "that debtor countries settle their international balances by the export of securities" is the one that so agitates at this time the ultra-British elements in the Conservative Party. This explains the calculated indiscretions of "Jix" when he voiced aloud the real sentiments of his colleagues towards the United States. He only said what they were thinking.

Next spring, there will have been installed in Washington, so it is anticipated; a President of the United States, not in the least degree disposed to ease for this country the burdens under which, thanks to the bargaining methods of Mr. Baldwin, she labours in respect of the Debt Settlement. Next spring, there will be held a conference to consider what modifications, if any, and on what terms, shall be made in the Reparations Settlement under the Dawes Plan.

Profoundly disturbed as Mr. Hoover is known to be at the dependence of the United States upon the European gold now lodged in the vaults of the Federal Reserve Banks for the support of that gigantic system of credit whereon depends the prosperity of American internal business, he is no less concerned to put an end to the policy whereby the British capitalists are endeavouring to ration the supply of such raw materials as are necessary to import from alien territories into America. Such relief then as the United States creditors are willing to grant to the German Government will be given in return for a further

extension of the control by them of the basic industries of the Reich. These basic industries being coal, iron, and steel, and not only rationalised with all the scientific foresight of the Germans, but supplied with the limitless loans of the New York investment houses, there can remain no doubt of the counters wherewith the illustrious metallurgist, Mr. Hoover, will proceed to bargain with the iron-master, Mr. Baldwin.

Since, in this country, the railways are not owned by the State but constitute by far and away the largest property within the capitalist economy, the problem of subordinating this essentially sectional interest to the interest of the entire capitalist class and the security of the State itself, is one which presents, as this last Session we have seen, enormous difficulties. The railways are, so far as concerns the circulation of bulky commodities, the key of the whole industrial system.

For the transport of coal, iron, and steel, there is in this country no alternative to the railways. Finding in the carriage of these commodities their one secure source of revenue, the railway companies are not inclined to sacrifice themselves on the altar of that fatherland which they know is only the bank counter of their fellow capitalists.

To induce them to aid in the revival of the basic industries by lowering their freight charges it has been necessary, unless the harmony of the whole capitalist class was to be broken and the Conservative Party itself rent asunder, for the Government, not only to give them an almost immediate relief of rates, but also to put a tax on the petrol used by their rivals, the road transport interests. Over and above that, the Conservative have required to pass through Parliament a measure allowing the railway companies to compensate themselves for their "sacrifices" at the expense of the road carriers.

Now that all seems clear ahead for the augmented production and export of coal, iron, and steel, the interests involved in the operation of these industries want their home market to be safeguarded:

Round and round this key of capitalism—the basic industries of coal, iron, and steel—will revolve the entire domestic and international politics of Britain, Germany, and the U.S.A., for at least a year to come.

(To be continued.)

Liberal Disunity in Parliament on the Coal Question

THE Liberals, in the constituencies, never tire of talking about their wonderful Coal Policy. Their deeds in the House of Commons, however, speak louder than their words in the country, and instead of presenting a unanimous and united front whenever the coal question comes up for Parliamentary discussion, the Liberal M.P.s are usually to be found voting against one another in the lobbies, and if by any chance they do occasionally manage to record something approaching an undivided vote, it is only by large numbers of their members abstaining from the division or staying away from the debate altogether.

Their record on some of the chief coal questions that have come before the House of Commons during the present Parliament are given below :—

Municipal Sale of Coal.—On March 24, 1925, a Bill was introduced to empower municipalities to act as retail distributors of coal: 4 Liberals voted for the Bill; 6 voted against; 30 did not vote at all.

To Stop Coal Profiteering.—On March 25, 1925, on a Labour motion to prevent profiteering in coal: 13 Liberals voted for the motion; 1 voted against; 26 did not vote at all.

Amending the Miners' Minimum Wage Act.—On March 27, 1925, the Labour Party introduced a Bill to improve the wages laid down by the Mines Minimum Wage Act that had been on the Statute Book since 1912.

The Bill proposed that the rates specified in the Schedule to the Act should be increased to: 11s. a shift for underground workers aged 18 or over when working on shift or time rates; 12s. for the same class of worker when working on contract or piece rates; 10s. a shift for adult surface workers; 4s. a shift at the age of 14, rising to 10s. a shift at the age of 17½, for boys working underground; 3s. a shift, rising to 10s., for boys of the same age when employed on the surface:

Only 10 Liberals voted for the Bill; 2 voted against it; 28 did not vote at all.

Government's Mismanagement of the Mines Dispute.—On June 1, 1926, the Labour Party moved to reduce the Vote for the Mines

Department, owing to the Baldwin Government's mismanagement of the Coal Dispute: 6 Liberals voted with Labour; 5 Liberals voted with the Tories; 29 Liberals did not vote at all. As the five Liberals who went into one Lobby were cancelled out by the six who went into the other Lobby, the net contribution of the Liberals to this division was only one vote.

For or Against Mr. Baldwin.—On June 15, 1926, Labour moved to reduce the vote for the Mines Department in order to express the Labour Party's dissatisfaction with Mr. Baldwin's statement on the mining lock-out. (The Premier's statement reiterated that it was necessary, in his view, that miners' hours should be lengthened and that their wages should be reduced as well: 15 Liberals voted with Labour; 14 voted with Mr. Baldwin; 11 did not vote at all.

The Mining Industry Bill.—The Mining Industry Bill was introduced by the Government on June 23, 1926, as its contribution towards the reorganisation of the industry. As a matter of fact, it hardly touched the fringe of the question. It failed to provide for systematic unification, for the transfer of minerals to the State, for the establishment of selling agencies and the municipal sale of coal, and in such respects it disregarded the recommendations of the Samuel Commission. Therefore, the Labour Party voted against it.

The Liberal Party, as usual, was split into three sections. The voting was as follows :—

On the Second Reading: 7 Liberals voted with the Tories; 19 voted with Labour; 14 did not vote at all.

On new Labour Clause to set up Non-Profit-Making Co-operative Selling Agencies: 8 Liberals voted with Labour; 4 voted with the Tories; 28 did not vote at all.

On Labour Amendment to make Amalgamation Schemes Compulsory: No Liberals voted with Labour; 9 voted with the Government; 31 did not vote at all.

On an Amendment moved by Mr. Lloyd George himself to speed up Amalgamations: Only 10 Liberals voted for; 1 voted against; 29 did not vote at all.

On Labour Amendment increasing the Levy on Royalties for Welfare Purposes: 11 Liberals

voted with Labour ; 12 voted with the Government ; 17 did not vote at all.

On the Third Reading : 7 Liberals voted with the Tories ; 11 voted with Labour ; 22 did not vote at all.

The Coal Mines Bill.—The Coal Mines Bill was introduced by the Government on June 29, 1926, for the purpose of lengthening the miners' working day, by increasing the maximum period spent underground from 7 hours to 8 hours, plus one winding time, or actually from about 7½ hours to 8½ hours. The effect of the measure has been to make the underground working day of the British miner the largest in Europe.

Only [a few of the Liberals found enough courage to vote openly against the Bill, but a large number of them stayed away from the various divisions. Their votes on the various stages were as follows :—

Second Reading : 2 Liberals voted for the Bill ; 21 voted against the Bill ; 17 did not vote at all.

On a Committee Amendment on Clause 1 : 26 Liberals voted against the Government ; 14 did not vote at all.

In the Committee Division on Clause 1 : 16 Liberals voted against the Government ; 24 did not vote at all.

In the Committee Division on Clause 2 : 15 Liberals voted against the Government ; 25 did not vote at all.

Third Reading : 19 Liberals voted against the Government ; 1 voted with the Government ; 20 did not vote at all.

The Coal Subsidy.—On August 6, 1925, on the Vote authorising the Coal Subsidy : 2 Liberals voted for the motion ; 14 voted against ; 24 did not vote at all.

Accidents in Mines.—On April 27, 1927, on Labour motion urging that every possible step should be taken to prevent accidents in mines : 6 Liberals voted with Labour ; 4 voted against Labour ; 30 did not vote at all.

Scientific Coal Research.—On May 11, 1927, on Labour motion demanding greater State encouragement of scientific research, and the unification of the industry under public ownership : 1 Liberal voted with Labour ; 12 voted against Labour ; 27 did not vote at all.

Providing Work for Unemployed Miners.—On March 2, 1927, Labour motion demanded that Government should take measures to provide employment for unemployed miners : 10

Liberals supported Labour ; 30 did not vote at all.

Coal Emergency Powers.—On a vote for the renewal of the Emergency Powers Act on November 29, 1926, a Labour Amendment demanded that the Government should use the powers it possessed to take over the plant necessary for the supply and distribution of coal, and to fix prices : Only 1 Liberal supported Labour ; 4 voted against Labour ; 35 did not vote at all.

Vote of Censure on the Government.—On December 8, 1926, the Labour Party moved the following Vote of Censure on the Government in connection with their conduct during the Coal Dispute, viz. : " That this House regrets the policy pursued by His Majesty's Government during the lock-out in the mining industry ; declares that the Government is deserving of censure for its disregard of the findings of the Royal Commission, for its partiality towards the mineowners, for its failure to control the prices of coal, and for the passing of the Coal Mines (Eight Hours) Act, which prolonged and embittered the dispute and resulted in the imposition of harsh terms upon men no longer able to resist ; this House further declares that a decent standard of life and a living wage for miners can now be secured only by the nation taking over and reorganising the mining industry " : Seven Liberals voted with the Tories ; none voted with Labour ; 33 did not vote at all.

Mr. Baldwin's Refusal to Speak in Coal Debate.—On December 7, 1927, Labour moved the following vote of censure on the Government, viz. : " That this House registers its protest that, on the Motion by the Leader of the Opposition on November 16, on the serious situation in the Coal Industry, which involved a vote of censure on the Government, the Prime Minister should have deliberately evaded giving any defence or explanation of the inaction of the Government for which, as Prime Minister, he has a personal responsibility ; and this House declares that the crisis in the industry, transcending all possibilities of mere departmental action, is such as to demand an authoritative statement by the Prime Minister of the intentions of the Government as a whole " : 13 Liberals voted with Labour ; 8 voted with the Government ; 19 did not vote at all.

These facts show that no matter how eloquently they may talk about coal through their Press and from their platforms, the fact remains that when the Coal Question, in any form, comes before Parliament, the Liberals do not know what they want.

Labour Progress at the By-Elections and the Decline of Liberalism

THE glorious victory of Captain Wedgwood Benn at Aberdeen, where he retained for Labour with an increased majority the seat rendered vacant by the death of Mr. Frank Rose, adds another to the long list of Labour successes at the by-elections. His poll, as the following figures show, was larger than those of the Tory candidate, the Communist candidate, and the Liberal candidate all put together, viz. :—

Wedgwood Benn (Labour)	10,646
Dr. Laurie Sandeman (Conservative)	4,696
Aitken Fergusson (Communist)	2,618
J. R. Rutherford (Liberal)	2,337

The Labour majority was increased from 4,704 to 5,950. The Tory poll went down by nearly one-half, from 8,545 to 4,696, despite the fact that the Tory candidate was the same person, both at the General Election and at the by-election. And the Liberal candidate was called upon to forfeit his deposit for failing to secure the one-eighth of the total polled votes, which the law stipulates as a safeguard against frivolous candidatures.

Aberdeen was not an isolated example of Labour's success. It came rapidly on the heels of

Halifax, where a Liberal majority of 18,100 at the last contested election was converted into a Labour majority of 4,951;

Carmarthen, a Liberal stronghold for generations past, where a Liberal majority of 9,328 at the last general election was reduced to 47, thus making the seat practically safe for Labour at the next general election;

Hanley, where the seat was retained for Labour with nearly a six-times increased majority (from 1,554 to 8,532), and where Labour polled not far from twice as many votes as both its opponents put together;

Linlithgow, where a Tory majority of 642 was converted into a Labour majority of 5,179; and

Middlesbrough, a former great Liberal stronghold, where the Liberal majority of 9,424 at the last contested general election was reduced to 89, thus making the seat practically safe for Labour next time.

There have now been fifty by-elections since the last General Election, and the net changes that they have effected are as follow :—

THE TORIES HAVE LOST NINE SEATS.

THE LIBERALS HAVE GAINED ONLY ONE SEAT.

LABOUR HAS GAINED EIGHT SEATS.

Three things are made quite plain by these figures. The first is that the Tories are rapidly losing ground. The second is that the so-called Liberal "revival" is a myth. And the third is that Labour alone is establishing its claim to become the next Government.

The detailed "balance sheets" of the three parties in connection with the by-elections are as follow :—

THE TORY BALANCE SHEET.

Lost.—To Labour: Stockport, Darlington, East Ham, Hammersmith, Stourbridge, Northampton, Linlithgow. To Liberals: Bosworth, St. Ives, Lancaster. *Total losses, ten.*

Gained.—From Liberals: Combined Universities. *Total gains, one.*

Summary.—Ten losses, one gain; nine net losses.

THE LIBERAL BALANCE SHEET.

Lost.—To Labour: Central Hull, Halifax. To Tories: Combined Universities. *Total losses, three.*

Gained.—From Tories: Bosworth, St. Ives, Lancaster. From Labour: North Southwark. *Total gains, four.*

Summary.—Three losses, four gains; one net gain.

THE LABOUR BALANCE SHEET.

Lost.—To Liberals: North Southwark. *Total losses, one.*

Gained.—From Tories: Stockport, Darlington, East Ham, Hammersmith, Stourbridge, Northampton, Linlithgow. From Liberals: Central Hull, Halifax. *Total gains, nine.*

Summary.—One loss, nine gains; eight net gains.

No matter from what angle the results are viewed, Labour is the only Party that secures any substantial satisfaction from the figures.

The Tory vote (with the comparatively unimportant exception of the Scottish Universities seat) has gone down in every by-election.

The following are a few examples of the way in which it has fallen:—

Constituency.	Decrease in Tory vote.
Marylebone	11,450
Epsom	6,653
Hallam	6,029
Wallsend	5,833
Linlithgow	5,497
Brixton	5,397
Hanley	5,369
Holborn	5,063
Eastbourne	4,792
Ayr Burghs	4,552
Aberdeen	3,849
Smethwick	3,743
Dumbarton	3,545
Hammersmith	3,441
Canterbury	3,038
Stourbridge	2,561
Darlington	2,538
Chelmsford	2,480
Southend	2,196
East Ham North	2,023

It is also interesting to note the big change-over towards Labour that has occurred both in the seats that Labour has captured from the Tories and the Liberals, and in the Labour seats that have been retained with (in every case except one) increased majorities.

In the first place, there are the seven seats that Labour has won from the Tories. The figures there have been as follow:—

Constituency.	Tory majority at general election.	Labour majority at by-election.
Stockport	4,431	2,327
Darlington	2,166	329
East Ham North ..	1,057	1,627
Hammersmith ..	1,955	3,611
Stourbridge	1,910	3,099
Northampton	971	557
Linlithgow	642	5,179

In the second place, there are the two seats that Labour has won from the Liberals, where the figures have been:—

Constituency.	Liberal majority at last contested general election.	Labour majority at by-election.
Central Hull	2,330	4,679
Halifax	18,100	4,951

In the third place, there are the existing Labour seats, which (with the exception of North Southwark, which was lost in the unusual circumstances surrounding Dr. Haden Guest's defection), have all been retained, and, more than that, have all been retained with increased majorities. The figures are as follow.

Constituency.	Labour majority at general election.	Labour majority at by-election.	Increase in Labour majority.
Dundee	4,728	12,739	8,011
Forest of Dean ..	1,309	3,022	1,713
Bothwell	3,277	6,090	2,813
Wallsend	1,602	9,027	7,425
Smethwick ..	1,253	6,582	5,329
Hanley	1,554	8,532	6,978
Aberdeen	4,704	5,950	1,246

The claims of the Liberals with regard to their "Revival" look rather sick when they are viewed in the light of the real facts. Take the by-elections that have been fought since the beginning of this year for instance. There have been 16 of them. Each one of them has been contested by a Liberal as well as a Labour candidate. The total Liberal vote for the 16 contests has been 117,054. The total Labour vote has been 150,171. Labour, therefore, has had a majority of 33,117 votes over the Liberals in these 16 contests, or an average of 2,070 votes per contest.

That is the story which the figures tell as they stand. When they are viewed relatively, in order to show the rise or decline of the two parties since the last election, they are equally favourable to Labour and equally unfavourable to the Liberals. In making this comparison, however, only thirteen of the constituencies can be taken. Three of them have to be eliminated because there is no proper basis of comparison—Marylebone and Epsom because they have not been contested by the Liberals since the war, and it is obviously unfair to the Liberals to take pre-war figures, and Halifax because there has only been one contest since the war (in 1918), and then, owing to the fact that the Liberal candidate was Mr. Speaker Whitley, no official Labour candidate was run against him.

Taking the other 13 constituencies in which there is a basis of comparison, it is seen that the Labour vote has increased since the last contested election, whereas the Liberal vote has undergone a considerable diminution.

The Labour vote when the seats were last contested was 116,073. At the by-elections it rose to 122,195, an increase of 6,122.

The Liberal vote when the seats were last contested was 112,363. At the by-elections it dropped to 96,056, a decrease of 16,307. The Liberal vote, therefore, shows an average reduction of 1,254 per constituency.

These figures show how ridiculous it is for the Liberals to talk about the "revival" of their Party, when as a matter of fact they are actually losing ground instead of gaining it.

The Tories are losing ground as well, and the only Party that is making progress is Labour. The figures prove it. They are indisputable.

C. E. L.

In the "Eight-fifteen"

WHEN SOCIALISTS GO THROUGH THE MINCING MACHINE

By

T. S. DICKSON

BREEZY, buoyant, and bronzed, Hardphace bustled into the compartment much as a blue-bottle darts into a butcher's window. For a month his seat in "The Eight-Fifteen" had been vacant, what time he toured the Lake District, motored north to the Scottish Highlands, had a pot at the birds, and now was returned convinced that the world is a very fine place. The by-election result at North Aberdeen notwithstanding.

Indeed, the Man with the L.M.S. Badge in his Cap had the wind rather taken out of his sails. He had been waiting Hardphace's return with the expectant relish that a cat waits for mice. He'd hit Hardphace on the brow with Aberdeen, he would. But Hardphace got off his mark first.

"Had a great time, a great time," he gurgled, beamed, and rubbed his hands. "Great weather, great scenery, great sport, great company—"

"Great hivings!" interjected the L.M.S. Badge, rudely.

It wasn't only a holiday—it was an education," proceeded Hardphace, unperturbed.

"Glad to 'ear it," added the Badge.

"Yes," returned Hardphace, bristling slightly, "and it would have been an education for you if you'd been there."

"Sure of it," agreed the Badge, airily, "but I couldn't be at Doughville with Lord Rothschild and do the Highlands with you at the same time, could I?"

"Met a young chap who could put you Socialists through a mincing machine," he rushed on, ignoring the heavy irony.

"I've observed," interposed the Man with the Briar Pipe, quietly—"I've observed that the people who can put the Socialist through a mincing machine are most unfortunate—they never happen to be in any given spot at the same time as a Socialist.

"So much the better for the Socialist," answered Hardphace, confidently. "Look here"—obviously preparing to unload some of the high explosive he had borrowed from the Clever Young Man he had met in the Highlands—"under Socialism you want everybody to have what you call 'economic security.' Isn't that right?"

"Provided they are willing to take their share of the nation's work," replied the Briar.

"And if a man cannot get a job you believe he should get 'full maintenance?'"

"That's right."

"Well, now"—Hardphace leant forward earnestly, speaking slowly and deliberately, as if careful not to bungle a memorised lesson—"if one can get maintenance without working, why shouldn't hundreds, or thousands, say, 'if he can get a living without working why shouldn't we?'"

"Yes, why shouldn't they?" the Briar lured him on.

"And what's the logical end of that?" gleefully demanded Hardphace.

"National destruction," came curtly from the Briar.

"Exactly—national destruction—nothing can avert it?" He spread his hands, and looked round with a something-attempted-something-done air, at which Mr. Hesitant, the Liberal, nodded grave approval.

"You're thinking only of the working-class at the moment, I think," queried the Man with the Briar.

Hardphace sat up, pursed his lips for a moment, and said: "No—no—I'm arguing a general principle, sir, a general principle."

"Good," nodded the Briar. "Good. Has it escaped your notice that there are quite a large number of people—not of the working class—who are assured full maintenance—very full maintenance—without the necessity for work."

"I don't follow," murmured Hardphace.

"Well, I could cite several classes, but the great landowners will do to be going on with."

"For heaven's sake can't you leave the landowners alone for once," protested Hardphace. "Hear, hear," chirped the Young Man with the Purple Socks, whose only holding in land lay beneath his ma's foot-scraper on a wet day.

"I don't see the necessity for that until you leave the workers alone. We are discussing a general principle—one which, logically followed, would lead to national destruction," the Briar reminded him. "Such a result can come only from a principle that is vicious.

You pretend to be against it, and when I point to a class that claim the exercise of that vicious principle *as a matter of right* you immediately jump to their defence. Strange."

"Your Clever Young Man in the Highlands didn't give you the answer for that, I suppose," suggested the Badge, with a wicked smile.

Hardphace merely ruffled his "Daily Flail" fretfully, while the Briar continued: "If a thing leads to destruction when the workers do it, why should it be worthy of defence when another class does it? Make no mistake, we do not stand for the something-for-nothing policy. If a man will not work—*will* not work, mark you, neither should he eat. If he cannot get work that is another matter. But don't set out to argue a principle, and demand one application for the sheep and another for the goats. When you do that you only——"

"Make an ass of yourself," supplied the Badge, ever ready to assist.

"Anyhow, anyhow," hurriedly said Hardphace, eager to skate off to safer ice, "that's a comparatively small matter. There are bigger things, much bigger things."

"Yes?" encouraged the Briar.

Hardphace drew his brows together profoundly. "Things that go down to the very spirit and soul of the race—fundamental things. If we are to survive, if the race is not to perish, there must be maintained that everlasting urge—that initiative, that striving, that ceaseless struggle, that——"

"Excuse me!" came from the Badge with a disarming smile, and Hardphace stopped dead in his mounting peroration.

"Can you let's have a match for my pipe," he purred, sweetly.

"Oh, damn your pipe!" exploded Hardphace, turning abruptly to the Briar. "What I mean to say is that if everybody is assured of food, clothing, shelter, there would be no need for anybody to exert themselves at all—we'd just fade out as a race."

"You know (this from the Briar), I suppose that there are thousands of men who return themselves in the census as 'gentlemen of no occupation'—men who, on their own admission, have food, clothing, shelter, without any need to exert themselves for it."

"I suppose so," admitted Hardphace.

"Well, now," pursued the Briar, "if that is quite good for them, why should it not be good for thousands or hundreds of thousands more? If it is bad for them, why don't you oppose it—take away the assurance of food, clothing, and shelter, so that they can preserve their initiative, their everlasting urge, as you call it? And, by the way, when you

got the bare necessities of life, did you want to lie down beside them without making another flutter of your eyelid?"

"Certainly not!"

"Then why should anyone else? What you forget is that men in the mass always accept what they have as a jumping ground for something else."

"Yes," added the Man with the L.M.S. Badge, "don't you grumble that the workers are never content—that no matter what they get they simply want more. Seems to knock the bottom out yer other argument, that does."

"You see," resumed the Briar, "the urge may change its direction according to circumstances, but it does not perish. If you were in a desert—scorching sand all round—you would focus every faculty on securing water. In modern civilised life you have abundance of water, but the 'urge' doesn't die. It will concentrate on food. If you have food it will change to the search for clothes. People who have these things don't lie down as if the world had nothing else to offer. Their minds turn to something else. It may be Beethoven's music, or Greek statuary, or whippet racing, but the 'urge' does not die—it merely changes its course."

"Seems to be something in that," admitted Hardphace rather grudgingly. "But, of course, there is more than that to be said."

"Produce the next victim," encouraged the Badge, knocking his pipe on his boot heel.

"If there is one thing more than another that makes a thinking man—a man with any pride in personal liberty—determined to fight Socialism to the end, it is that no man would be free to choose his own job. That is intolerable!" Hardphace struck a vehement fist into the palm of his left hand, as a muffled noise came from the direction of the Man with the Badge in his Cap.

"Excuse the unseemly hilarity," he said, "but a joke's a joke, and that's a real good 'un."

"It is no joking matter, sir," returned Hardphace, frigidly.

"Have you people no sense of humour whatever," inquired the Briar. "You object to Socialism because you think it will deny the right of choice, but you support the capitalist system under which millions of people are most certainly denied the right of choice."

"Absurd—absolutely absurd," declared Hardphace.

"On the contrary, perfectly true. The only man who has anything approaching free choice in his occupation is the person who starts from a basis of economic security. Do you

imagine that men freely choose to work in a chemical works or before a furnace on a broiling summer day? That a collier freely chooses to slither and crawl among water and slime in abysmal darkness with death ever looking over his shoulder? Surely that is beyond argument? For the millions there is no freedom of choice. Their occupation is determined for them by the parents' poverty, the immediate need for food, the threat of a debt collector—a hundred other pressures and considerations. I repeat that the only man who has anything approaching freedom of choice is the man who has economic security, and to-day such a man has that choice only because similar freedom is denied to millions. In a sane society there would be an equality of economic security, there would be an equality of opportunity, a widening of the freedom of choice, subject always to the man's qualifications and fitness for a job."

"But," interposed Hardphace, as if a brain wave had come upon him, "even then, if there was only one job, only one man could get it, no matter how many had the opportunity to try for it."

"True," at once conceded the Briar, "but all would have the nearest just approach you possibly can have to freedom of choice—an equal opportunity to prove their *right* to choose a particular job. That is, their fitness to do that job better than anybody else."

"I'm afraid the argument is getting rather involved," said Hardphace, lifting his eyebrows.

"Plain as the nose on your face," declaimed the Badge. "And if you asks me, what some of you want is the right to choose the sort of job you want to do yourself, and also the right to keep the other fellah from choosing the sort of job *he'll* do."

"I think, sir"—came from Hardphace in his most impressive manner—"I think, sir, you are insolent."

The Badge swept his right arm across his breast, and bowed: "It tears me heartstrings that you should think me insolent, but it cheers me no end to know that you're troublin' to think at all."

"Bah!" snorted Hardphace, gripping his umbrella to step out at Grubtown Station, "These discussions are a sheer waste of time."

"But we're livin' in 'opes, sir," returned the Badge, blandly; "one never knows where a new idea will stick."

But Hardphace was stumping down the platform determined to write that Clever Young Man for a supply of argumentative "spare parts" to repair the damage.

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Book Reviews

The Representation and Organisation of Agricultural Workers. International Labour Office.
(P. S. King and Son Limited. 3s.)

This report is of considerable interest because it helps to bring into their right proportion certain problems which have been the subject of controversy within the Labour Party. It gives a full account of the number of farmers, small holders, and agricultural wage earners in each country, and discusses the extent to which each of the last two groups are organised. There would seem to be three main types of farming in the world to-day. The small holder, employing no labour except a little temporary help, is much the commonest, and is found everywhere cultivating land intensively. The family farmer is the most usual type in the Dominions where it is possible to obtain large areas of comparatively virgin land. He works with his own hands but employs some hired help, especially if providence has not given him many sons. The employer-farmer may also work with his hands but is primarily a business man, and he is chiefly found in Great Britain and parts of Central Europe.

The report also shows that small holdings are not losing ground, and that wage-earning farm workers seldom number 40 per cent. of the agricultural population. Ordinary industrial standards clearly do not apply. In many countries, such as Sweden, Hungary, Austria, etc., the small holder is encouraged to join the agricultural unions; in Germany, France, and most countries of Western Europe the farmer employing less than three men is treated as a workman for most purposes of State insurance. The experience of all these countries is that a separate organisation for wage-earning farm workers is bound to fail. If the union does not include some of the intermediate types of small farmers then its only hope of salvation is to be closely bound up with some urban industrial union. France is almost the only country, except England, where the separate agricultural workers' organisations has been attempted. In neither England nor France has any great measure of success been attained, and the effect of this report is to revive doubts as to whether the National Union of Agricultural Workers and the Scottish Farm Servants' Union are really working along the right lines. For example, after detailing the manner in which most countries have joint organisations for small tenant farmers and wage earners, the Report states "on the other hand, a strong feeling against small holdings in principle exist among

the agricultural workers in Great Britain." The reviewer, who has lived for some years in an area containing many small holders as well as large farmers, would find it very difficult to accept such a categorical statement. The objection comes from the organisers of separate unions, not from the men themselves.

The report is well written, and contains much interesting information about these continental land tenures which are intermediate between the ordinary tenancy and wage earning, and the similar arrangement for "milk sharing" in New Zealand.

The Works Council. By C. W. Guillebaud.
(Cambridge University Press. 16s.)

This is not only by far the best account that has yet been given of the operation of the German Works Council Act of 1920, but it is also a first rate piece of research that is full of value to the Labour Movement in this country. Industrial democracy has been rather at a discount during the great depression in trade, but already there are signs that the doctrines that seized the imagination of the workers between 1914 and 1919 have retained a large measure of their appeal. One of the results is that in all the current talk of industrial relations projects for Works Councils play a big part.

The Whitley proposals for Works Council were stillborn, but the idea has lived and will not improbably bear fruit in the near future. Here is the value of the German experience, which has been unique. The Works Council Act of 1920 has managed to survive incredible difficulties and changes, but, as Dr. Guillebaud shows in this fascinating study, the unions were wise enough to tackle the problem without delay and to utilise the new machinery in the interests of the workers. The result has been to justify their policy. If the Councils have not accomplished marvels or fulfilled the high hopes of some of their early advocates, they have nevertheless proved highly useful both for the things they have done and the training they have given. It is important to study the way in which many obstacles have been overcome and the system changed to meet new conditions, in Germany, and all this the author sets out with great fulness of detail and with no small literary skill. It is a book that can be heartily recommended for libraries; the price is unfortunately too high for the average working-class reader.

Industrial Developments

Wage Movements in July

In the industries for which statistics are regularly compiled by the Ministry of Labour the changes in rates of wages reported to have come into operation during July resulted in a reduction of £2,450 in the weekly full-time wages of 31,000 workpeople, and an increase of about £5,300 in those of 150,000 workpeople, according to figures quoted in the *Ministry of Labour Gazette*.

During the seven completed months of 1928 the changes reported to the Ministry in the industries for which statistics are compiled have resulted in net reductions of £120,000 in the weekly full-time wages of 1,107,000 workpeople, and net increases of £17,250 in those of 200,000 workpeople. Of the total net reduction coal mining accounted for over £58,000, and the building and allied industries for £42,000. In the corresponding period of 1927 there were net reductions of £308,000 in the weekly full-time wages of 1,698,000 workpeople, and net increases of £7,000 in those of 62,500 workpeople.

* * *

Statistics of Trade Disputes

The number of trade disputes, involving stoppages of work, reported to the Ministry as beginning in July was 13. In addition, twelve disputes which began before July were still in progress at the beginning of the month. The number of workpeople involved in all disputes in July—including workpeople thrown out of work at the establishments where the disputes occurred, but not themselves parties to the disputes—was about 21,600, and the aggregate duration of all disputes during July was about 227,000 working days.

These figures compare with totals of 23,700 workpeople involved, and 452,000 working days lost in the previous month; and with 25,000 workpeople involved, and 104,000 days lost in July, 1927.

* * *

The aggregate duration of all disputes in progress in the first seven months of 1928 was about 1,166,000 working days, and the total number of workpeople involved in these disputes was about 97,000. The figures for the corresponding period of 1927 were 787,000 days and 79,000 workpeople respectively.

* * *

Railway Wage Agreement

As reported in the last issue of this magazine, the railway companies and the railway Trade Unions arrived at a new wages agreement on July 25, and this agreement has now been ratified by all the unions concerned. Briefly, the agreement, which is to operate for one year from August 13, provides for an all-round deduction of 2½ per cent. from earnings for all railway workers and officers, including directors.

* * *

Position of Railway Shopmen

One of the most important provisions in the agreement is that relating to railway shopmen. These workers, who have always been paid a low rate of wages, have for some time been working short time, and it is estimated that about 100,000 are working only four days a week.

The companies have now undertaken to provide full time working where that is available, and in all cases to ensure at any rate five days a week, so that the net result for these workers will be an increase in pay, not a reduction.

* * *

Coal Mine Lock-out

A dispute has arisen at the Featherstone Colliery, near Pontefract, Yorkshire, as the result of a proposed wages reduction of 10 per cent., and on Thursday, August 23, 2,000 men were locked out.

The matter is being considered by the West Yorkshire Joint Mining Board, which is composed of colliery owners and miners' representatives, but there seems to be little prospect of an immediate settlement.

* * *

Attack on Farm Workers' Wages

Farmers in the West Riding of Yorkshire have drawn up a series of drastic demands for alterations of wages and hours to be brought before the Agricultural Wages Board for the area in September next.

The demands include a reduction of 10 per cent. from the wages of all male workers; an increase of the hours worked in summer from 52½ to 55; the exclusion from the wages order of all casual workers; and reductions in the minimum rates paid to women workers.

* * *

Musicians' Union an Non-Union Labour

It is reported that a dispute has arisen at the Vaudeville Theatre, as a complaint has been made by the Musician's Union that among the orchestra are men not members of the union, who are not being paid union rates of wages. Negotiations have been in progress, but up to the present no agreement has been reached.

* * *

Wages in the Clay Industry

An application for wage reductions has been put forward by employers in the clay industry, mainly on the ground that the reduction of the housing subsidy has considerably reduced the volume of trade. The application was put before the Interim Industrial Reconstruction Committee, when the workers' side endeavoured to obtain its withdrawal on the ground that if the reduction were agreed to it would make no difference to the volume of trade. Eventually the meeting was adjourned to enable the workers' representatives to consult the Executive Councils of their respective unions.

* * *

Turner-Mond Conference

At a meeting held on August 23, the Legislative Council of the United Textile Factory Workers' Association, which represents all the unions in the cotton trade, decided to support, at the forthcoming Trades Union Congress, the General Council's attitude in regard to the Turner-Mond negotiations.

International Trade Union Notes and Labour Abroad

(Specially contributed to the LABOUR MAGAZINE by the International Federation of Trade Unions.)

Casualty Compensation

One of the recent General Council meetings of the German national Trade Union centre advocated the inclusion of ten additional occupational diseases within the scope of the compensation payable in cases of industrial accidents. Among the ten diseases in question are poisoning by sulphuretted hydrogen, carbon oxide, and manganese, industrial skin diseases, deafness, and hardness of hearing caused by the perpetual roar of noisy factories, disease caused by compressed air machinery, lung disease due to breathing stone dust into the lungs, and similar diseases in the mining and metal industries.

Another demand is that all diseases which are mainly due to the occupation of the sufferer shall be regarded as occupational diseases for which compulsory compensation must be given.

* * *

International Woodworkers' Progress

The report for the year 1927 which has been issued by the International Union of Woodworkers announces that the membership of this international trade secretariat was on January 1, 1928, 1,055,942, and that it represents 28 affiliated unions in 25 countries. The number of affiliated unions rose by four during 1927; on January 1, 1927, the union comprised 24 organisations in 22 countries, with a total membership of 1,028,235.

One of the new accessions is the United Furniture Workers' Union of West Australia. The Furniture Workers' Union of New Zealand has decided to affiliate on January 1, 1929. The Woodworkers' International will then be able to boast of having affiliated members both in Australia and New Zealand.

* * *

Boot and Shoe International

According to the latest statistics at present 15 countries, with a total membership of 295,638, belong to the Boot and Shoe Operatives and Leather Workers' International, against 284,183 in December, 1926. The increase amounts to 11,455 members.

* * *

International Land Workers' Congress

The fifth congress of the International Land Workers' Federation will be held in Prague from the 23rd to the 25th of next September. The agenda embraces, among other things, the following points: The importance of collective labour agreements in agriculture and forestry; the wages and conditions of work of foresters; and the attitude to the treatment of the tariff question at the International Economic Conference.

* * *

German Federation of Trade Unions

The agenda for the Congress of the German Federation of Trade Unions affiliated with the I.F.T.U., fixed to take place at the beginning of September in Hamburg, is now definitely settled.

Special points of interest are the realisation of economic democracy, the educational tasks of the Trade Unions, and unification and self-government in the organisations of Socialist legislation.

A.F.A. Congress

The congress of the A.F.A. (German Federation of Salaried Employees), which will be held at Hamburg on October 1-4, will have before it, inter alia, the following important questions; The Position of Salaried Employees in the Industrial Organisation of the Post-War Period (rapporteur, Albert Thomas, Director of the International Labour Office); The Reshifting of the Proletariat (rapporteur, Prof. Ernst Lederer); Salaried Employees in German Economic Life (rapporteur, Dr. O. Suhr).

* * *

Trade Union Labels in Palestine

Following the example of the American Trade Union Movement, the Palestinian national Trade Union centre, which is affiliated with the I.F.T.U., has introduced the practice of affixing Trade Union labels to all goods made under Trade Union conditions. The centre supplies these labels to all employers who employ organised workers.

The printed notice which accompanies these labels contains these words: "In the long run the workers are the largest consumers, and they can choose freely what goods they will buy, and can refuse to purchase the goods of an employer who exploits the poverty and hard work of the workers for his own personal advantage."

* * *

German Women Workers

According to the results of the last census of trade and factory workers, the number of women earning their own living has increased, from 1905 to 1925, by 3,000,000, so that their number in the year 1925 amounted to 11,477,684. As the total number of workers in the same year amounted to 32,008,839, it follows that no less than 35.9 of those earning their own living are women.

* * *

Protection of Young Workers

The establishment of a permanent committee for the protection of youth was decided upon by the Dutch Social Democratic Labour Party, the Dutch Federation of Trade Unions, and the Dutch Youth Movement, in order to attain, among other things, a speedy realisation of the programme jointly drawn up by the Young Workers' Socialist International, the Federation of Trade Unions, and the Labour and Socialist International.

* * *

Trade Union Air Propaganda

The Trade Unions forming the Mexican National Centre (C.R.O.M.) are planning to send aviators on goodwill flights to the organised workers of America and Europe. Preliminary steps have been taken by the central committee of the C.R.O.M. which has just sent out an appeal to affiliated unions to aid the project financially.

* * *

Pan-Pacific Congress Prohibited

The Australian Government has refused to sanction the holding of the congress which had been planned by the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat for the year 1929.

International Labour Office Notes

Preparatory Work

Outwardly the month has been a quiet one at the I.L.O., as usually is the case when the annual Conference is over. The regular work of preparation for Governing Body and Conference has, however, been proceeding. In particular, the reports for the next meeting of the Governing Body have been taken in hand.

The meeting will be held in Warsaw on October 3. The documents are always circulated well in advance of the meeting.

* * *

The Governing Body's Programme

Virtually it will be the first meeting of the new Governing Body, elected by the conference last June. The various committees have to be appointed, but there are other and more important tasks. The 1930 Conference agenda has yet to be settled. Will this include "Revision of the Washington Hours Convention"?

On this point a final decision cannot be taken in October, since under the new "revision" procedure the first step to be taken is the presentation by the Office of a report on the working of the Convention.

* * *

Giving Effect to Decisions

This year, as was reported in last month's issue of the LABOUR MAGAZINE, a very large number of resolutions were adopted by the Conference. The Governing Body has to decide how effect is to be given to them, for example, the lines on which the inquiry into world textile conditions is to be carried out. In the case of the not dissimilar coal inquiry a special committee was set up.

Incidentally, this committee will doubtless have to meet—it is not certain whether its task is at an end with the recent publication of the Report on Wages and Conditions in 1925.

* * *

Conference on Silicosis

The Governing Body will also have to discuss an interesting proposal made by the Transvaal Chamber of Mines that a Conference of 12 or 15 experts should be convened at Johannesburg to study the immense amount of material in connection with Silicosis in mines, which has been collected in South Africa, and could not be transported elsewhere. The Chamber of Mines already has voted a provisional grant to cover a considerable proportion of the cost of such a conference.

It is evident that this generous proposal is a notable one in the progress of internationalism. It may be observed that it arose originally out of negotiations opened during the visit of Mr. H. B. Butler, Deputy-Director of the I.L.O., to South Africa last winter.

* * *

Decisions of the League Assembly

The I.L.O. is, of course, vitally concerned by many of the decisions of the Assembly not only as regards its own budget, but as regards much of its work in the field of economic research, health, social questions, and the like. This year the question of the Refugee Settlement organisation will also occupy the attention of the Assembly. All the decisions taken in September will have to be considered at Warsaw by the Governing Body in the following month.

Native Labour Questions

The time is not far distant when the first documents will be issued in connection with "Forced Labour" as an item on the agenda of the 1929 Session of the International Labour Conference; the first stage will be the issue of a "Grey report" setting out existing law and practice and making suggestions such as may help the conference to frame a questionnaire to the Governments.

* * *

Progress of Ratifications

Further ratifications registered during the preceding weeks brought the total at the end of August, 1928, to 325, or an increase of over 80 during the current year. Portugal has formally ratified the Hours of Work Convention (bringing the total number of countries which have done so, including "conditional ratification," to 13), and it is reported that Spain has similar intentions.

* * *

Progress in Cuba

No fewer than eleven ratifications were deposited in August by Cuba, which has now ratified 16 International Labour Conventions, a number only exceeded by Luxemburg (25) and Belgium (19).

The new Cuban ratifications include the 1919 Conventions concerning maternity, night-work of women and of children, and the minimum of employment in industry; the 1920 Conventions on minimum age at sea, shipwreck indemnity, and employment for seamen; and the 1925 Conventions on compensation for accidents and industrial diseases, equality of treatment in respect of compensation, and prohibition of night work in bakeries.

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Co-operative Activities

Summer Schools

At the time of writing Co-operative Summer Schools are in full swing. They have been opened at Orleton College (Scarborough), Ardglass (Ireland), Folkestone, Evesham, and Sandown. This educational side of the movement under the auspices of the Co-operative Union have grown of recent years. The schools are usually held in charming districts of the country, and provide for the students' pleasure as well as instruction.

The object is to promote good fellowship, knowledge, and a higher co-operative spirit. From July 7 to 21 the International Summer School was held at Hamburg, when 69 co-operators from 18 countries were present.

* * *

Obituary

Recently the Co-operative Movement has lost a few good men through death. International leaders who have passed away are Mr. Heinrich Kaufmann and Mr. Arders Neilsen, of Germany and Denmark respectively. Both were prominent in the International Co-operative Alliance, and were well-known figures at co-operative assemblies.

Co-operation in this country has sustained a severe loss through the death of Mr. W. Charles Potter, one of the founders of the National Co-operative Men's Guild, and an ardent worker in advanced causes. Another death is that of Mr. J. F. Mills, scholar and linguist. For nearly ten years Mr. Mills had been connected with the Co-operative Press Agency, mostly with its special and foreign requirements, and at one time was editor of the *Labour Leader*.

* * *

The I.C.A.

The latest countries to join the International Co-operative Alliance are Iceland and Mexico, where the Co-operative Movement is making progress. Over 30 countries are now connected with this organisation whose headquarters are in London, where the Central Committee will meet next to consider a proposal to establish a bureau in Sweden for the collection of information regarding trusts and cartels.

* * *

Canadian Congress

A Canadian Co-operative Congress has just been held at Lloydminster. Canadians are feeling their way in a co-operative direction, and a deal of the progress in organisation is due to the labour and enthusiasm of Mr. George Keen, the secretary of the Canadian Co-operative Union.

There is a desire to establish a C.W.S. in the Dominion, and a resolution was adopted to this effect, but whether it will be one C.W.S. for the whole of the Dominion or one for each Prairie Province is a matter to be settled among themselves. There are already groups in Manitoba and Alberta acting in a wholesale capacity, but these are not by any means on the same basis as the English or Scottish C.W.S. The Congress, however, was attended by directors of these two British co-operative trading institutions, also by Mr. H. J. May, the secretary of the International Co-operative Alliance, and no doubt a deal of useful and practical advice was given. The English C.W.S. was represented by Messrs. John Oliver (director), A. W. Golightly (director, and chairman of International Co-operative Wholesale Society), Mr. A. H. Hobley (central wheat buyer), and the Scottish

C.W.S. by Messrs. J. Cairns and Peter Malcolm (directors). These gentlemen had also attended a Conference of Co-operative Wheat Pools at Regina.

* * *

Employees' Sports

Rather late in the day, but better late than never, the C.W.S. is providing sports grounds for its employees, of which there are about 35,000. In the London area a ground has been secured at Woodford, in Manchester at Moston, and in Liverpool at Aigburth.

So recent are these acquisitions that the grounds have yet to be laid out, mostly for cricket, tennis, football, bowls, and hockey, also running and cycling. But it is a start in the right direction.

* * *

Business Losses

Business cannot be run for mere sentimental reasons in the Co-operative Movement, nor can it be run successfully by merely presuming that the movement has only to put up factories and the millions of co-operators will flock to them. Now and again the C.W.S. have to close industrial concerns producing every-day commodities, because they cannot get custom sufficiently from 1,140 societies which deal in the goods manufactured. And members who do not buy these goods ask why? It may be due to lethargy, or disloyalty of retail buyers, or there may be something wrong with the concern in question.

Recently much has been said in the newspapers about a dispute at a C.W.S. factory in Salford. About 150 box makers were thrown out of employment, the C.W.S. having closed this section of the work because the material could be purchased cheaper from countries like Sweden, Norway and Finland. The C.W.S. had begun some time ago to make their own boxes owing to the strike in Sweden, and have now gone back to Sweden rather than continue suffering loss on their own works which has been great. But in cases like this the men's interests can be looked after better in a co-operative establishment than in most other places, and owing to questions with which the board of the C.W.S. has been bombarded by its own members, an effort is being made to find employment for the displaced men in other factories that are expanding. The Wood-workers' Trade Union seems to be satisfied that the C.W.S. could not have taken a wiser or a more sympathetic course.

* * *

Political Contributions

Professor Mackenzie Stuart, of Aberdeen, has expressed the opinion that any member of a Co-operative society would be likely to succeed in any action he cared to bring against the payment of contributions applied to political purposes. In consequence of this the Aberdeen society (Northern Co-operative Society) has decided to make no further contributions to the Co-operative Union.

This society pays £340 a year to the Union, and its complaint is that 7½ per cent. of the sum goes to the Co-operative Party, which is political. Professor Stuart's view has been expressed by other authorities, but there is still a doubt about it. A "Taff Vale" decision would make things awkward in the movement, but the Co-operative Party can always fall back upon appeals for funds to individual members, and, if need be, a voluntary constitution.

THE LABOUR MAGAZINE

Incorporating The British Trades Union Review and the Labour Party Bulletin

VOL. VII

OCTOBER, 1928

No. 6

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GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P..

A Practical Idealist

The aspirations of a visionary with a vocation are revealed by George Lansbury in his biography "My Life" (Constable, 10s. 6d.), reviewed here by

GERALD GOULD

[Note.—The publishing date of "My Life" is October 4, and this review appears on October 1 by special permission of the publisher]

A MOTTO for George Lansbury's book might be taken from his page 193, where, dealing with the activities of another Labour leader, he lays down the maxim: "In life it is not possible to act as a revolutionary and practical person at one and the same time." Here we get the gist of the problem, practical and spiritual, which has confronted George Lansbury himself all his life, as a revolutionary propagandist of a completely new society, and at the same time a day-by-day toiler in the fields of politics and administration.

I use the word "revolutionary" with no fear that it can, in this connection, be misunderstood. Nobody connects G. L. with the idea of violence or even of intrigue. Everybody knows what he means when he declares himself a revolutionary. He is an out-and-out Pacifist, with no faith in force; the revolution he preaches and desires is one of economic and social institutions, as expressing the deeper revolution of thought and feeling. The replacement, in short, of competition by reason and goodwill. But, desiring that, how was he to set about getting it?

There are those who, refusing compromise, go out as pure propagandists, preaching the ideal, trying to bring about the great change by a direct appeal to hearts and minds. It is evident from these pages that George Lansbury has throughout his life felt the impulse to take that line. In many ways, for him, it would have been the line of least resistance. It would have spared him many a difficult decision. It would have given the fullest possible scope to his marvellous power of oratory which, while it moves the heart, never loses touch with the logic of the facts. But he resisted the impulse, and, for the sake of the poor and suffering at his door, threw himself into the task of getting immediate and partial alleviations through local and national politics. He faced the fact that this meant compromise; in his own simple and noble confessions of faith, he has owned to compromise, and been perfectly frank about the necessity of it. To continue the quotation with which I started (the italics are my own):—

Struggling within a capitalist system to obtain even a tolerable condition of life and labour is a job which in normal times is almost foredoomed to

failure, and this is the task of Trade Unionists on the industrial field, and the task of men like myself in Parliament. *This inevitably means compromise.* The pure and simple revolutionist, to be entirely consistent, must have nothing to do with palliatives or measures such as Old Age Pensions, raising of the school-age, or improvement of wage conditions.

This faith has kept G.L. in the forefront of the official Labour Movement, which is rightly and inevitably pledged to the double task—propaganda of complete Socialism, and legislative and administrative amelioration within the present system. (Also, incidentally, it has given him scope, in local politics, for the exercise of administrative powers no less marvellous in their way than his oratory.)

As a record of public work, the book of George Lansbury's life falls naturally into four main divisions—Poplarism, journalism, propaganda, and politics—but, of course, each overlaps with the others. By "propaganda" I mean mainly those great campaigns of speech-making up and down the country into which, though, as he says, his "length of days is rapidly approaching three score years and ten," he still throws himself with the zeal and fire of youth. By "politics" I mean more particularly work in Parliament. And by "journalism" I mean chiefly the *Daily Herald*, which owes more to George Lansbury's faith, courage, and genius than any paper has ever owed to any other single man. As for Poplarism, let me quote his own words:—

From the first moment I determined to fight for one policy only, and that was decent treatment for the poor outside the workhouse, and hang the rates! This sort of saying brings censure on me and on the movement; it cannot be helped. My view of life places money, property and privilege on a much lower scale than human life. . . . I never could see any difference between outdoor relief and a state pension, or between the pension of a widowed queen and outdoor relief for the wife or mother of a worker. The nonsense about the disgrace of the Poor Law I fought against till at least in London we killed it for good and all.

Four main divisions, and all overlapping—Yes!—But, even so, what an enormous range of this indomitable personality's activities has one omitted! The story of his emigration—and return—as a young married man with children. The story of his participation in the rough-and-tumble of elections, demonstrations, raids, from

the remark on the year 1868: "I have been in many an election campaign since that day, but I think I have never been nearer death," to the similar remark, applied to a day some ten years later: "I think this was the hottest corner with the police I ever was in," and so on through the militant Woman Suffrage Movement and the dangers of war-time Pacifism. The story of imprisonments and hunger-strike. The story of the Russian visit. And, running through it all and binding it into unity, the story of a personality alight with moral genius.

The book, however, is much more than the record of a crowded and inspiring life. Exceptional in so many ways though George Lansbury is, he is also singularly representative. He has been a part of many movements; he has been, one might almost say, a typical part of the main general movement of the times. His recollections are not merely of incidents, however exciting, nor of controversies, however acute; not merely of the high places and the high lights of history and conduct; but of the ordinary life, at work and play, of the people. He has a gift for broad survey and vivid description, so that, in reading this record of nearly 70 years, we seem to see the social history of the time unrolled. Education, travelling, politics, games, social habits, have all changed enormously while the long fight to remedy the evils of the Poor Law, to widen the basis of the franchise, and so forth, has gone steadily but stormily on. And the conclusion is not only reassuring in itself (and badly we need reassurance, with unemployment and poverty what they are!)—it is also a convincing argument for the piecemeal process of amelioration which has brought these changes about. "Life," says G.L., "is not easier for anybody except the inordinately rich"; but he goes on to show that for many, if not easier, it is cleaner, sweeter, and better:—

I honestly believe the masses of our people are, taken as a whole, at an infinitely higher standard of general culture and intelligence than most upper-class people enjoyed a century ago. We are also cleaner, tidier, and more truly moral.

It is obvious that a book dealing with the conflicts and controversies of public life must itself contain a great deal of controversial matter. Some of the views G.L. holds and expresses have been attacked before, and will be attacked again, some from the Left, some from the Right, some from the Centre, some merely on points of individual judgment or belief. I myself could very easily, in writing this review, have argued against one view or another. But, in

face of a life and teaching directed so wholeheartedly to the service of the workers, I have preferred to ignore dialectical points. I have tried to convey—and I know well how far short I have fallen of success!—a just though general, and perhaps inevitably vague, impression of a great man's book.

George Lansbury himself is the last person in the world to express or desire either uncritical eulogy or a flat uniformity of opinion. Over and over again in this narrative he refers to matters in which he has been criticised; and, where his own opinion has altered and he feels the criticism to be just, he records the fact with complete detachment and impartiality. There is undoubted truth in his claim that, though he has made "many opponents and possibly some enemies," yet "very little bitterness enters into our struggles." He will not thank me for calling him a "great man," for he does not believe in great men, but only in the goodness and greatness of the toiling, suffering masses. Nevertheless, there are in each generation a few giants of intellect and character, who typify and direct the onward march of humanity. Nobody, reading this modest and straightforward story, could fail to see that George Lansbury is one of them; and the rest of us must be allowed to pay our tribute.

ORDERS FOR THE

Industrial Review

(ENLARGED TO 16 PAGES)

should be sent to

THE LITERATURE DEPARTMENT,
— TRADES UNION CONGRESS —
TRANSPORT HOUSE (South Block),
SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1

Annual Subscription :

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10 copies . . .	13s.
20 copies . . .	25s.
50 copies . . .	£3
100 copies . . .	£6

THE INDUSTRIAL REVIEW
is the official publication of the
Trades Union Congress.

All Aboard for Birmingham

By

GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.

Chairman of the Labour Party Annual Conference, October, 1928

THE Annual Conference of the Labour Party will meet in Birmingham Town Hall on October 1st. No more suitable hall or town in the country could be found for such a gathering. The hall itself is a very fine building of stone and stands four-square in the centre of the city—a memorial to the early struggles of its citizens for civil and religious liberty, and a sign and symbol to all of the ever-advancing tide of progressive thought and action. We who take part in the conference will be speaking in a hall which has again and again resounded with eloquent appeals from John Bright on behalf of peace, which heard Joseph Chamberlain proclaim the gospel of ransom and which witnessed the first attempts by the late Colonel Burnaby and Lord Randolph Churchill to break down the apparently immovable impregnable Radicalism for which Birmingham was noted. The Town Hall also witnessed the triumph of mob law in defence of Jingoism—when Lloyd George, denounced as a pro-Boer, escaped assault by fleeing in the disguise of a policeman. It was Birmingham, led by Dr. Dale, that fought and lost the fight for secular education in our schools; it was the same group of fanatical free churchmen who opposed any State grants to denominational schools and who for years carried on a most energetic campaign for disestablishment. In those days Birmingham, in the minds of good church people, was looked upon as the home of ungodliness.

It is strange to look back and remember that into that city of freethought and nonconformity came Cardinal Newman, the modern saint of the Catholic Church and established his home, the magnificent oratory church in Hagley Road, which, with its schools, colleges and religious houses will forever remain sacred to the life and work of one who after a few years of wandering found peace and happiness in the Catholic church. Anglican church people can also look back and see how Bishop Gore, dividing the See of Worcester, founded the first diocese of Birmingham and introduced into the city a new and brighter era for the church of England; to be followed by Dr. Russell Wakefield, broadest of broad churchmen and best of good friends, or, as we say in East London, best of good pals. And now, to-day, under the leadership of a most

brilliant scholar, Bishop Barnes, all religious thought in the city is in a ferment. This good man has apparently thrown over all destructive creeds and beliefs; bible, prayer book, church ceremonies all have gone by the board and Birmingham so far as the Church of England is concerned is once more on the side of rationalism and a kind of genteel agnosticism.

In civic life the city also has its history. Under Joseph Chamberlain as Mayor, "gas and water Socialism" was first introduced, and Birmingham became the Mecca of all those early Fabians who taught us that social salvation comes from attention to the parish, its drains, pumps, etc. Birmingham still has many thousands of back-to-back dwellings, but nothing can ever remove from Joseph Chamberlain the glory which belongs to him and his colleagues who took in hand the great task of clearing away the Dale End slums and creating out of them the present centre of the town which lies around the two railway stations. It is true that John Bright in his old age was unable to follow the light of liberty and freedom to the end, and Joseph Chamberlain forgot his early declarations on behalf of Republicanism and against landlordism and became a supporter of tariffs and imperialism: even so, we may, when we meet, remember that together with others he was a pioneer, and if, as is true, he could not stay the course and life and its end came to be seen by him in a different light, we may in our thoughts honour him as a pioneer and learn from his apparent failure ourselves to do better and endure to the end.

When we discuss our plans for dealing with unemployment, and when we demand an ever-increasing extension of social services we may easily call in support of our policy the man who died an imperialist Tory but who in the days when his intellect was fresh and vigorous and life was indeed young, led the way in demanding according to his light the restoration of the land of Britain to the nation and the taxation of the rich in order to provide public services such as education, public libraries, reading rooms, parks and open spaces, art galleries and museums for the benefit of the masses.

We meet at a time when Liberalism, Radicalism has finished its job. Those who still gather

round the varying banners of Lloyd George, Earl Grey, John Simon and Walter Runciman will very soon make their choice whether they will continue to mouth pious platitudes and shibboleths concerning a party which has outlived its usefulness, whether each person following his own bent will find his way into the Tory camp or, following the logical development of our time, join up with the Labour Movement and assist in the mighty task of transforming the hellish conditions of to-day into conditions based on co-operation, peace and harmony.

Looking backward is only a profitable occupation when in doing so we gather inspiration and strength for a speedier move forward. We may and should respect all pioneer work by whomsoever it has been done. It is in that spirit we, who are members of the Labour Party, should try and visualise our own past, reckon up our gains and losses, and determine that the future shall find us struggling ever onward and upward to our goal. It is good in these days of doubt and difficulty—days amid which many thousands of friends and comrades find the task of earning daily bread more and more difficult of achievement, to glance backward and see a little of the road along which we have travelled. We shall make a very great mistake if, because of our difficulties, we sit down and rend each other or give ourselves over to the gospel of despair. Things are very bad indeed in industrial Britain, but compared with what has been, not in the dim and distant past but even in modern times, there is much, very much to gladden our hearts and give us hope for the future. Cast your minds back to the day a little over 36 years ago when the beloved and never-to-be-forgotten heroic founder of our modern movement, James Keir Hardie, entered the House of Commons, and alone and unaided raised the banner of revolt against unemployment, calling upon the British Parliament to deal with the poverty problem. In those days the conditions under which the unemployed and poor lived were terrible in the extreme. In East London we kept people just alive by means of soup kitchens and similar expedients so beloved of the charitable people who formed the Charity Organisation Society. Keir Hardie's clarion call went ringing through the land, rallying all those who cared for life more than money and dividends to a crusade against social wrong. In those days there was no unemployment pay, no poor law relief, except inside a beastly mixed workhouse; masses of people literally existed in a state of semi-starvation. Local authorities did not respond to Chamberlain's circulars. I know from actual

experience working with these people that this was the case.

To-day, although the ministers who control the Labour Exchanges and the Poor Law have done everything in their power to undo all that has been accomplished since 1886 and 1892, the fact remains they have only been partially successful. Taken in the mass—I know there are thousands of exceptions—the unemployed and their dependents in one way or another do obtain some public assistance. What money they receive from State Insurance, poor law assistance, and services rendered through public health agencies, the feeding of school children, and provision of medical and surgical requirements, all these are the direct outcome of the pioneer work of the man who, standing alone in the midst of an assembly of hostile cruel men, raised the cry, "The Right to Work," which later was transformed to the words, "Work or Maintenance."

Keir Hardie was the first of our modern spokesmen in the House of Commons, the first in that place who declared he spoke for the workless and the poor, proclaiming that over and above every other question the "condition of people" question was supreme and paramount over all.

What does it matter whether our comrade did or did not preach the class war? What does matter is that he stripped bare the hypocrisy and cant of his day which continually declared that British wealth was best expressed through the creation of a few rich, whose lives were lived in luxury and extravagance, separate and apart from their fellows. Keir Hardie took up the cry of Morris, "There is no wealth but life," and in doing so forced attention to the fact that for millions of our people what was called life was only a mere existence. He preached the full gospel of Socialism, but also demanded immediate measures for alleviating social misery. To-day, we are faced with conditions very similar, because we judge not by the standards of 1886 or 1892, but by the standards which 40 years of propaganda, education, and economic development have brought us. Therefore, while taking heart of grace and courage from what has been, we also understand that the foul conditions prevailing in many parts of industrial Britain are a disgrace to us all. Because this is so, we must get down to the discussion of our programme as realists preparing for the most tremendous struggle in our history—a struggle not of one man against the rest, as in the days of Hardie; no, because through his work and that of thousands of others whose names are known and unknown, we have created

an organisation and machine with which we can if we will capture the whole legislative and administrative machinery of our land. The setback we received at the last election was brought about entirely because thousands of working-class electors are not as yet sufficiently educated politically and are not conscious of their class interests. It is nothing against democracy that so far our people have not proved themselves true democrats. We may be thankful we have secured the machinery of democracy. We must clothe the machine with spirit of life.

This Labour Movement which the Conference will represent has nothing to be ashamed of, nothing to apologise for, because in 1924 our own people were stampeded by a lie into voting for Mr. Baldwin and thus made possible all the cruel reactionary legislation which the apostle of peace and goodwill and his friends have placed on the Statute Book. We must set about our task in dead earnest, and as people with not a minute to spare because it is a race against time, free our minds from the curse of personal hatred and rancour, selfish interests and everything which stands between us and service for the cause, accepting as true the words of Morris: "For the *Cause* alone is worthy till the good days bring the best."

It is in the nature of things we shall not all agree about every clause or paragraph in the pamphlet entitled "Labour and the Nation," and many will desire to add urgent and important propositions dealing with minimum wages and family allowances, etc. We shall, however, all agree as to our goal. If there are any in our ranks who desire, or even in a half-hearted way desire, that we should hide our Socialist origin or our Socialist goal, it is now quite impossible to do either. We were created because social and industrial conditions were such that Liberalism, Toryism, tariffs, free trade, Imperialism, all the policies of other factions and parties, failed to give the nation what it needed. An alliance, coalition, or understanding with Lloyd George or any of his party is both unthinkable and absolutely impossible. We do not mean what they mean and Socialism for us is not a dream but practical politics.

Nobody denies that in response to our persistent vehement agitation both political parties have passed certain palliative measures, all of which have been improved by our efforts in the House of Commons. There is, however, one factor in our lives which more than any other has created our party and set our feet on the road to Socialism. It is education. The schools are the revolutionary centres of our day,

not because they directly teach either Socialism or revolution, but because they train the minds of the young so that when school is left behind these students whose eyes of intelligence have been opened, refuse to settle down and accept, as something sent of God, the miserable conditions which man-made poverty produces. Do not imagine I am claiming a majority as being Socialists or members of our party: unfortunately this is not so. But our numbers grow because men and women discover that even with the advantages which education gives, there is often no place for them in the world of industry except that of hewers of wood and drawers of water—occupations which result in a standard of life and status in society out of harmony with the developments of mind and body which education brings. One of the first tasks for all of us to undertake is that of raising the status and standard of life of manual workers, so that educated men will be willing to accept such occupations.

We shall discuss our plans for dealing with unemployment, making it quite clear that while we have no intention of trying to stop the migration of those who desire to try their luck in other lands, we have no intention of allowing the land and natural resources of our own country to go to waste. It will not be our task to deal from the purely industrial day-by-day point of view, with the rationalisation of industry and the continual development of private monopolies as these concern present-day conditions, wages and hours, but it will be our task to make the world understand that for us the ultimate end of industrial and economic discoveries shall be State ownership, State control of monopolies. Already we have formulated in detail our plan for nationalisation of land and mines, and the scheme we shall adopt for reorganising the coal industry.

We are discussing with the unions concerned how we shall deal with the developments which are daily taking place in connection with transport. The conference will also discuss how we shall control banking and national credit in the best interests of the nation, and how to bring into closer union with organised Labour the ever-growing co-operative movements. The reform of the pension system and the raising of school age in order to bring a better spending power to those who have done their day's work for the nation and give a better chance to our young people, will also be part of our discussion when dealing with home questions. Those who may be inclined to scoff and jeer at attention being given to such apparently small matters, may as well remind

themselves of the fact that to those whose pensions are increased and those who are removed from the fear of poverty and pauperism, these are very important questions indeed; and as for boys and girls—another year or two at school with mother, through maintenance grants, able to supply sufficient food and clothes, means extended opportunities for obtaining knowledge and will stop once and for all the cruel policy which some employers adopt of employing young people in dead-end jobs until fifteen or sixteen years of age and then taking on others. By adopting a more adequate and equitable pension scheme, by keeping boys and girls at school, we shall help in some way to mitigate the evils of unemployment. But the chief thing in my view is that we should by means of taxation take from the rich and by this kind of expenditure on increased social services, give to the poor a bigger spending power, and thus secure a higher standard of life. Those who say that taxing the rich is bad for trade, talk nonsense because money spent by the poor also makes trade, and a better kind of trade than when spent on expensive luxuries. If we tax in order to develop and extend social services we do in effect only change the incidence of spending. This is not theory but just commonsense fact. If we only think of what has happened in our land during the last 100 years, we shall easily understand that this thing we call Socialism has been growing up within the very capitalist system it is intended to displace; because during the greatest days of capitalist development, governments representative of capitalism have been obliged to adopt and put into practice many of our theories in connection with social services.

Sometimes it seems incredible to me that in my own lifetime I have seen the roads of Britain made free for the use of us all. I can remember in the days of my youth toll gates on Whitechapel Road, Stratford High Street, Commercial Road and all other main roads in and around this metropolis. These have gone because private enterprise could not provide what the nation needed in the way of trunk roads. The same is true of a thousand and one other social services. Do not tell me I am writing as an apostle of gradualness: no, I am an old man in a hurry if ever there was one, but I am conscious of the fact that progress is only gradual, not because of inevitability but solely because men's minds and intelligence at present only develop slowly. Each year we shall move more quickly and surely to the end, because as economic problems arise, such as those which face us in the coalfields, transport, agriculture and other great industries,

our knowledge and understanding will demand that we meet these difficulties in the same manner as our fathers met the difficulties which they overcame by social effort.

Another thing which we ought to keep vividly and clearly before our minds is this: Socialism like democracy is not on trial; neither have as yet had a trial in the governance of any nation. Ours is the first example of a nation within which propertyless people are politically equal. It is commercialism which has failed to provide the means of life for all who need. The only justification for the existence of monopolists is that they shall by their organisation of production and distribution provide the means of life for all the people. As a matter of fact, capitalists of this and every other country under capitalism have never done anything of the kind. Slums, unemployment, bad health, pauperism, and destitution in its worst form—these are the result not of Socialism but of capitalism. Therefore we are entitled to say to those who still stand for the maintenance of the old order, "You must stand on one side: your creed and your policy has been weighed in the balance and found wanting," and in its stead the people who possess power over legislation and local government will establish a more just and equitable order of society and will do so by using the same machinery of government which has served the interests of those who have built their lives on the pursuit of individual wealth instead of for the commonweal.

Just as the scramble for wealth within our shores brings unrest, poverty and social misery, so the same evil thing extended abroad brings wars and disturbances between the nations. Great Britain has a great task before her if she is to fulfil her destiny and only under Socialist inspiration will this be possible. Our people in company with the Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish, were the pioneers who opened the waterways of the world and thus gave mankind access to the hitherto unexplored regions of the globe. To-day our task as Socialists is to prove we are able to hand over the task of preserving these highways of the seven seas free and open for the service of mankind to an international authority representative of all the nations of the world. It is no longer possible for the white races either in Europe or America to dominate each other or those we describe as subject races. There is a new spirit abroad in the Orient as well as here in the West. Ancient peoples held down for many generations by the superior cunning and brute force of the white races, have learned they possess a mightier power than the sword—which is the power of doing

nothing, or to use a modern word, the boycott. In addition, we who make up the white races find ourselves fighting, squabbling over markets and supplies of raw material. We have also claimed and exercised the right to control and hold down for the sake of our own interests Chinese and Indians, Egyptians and Soudanese, and many other small and large nations. Other great powers have followed the same policy.

Labour men and women in all lands when in power must reverse all this, and the first step will be taken when some one big nation throws down its arms, gives up all its conquests, offers the right hand of pure, unselfish friendship—to all nations and together with whomsoever will join with them, sets about the task of creating a commonwealth of free nations. We British workers will be judged in the future by what we do in this direction. It is an old saying, "By their fruits ye shall know them," and we shall not escape condemnation and, I believe, absolute ruin, if we refuse to do justly by those people who now suffer and die under the rule of brute force used in our name against subject peoples.

There is lots more we shall talk about: the proposal to give all or nearly all our time to

discussion of the programme is a wise and useful one. To all who read this and who propose to come to Birmingham, I would appeal to let our discussions be on a fine high level. We are custodians of a great movement. Our decisions will mean a very great deal to those who come after us. The very best any of us can do is to give our utmost thought to each subject and strive to arrive at conclusions not of expediency but of principle. Therefore, comrades, in confidence as to the future and with absolute conviction that we are surely marching forward to the promised land, I bid you join in the only struggle that matters, the struggle for peace and concord at home and abroad, and never forget when you think of those who have gone before, those whose memory and work you love and revere, remember that:—

*"Known and unknown all live in us,
One and all they lead us yet;
Every toil to count as nothing,
Every sorrow to forget."*

and because this is so, let us cast aside all fear, and with faith and courage meet to-day and to-morrow, sure and certain we shall reap if we faint not.

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Impressions of the Swansea Congress

By

ALDERMAN BEN TURNER, J.P.

(President at the Swansea Congress)

I DO not recall a more interesting Congress than our Diamond Jubilee one held at Swansea a few weeks ago. The Mayor and Corporation, the local Trades Council and Labour Party, the public and everybody else vied in making us welcome and comfortable, which is in itself an aid to the smooth conduct of business, and was in pleasant contrast to the forecasts of factions and turbulence which had been made by the newspapers.

I have noticed many a time before, when there have been such forebodings of trouble, that it has never eventuated. When I was asked, prior to the Congress, what sort of a gathering we should have, I expressed the view that it would be a sober, sane, methodical, business-like Congress, which is just what it proved to be. True it is that we have grown by experience into a more methodical way of doing business, and our Standing Orders have behind them both tradition and business acumen. Lord Blythwood, the Lord-Lieutenant of Glamorgan-shire, who was one of the visitors to Congress, expressed himself in a letter to me as being very much impressed with our procedure and our Standing Orders.

It was not always so. We used to spend considerable time on the first day of Congress electing tellers, scrutineers, and Standing Orders or General Purposes Committees. We used to have to wait sometimes days for groups of delegates to meet to agree upon resolutions and amendments. Now all this is a matter of smooth working, for our General Purposes Committee is elected at one Congress to meet a day or so before next Congress opens and the groups meet on the Saturday prior to the official opening day, and by Monday morning, when business officially starts, this work is well in hand and the group of composite resolutions and amendments are in print and supplied to each delegate ere he leaves the first session of Congress.

The election of scrutineers and tellers is a formal matter, for the General Council have made their suggested selection weeks before from the names of delegates sent in. This is not done haphazard. Societies large or small get their turn, and to ensure that one member who knows the correct method of counting the votes shall be on the panel, we also select one delegate

who has acted as scrutineer on a previous occasion.

Congress now invariably accepts the lists put before them, and thus a good deal of valuable time is saved, and efficiency and fair play are secured. There have been many changes in form and method that is to the good, but it has all come out of the experience of the past, and I do not know a more smooth working assembly than our Trades Union Congress.

I certainly am pleased to have been President of the Diamond Jubilee Congress, and from start to finish everything went, generally speaking, smoothly. It is not an easy task, although it is a pleasant one, being chairman of such an assembly. Most of the delegates are as wise as and many of them wiser than a president. Many of them are adepts at handling big gatherings of delegates. They know in an instant if you give a doubtful or wrong ruling—they also know they must in general stick up for the chairman, for if he lets Congress loose—well it will be a bad job, to say the least of it.

Of course, a chairman has some platform advisers, which helps him considerably, but at times that can be a mixed blessing, especially if the left hand side differs in its advice from the right hand side, which can and does occur.

Undoubtedly, I was up against people on two—perhaps three—decisions which I gave. I was challenged that I ought not to allow a delegate from the Miners' Federation to speak contrary to his Federation's instructions. Personally, I think a delegate is a delegate from his society, but he is also a delegate to Congress and entitled to express an opinion, and if he goes wrong then his society must deal with him. Perhaps I am wrong, but I don't think so.

On the previous question I gave a ruling under mixed advice. It was held that when the previous question had been moved, seconded, and defeated, I was compelled to put the matter under discussion to a vote.

I have been at conferences when chairmen have (if the previous question has been defeated) allowed the discussion to proceed, and I always understood this to be the regular procedure. It seems like commonsense, and it should be so, but I was advised the other way and ruled

accordingly. In my heart I believed it was not correct, but I have looked up authorities and made many inquiries since and if the previous question has been moved and though not carried, the motion under discussion has to be put. Mr. Citrine in his book demonstrates this, and he has had his view backed up by many authorities, including Clerks of the House of Commons, the House of Lords, and authorities dating back to the 17th century.

Another ruling I gave was somewhat resented by my old friend Pickles of the Painters' Society. I know it was a right decision, but it seems some arrangement had been made relative to the matter. This I could not help, and as I ruled the Furnishing Trades representative out in his resolution, owing to the matter having been settled by a previous motion being carried, I was compelled to do likewise with the Painters' motion. I may have been wrong, but I did not do wrong intentionally, and think my ruling was right. I trust friends Pickles and Tomkins will see it in that light. Perhaps I might have been less abrupt in deciding it, and if so, well, I ask for forgiveness. That's all.

Generally speaking, Congress went like clockwork. This despite one day being taken up with the one subject that everybody was looking forward to, and another day by the fraternal delegates' addresses and the half-day run round the Gower coast. The innovation of the Rostrum is an improvement. It allows everybody to see the speaker and it helps them to hear him better. It gives him a chance to use his notes better and whilst a shy person does not care to get to it, most of our delegates are accustomed to speaking in public and get over that shyness. It does somewhat stop a few from talking. I know last year at Edinburgh an old friend of mine wanted to speak on one subject, but despite the fact that he had spoken on soap boxes and platforms a thousand times and more, he was too shy to walk down from the back of the hall to the front to speak and he did not speak until the last day when Congress was thin and he felt impelled to try, and even then he sat near the front of the hall by the rostrum in place of his old seat and crept shyly up to speak when his turn came.

The other new innovation is the red lamp. On the front of the rostrum is a little red globe. When the speaker is within one minute of "time-up," the chairman in place of ringing his bell (which is discommoding) turns up the light and this silently but effectively warns the speaker he has one minute more to speak.

The only suggestion I would make is that it should be a green light in place of a red one. It is more generous to the eye and the mind,

and less troublesome to the audience than a red light is.

There was some splendid speechmaking, and very little waste language. The movers seldom took more than the ten minutes for their motions, while the seven minutes for the seconding, and the five minutes for the supporting were hardly ever exceeded. Of course even a chairman nods, and sometimes I forgot to write down the exact minute a delegate began, but if I did so my vice-chairman, Mr. Hicks or the Secretary, Mr. Citrine, had it down. Once or twice the eloquence and sense spoken by some of the delegates caused me to overlook the clock perhaps a minute, but then, even Jove nodded and Kings have winked, so I can be excused a minute or two in trying to be just and exact over a full week's debate.

When the big debate was on there were no time limits. Some of the speeches were too long, but really it was a fine debate.

Mr. Brownlie's speech might have been condensed, as Mr. Swales' was, and Mr. Cook's might have been more powerful if it had been less vigorous. I was afraid, when Mr. Cook was speaking, that he would batter his chest to bits. As he crouched down and moved about he caused the bell to ring several times. I believe he thought I had rung it, but I had not, as I had no right to ring it, Standing Orders being suspended.

I was compelled to make this explanation at Congress because some delegates believed I was not allowing Mr. Cook the same time freedom as the others. He spoke a full half-hour and exhausted himself by his methods, and one was not surprised he was again ready to faint when he got back to his place.

I think the best speech was that of Mr. Clynes. It brought us to earth. The whole of the speeches were good, and some excellent, but the gem of brightness and neatness was that of Clynes. I was delighted with the excellent speechmaking of the young men at Congress. The five minutes' speeches some made were examples to others who are prone to be prosy. The crispness, the getting-to-the-point speeches were such as the House of Commons might copy and they would not be worse but better off for it, especially front benchers who think they must always talk an hour when ten minutes would do.

The fraternal delegates were a numerous but fine body. Only one overstepped the fifteen minutes' limit and as he was speaking for the great Labour Party and its work next year, he could well be allowed the four minutes extra he got. It was the speech of the morning, for it went to the heart of matters we are all hoping

to deal with when Labour gets into the Parliamentary saddle.

The American delegates were a most sociable set. Their wives and themselves, along with Mr. Collins, a visitor from America, seemed to enjoy every minute and they were satisfied to explain their "fraternalness" in under fifteen minutes each. They were bright and crisp and informative. The Canadian was a very plain, open-spoken delegate and he did not mince words much. Mr. Johnson, the leader of the Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress was not a fraternal delegate and we had to find him an opening to speak outside the Congress.

The two delegates who pleased us immensely in their speeches were Bakhale, the delegate from India, and Vargas, the delegate from Mexico. Their choice of language, their softness of expression, charmed us all. I have heard all the fraternal delegates from the time they began to visit us over 30 years ago and I never knew such a satisfactory morning and such a useful morning as we had on this occasion with the fraternal delegates. Congress was charmed with the brevity, variety and character of the addresses.

I think one of the charms of Swansea Congress was its sociability. Perhaps I got more than my share, but other folks I talked to said they had been overwhelmed with kindness. There were many social functions but that of the Electrical Workers perhaps led the way, for they had electrical effects in a splendid room, and a band to make up the enjoyment.

The Mayor's reception was beyond description. He and his good lady were tremendously pleased to do all they could to make us welcome, and they did it. They met the General Council on their arrival on the Wednesday, went with them to the most magnificent Convalescent Home belonging to the miners' welfare fund at Talygarn, they went with us to Worms Head, Langlands Bay, and the Gower coast, and every day came to Congress to imbibe the sweetness and wisdom of the debates. The 54-years-Trade-Union-membership Mayor is worthy of the Congress gold medal we are sending on to him for his long-time Trade Unionism and his brotherliness in Congress week.

We did not have many women speaking at Congress. I am sorry about this. Miss Evans (who is now a barrister as well as a Trade Union official) speaks so nicely that one would like her to take more part in debate. Miss Bondfield and Miss Varley, I believe, spoke once each,

and Miss Seward and a lady from Halifax whose name slips me, also had a cut in, but there are not enough women delegates attending, and the women are themselves to blame in many cases, for they have absolutely equal rights with men, and where there are more women members than men they should send more women than they do at present. Miss Loughlin, of the Garment Workers' Union, is one of Congress's best women speakers. Miss Quaile was one of the scrutineers.

It was pleasing to see such a large attendance of the public each day in the cosy balcony allotted for their accommodation. They were allowed in freely on the production of visitors' tickets. The balcony was full every day—except on Saturday, and even then the attendance was excellent, but breaking up morning is usually not well attended by either delegates or visitors.

We did not have any row. Somebody seemed to indicate there would be one or two, but they do not judge Congress aright. Delegates are serious, sensible men and women. We had not even the elements of a row.

The opponents of the General Council were not very well united. Elsbury did not get through much with his style. Tomkins was their best debater. One or two more were helpless in their attempt at opposition. Young Cohen got plenty of chances, but did not do very well. The "Locomen's" delegate was the most scholarly of the younger folk who seemed to be against the platform and its policy. Mr. Cook was not a success, and I guess Harry Pollitt sitting at the Press table was wondering at their blundering. Perhaps he himself was glad he had been unable to be a delegate, for the Congress had, from the first moment of opening, made up its mind to stand no foolishness from the Minority Movement or Communist crowd. The real voice of the people was being heard, for many of the delegates came direct from the workshop and most of the officers who were delegates meet with large numbers of their members day by day.

One found the Maxton-Cook combination did not count for much. It is wrecking the I.L.P., but not the Trades Union Congress.

Swansea Congress set its mark on Trade Unionism, on Labour Party propaganda, and welded itself together for a strenuous campaign towards a Labour Government next May, and a thoroughly united Trade Union Movement, nationally and internationally.

Literature and the Worker

By

R. M. FOX

THE first-class passenger in the saloon of a great ocean liner may marvel at the beauty of the sea but the sailor comes closer to it, there is a greater urgency in his desire to understand and subjugate its moods. So too for the leisured reader, who loves to contemplate a beautiful page, literature will not make the same appeal as to the man of little leisure who goes to it for an understanding of life.

If we want to chart this sea of literature in order to study it from the angle of the forward-looking worker we may start fittingly with the beginning of the novel which we date arbitrarily from the time of Samuel Richardson (1689-1761). Richardson's *Pamela* charmed the indolent in England and France. It is the story of a servant girl who, having resisted the blandishments of a titled blackguard, gains the victory by marrying him and so attaining a coveted social position. For a long time it was accepted as a touching moral story, though its snobbery disfigures it as literature and makes it laughable to-day. Neither feminists nor intelligent workers would admit for a moment the desirability of such a climax. It is indeed impossible to conceive of a worse fate for the girl. We have moved since then. The more a writer is limited by the snobberies of his age the sooner he "dates," for the snobberies of one age are the absurdities of the next. Henry Fielding in his satire *Shamela* held up to ridicule Pamela's determination to secure the reward of "virtue," and carried the novel forward by giving it a realism which the sentimental standards of Richardson forbade. To-day in the novelettes and cheaper stories the chief rôles are still occupied by titled ladies and gentlemen, and such appeals as these make to the worker reader is, of course that of imaginatively exchanging his or her rôle of servitude and hardship for one of luxury, ease, and extravagance. Books which do this hold a distorting mirror up to life. It is still held in many quarters that—as the actor-manager character in Gerhardt Hauptmann's play, *The Rats*, remarks—great situations demand great names. The tragedies of poor people are not supposed to be so tragic as those of the rich. This attitude has its counterpart in that of the comfortably off ladies and gentlemen who whisper to each other: "Of course, workers do not feel monotony, strain, or hardship as we

would. Lower grade people positively like that sort of thing!" It has taken a long time in literature, as in life, to get working people accepted as human beings.

Before Richardson, however, there were writers in England who used fiction in order to express truth about life. An early example is Thomas Delony, a Norwich silk weaver, who first shocked the authorities with a ballad on the scarcity of bread. He followed this by writing *Jack of Newberri* (1596-7)—a story of the most famous of the early factory owners, or "clothiers" as they were then called. He wrote *The Gentle Craft* (1597), a history of cobblers, and *Thomas of Reading*, about a cloth worker—all these are pictures of humble life. It was left for a tinker, John Bunyan (1628-1688) to take attention away from the study of real life by means of his allegorical writings. For all that, the clear, simple, Biblical English of *The Pilgrim's Progress* was a valuable contribution to English literature. Daniel Defoe (1661-1731), a butcher's son and the talented author of *Robinson Crusoe*, used the realistic method in telling his most extravagant stories. He never wasted time in verbal adornments; his stories are as naked as "Man Friday." But he went straight to the point of what he had to say in a workmanlike manner.

The influence of the Renaissance, in the Elizabethan era (1558-1603), stirred England to a new intellectual life and prepared the way for later developments. It arose out of a sense of the boundless possibilities of the New World. New realms of science and art were opening before men. Writers and artists wished to interpret all this to the world. In the Renaissance literature is a desire for freedom, a protest against the asceticism of the medieval world and the restraints of the ecclesiastics. The earlier Schoolmen wrote in Latin and addressed themselves only to a limited class. But the new writers spoke not as representatives of coteries or courts but as the voices of mankind. This accounts for the richness and vitality of the Renaissance. Whenever men withdraw to write for some exclusive audience of a court or an aristocratic caste their work becomes thin and artificial. They do not reflect life but try to hide it with a tinsel of words. They polish the words at the expense of the substance. Insofar as the workers are free of snobbery they have the Renaissance spirit while all the

petty grades of gentility who are busy setting up their pitiful artificial barriers are cutting themselves off from the fullness of life. When John Lyly wrote his famous *Euphues*, which is merely an essay in word manipulation, it was a sign that the Renaissance spirit—the spirit of the people—was running low. Court wits of the period, eager to cast husk-like words before their royal masters, took up this method, writing arcadias with false sentiment and stilted language. Boccaccio's *Decameron*, although it is the flower of its kind, has the defects characteristic of products of exclusive court periods, while Restoration drama in England reveals similar tendencies. In all this courtier literature there is something unhealthy. It has the artificiality of Versailles hedging and sheltering people from life, and it soon grows stagnant. The breath of the people is needed to give life to literature. Books like Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*, which vibrate with the gigantic controversies of an age, can never be produced for any court circle.

When literature had once become sophisticated it was hard to get back that sincerity and simplicity which great artists share with the mass of the people. As industry and commerce developed the rising middle class brought its own problems of wealth, power, and social life into literature. The old days of noble birth and chivalry vanished, though they still linger ghost-like in our romances. The ghost who haunts the pork-packer's palace, stepping from the old family paintings purchased along with the title, merely adds his ancestral groan to a development which he and his descendants were powerless to prevent. Balzac and Thackeray gave us the restless, rising middle class, the moneyed people with their ideas of vulgar ostentation, supplanting the older aristocracy. We have now sympathetic portrayals of the business man as in Booth Tarkington's *The Plutocrat*, where he is depicted as energetic and efficient, casting money like seed into the furrows, while a crowd of dilettante decadents, who feel superior, are dependent upon him. But the new force, the force of democracy—the rising workers—upon whom they all depend, does not enter the picture. Theodore Dreiser also gives us scientific studies of the financier. It is fitting that in America, where plutocratic society has reached its highest pitch and no earlier social order blurs its outlines, these figures should emerge most clearly.

Dickens' working men, for all his sympathy with the victims of oppression are no more admirable types than are his women. Stephen in *Hard Times* is the prototype of the cringing, servile non-unionist, the grovelling victim of a task master as ignorant as he is aggressive. In

Adam Bede and other specimens of Victorian literature the submissiveness of the worker is stressed and men who are prepared to endure everything meekly are held up as patterns. The position occupied by workers in these books indicates the conventional view of the time. But as society moves forward, inexorably as a glacier, the old standards crumble and splinter. Galsworthy, in *The Forsyte Saga*, writes the swan song of the moneyed class, who began so bravely. In his writings there peep out now and again new figures of working men who are prepared to go on strike or protest against the kind of justice meted out to the poor. Mr. Arnold Bennett shows us through the halls of the Hotel Babylon and the Social Babylon, like a head waiter bowing in his guests. But he also lets us know in books like *Clayhanger* that there are other sorts of people in the world. Edward Clayhanger, who has worked himself into the position of a master printer, is puzzled by exactly the same kind of doubts as Sinclair Lewis's "Babbitt." When his business associates meet and abuse the workers on strike, Clayhanger remarks in a puzzled way that fundamentally the workers who strike must be right; for they would never expose themselves to such suffering unless they had good reason. Strikes used to be dismissed as inexplicable happenings, or else the work of depraved Luddite ruffians.

The spirit of literature is changing. Workers are forming more and more the audiences of the writers. Literature is ceasing to be a pretty game of make-believe for idle people. Many examples could be given of the new trend in books, but it is sufficient here to note the change. It is difficult to say when poets or prose writers began to respond to the urge of democracy. Swinburne is said to have lost the Laureateship for his *Hymn to Man*. And his verse has often been declared incomprehensible, because he expresses a hatred of oppression in a swirling torrent of song. There are many who lisp about his music, but who squirm at his generous democratic sympathies. He helped to lead the poets out of the boudoir to the bivouac. It was the cause of oppressed nationality and of man chained by creeds that he pleaded rather than that of the victims of economic wrong. The haughty Byron and the sweet singer Shelley sang in the same cause. We have had our own William Morris to picture the glories of the Coming Day, while Ernest Jones, the Chartist poet, in his *Song of the Lower Classes*, expressed ironically the social situation of his time.

All down the ages the cry of human suffering has moved the noblest of writers and poets to protest. It is almost impossible to name one

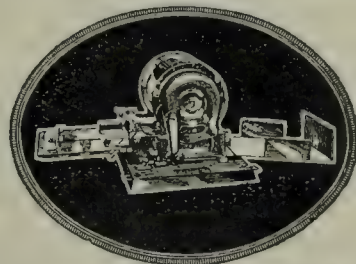
great poet who has not expressed something of the human passion for liberty. But self-expression in literature is now beginning to be a possibility for workers in mines, in ships, in factories, and in mills. In England we have working class writers, such as Stacey W. Hyde, whose *Shopmates* (Labour Publishing Company) gives us the life of factory workers; James C. Welsh, whose *Underworld* pictured mining life; Patrick MacGill, the navvy poet and writer, whose earlier work, notably *Songs of the Dead End*, had the authentic impress of toil; Albert Young, whose *Red Dawn* was published some years ago by the Herald League. W. H. Davies, in his autobiographical books more than in his poetry deals with "low life." But he has always voiced the need for leisure rather than work. For that reason he is a very good writer for workers to read. The greatest representative of the working class in English literature so far is Robert Tressal, whose *Ragged Trousered Philanthropists* is a workers' classic. Its author's real name was Noonan, and he was an Irish building worker who lived and worked at Hastings. Some years ago, when a building workers' dispute was on, I met old friends of his there who told how his story was drawn from life, and that the firm he writes of was even then locking out its workers. In his pages are realism, scorn, pity, derision. And the workers too, when they are ignorant, prejudiced, and slavish do not escape his lash.

Outside England, the number of writers expressing working class life and ideals is constantly growing. Jack London and Maxim Gorky are two outstanding figures. Both have been wanderers, driven on by a hunger for bread and a hunger for life. Gorky is more of a poet—he expresses the beauty, grandeur, and mystery of existence. He sounds the organ notes, while Jack London is sometimes content to shout through the megaphone. But no working man should neglect reading Jack London's autobiographical *Martin Eden* or Maxim Gorky's *Comrades*—the latter giving us the pre-war revolutionary atmosphere of Russia and how it affected the town workers. Virility, zest, adventure, the glow of colour are to be found in Jack London's work. When he opens his eyes and forgets his scraps of pessimistic philosophy he is the forward-looking workman who has a vision of the Life Splendid.

Gorky has never been afraid to look on the worst side of things because he believes in the emergence of something better. He has none of the complacency of the thoroughly comfortable. He has always kept the gates open wide and let the tide of life flow in. The passion for doing everything up in little parcels and labelling them has never appealed

to him. Differences of individual and national temperament make a comparative study of these two working-class writers interesting.

Side by side with the expression of working-class life flows the stream of national and racial culture from oppressed and suppressed nationalities and races. An anthology of negro poems (*Carolling Dusk*, Harpers) has recently been issued. In it is every note from militant indignation, passive delight in beauty to the consolation which crooning spirituals brings to an enslaved people. In *The Hidden Ireland*, by Daniel Corkery, we discover how the Gaelic bards, hunted and starved through the years, retained the consolation of poetry and song. In the dark cabins on the gloomy hillside the flame of Gaelic culture still burned. Later, by a process of grafting, akin to horticulture, the Anglo-Gaelic culture of the Celtic Twilight appeared. All these developments may be traced through the literature of the people as it flows down the ages. In the chanties of toil, gay or sad, in the plaintive cadences of the Volga Boat Song, in the inspiration of the *Marseillaise* or the *Soldier's Song* the people have found the strength to live, to work and to struggle onward.



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The Eleven University Seats

By

PROFESSOR J. J. FINDLAY

SOME years back I raised questions relating to the University seats in the columns of this magazine. Since then I have had the experience of contesting two elections in the Combined English Universities constituency, and therewith have learned a good deal about what goes on in the other six constituencies*. I should now like to put on record an opinion as to what should be the policy of the Labour Party in dealing with the situation. No Party can afford to be without a policy which affects eleven votes in the House of Commons.

First of all let us get the bald facts:—

(1) These seven constituencies convey a privilege, a reward given to persons who have succeeded in displaying their attainments by passing the degree examination of certain chartered bodies called universities. Persons of equal intellectual powers who have passed other examinations of an equal grade conducted by non-university corporations (e.g., Royal College of Art, Science, or of Music) are not thus privileged. It is notorious also that many thousands of our fellow citizens possess and display attainments equal to or beyond those of university graduates, but are not thereby entitled to this privilege of plural voting.

(2) The great bulk of the Labour Party are opposed to any form of plural voting. If the franchise were to be revised tomorrow they would seek to abolish these constituencies. They did not propose abolition in 1918, for the Franchise Bill of 1918 was based on compromise. Mr. Stephen Walsh, who, with others, represented the Labour Party on that occasion, has told us that these seven constituencies were reckoned in as a Conservative makeweight to balance the fears of radical upheaval raised by the "bogies" of votes for women.

(3) The consequence is that the vigour of the Labour Party does not stand behind these elections. The Executive is not unwilling to help candidates, for no great party can let such constituencies be simply

ignored, but the whole business tends to be a half-hearted effort.

With these facts before us we can take the first step. A responsible official pronouncement could be made, viz., that the Labour Party regards the presence in the House of Commons of members elected by the plural vote of university graduates as contrary to democratic principles*. Such a resolution would clear the air in the sense that it would enable those of us who enjoy this vote, and have taken an active share in the elections, to let everyone know the grounds on which we act. I, myself, have always held the view expressed in this pronouncement, but have taken an active share in my own constituency for reasons which I give below.

Now I have found a few graduates (occasionally among such as otherwise are stout adherents of the Labour Party) who think that this special form of plural voting is justified, although they abhor the other form, which is still on the Statute Book. I believe that this opinion is only held by a few, but if it is widely held, all the more reason for it to be frankly argued and a decision reached. So long as there is uncertainty as to the policy of the party every election is fought with a double mind. When we are settled in our principles what policy is to follow? That is, are we to fight these seats so long as they are included in the franchise, or are we to ignore them and treat the whole business as an affront to democracy with which we will hold no terms. Again, let us set down the relevant facts, for example:—

(a) Whether we fight for these seats or not, *we cannot win one of them*. I state this decisive conclusion after carefully examining the figures of the constituencies. Wales has come nearest, but only because there was a split among the Liberals. In my own constituency we never have had a chance. Established clergy, medicals and engineers, are far too numerous to give us a look in. In London Mr. H. G. Wells was hopeful that his name would attract, but he has been disillusioned. Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, and Belfast have never been contested by us, and Scotland is in

* The seats are Oxford, Cambridge, Scotland, and Combined English each returning two members: London, Wales, Belfast one member each.

* Members of the Party who believe in a Second Chamber might well hold that University M.P.'s, if elected at all, would find their home there. But this speculation does not concern the present situation.

poorer case than "Combined English." Enthusiasts have sometimes had visions of a decisive turnover, following in the wake of progress in other constituencies. But they do not reckon with the mentality of our voters; it is pretty steady from one five years period to another, and is well entrenched in the traditional form which the professions, as a whole, present to political life, mainly indifferent, but steadily Conservative.

(b) In three at least, a good Labour candidate is able to secure sufficient votes to save his bacon, i.e., to save himself from having to forfeit the £150. In Oxford and Cambridge I believe that this would also be true, but the venture has not been made.

(c) Since the voters are scattered over Great Britain and beyond, these constituencies have little or no corporate life. A Labour Party such as has been formed, e.g., for the Combined English, and for London, can only be galvanised into life when an election is imminent, hence the maintenance of continuous political activity for the purpose of this vote is impossible, the only activity (quite important in itself) is displayed by the people (students and staff) actually at work *pro tem* in the various university seats.* If then, these constituencies are to be fought the energy must largely come from Transport House, since the constituencies themselves are essentially paper constituencies, enrolled in a register but otherwise showing little signs of life. The only exception is seen when some burning professional question, as recently in the London medical circles, enables an "Independent" to come forward and get help, not for genuine political ends, but to promote a highly organised "trade" interest. The medicals showed their power in this London election just as the country clergy do in Oxford, Cambridge and Durham.

(d) The cost of running the election is trifling. Meetings are very little use for getting votes. The election address, distributed at public cost, is the principle means of reaching the electors.

On the basis of these facts are we to regard these seats, or any of them, as worth fighting? Let it be noted that you cannot consult the electors as you can and should

in normal geographical constituencies. If a settled policy is to be agreed upon, the agreement must be made at the headquarters of the party, after getting such advice as it can from individuals who have had experience in previous elections. The decision obviously depends upon one's views about propaganda, and of these contests as a valuable mode of propaganda, i.e., of preaching a political gospel. I, for one, hold that every constituency in which there are enough known Labour voters to save a Labour candidate from forfeiting his £150, should be fought, and always fought. One regards elections as a useful means of political education. Furthermore, since population in these days is so migratory, converts who can be won to our side by activity in a "hopeless" constituency, may, next year be our sedulous supporters in another part of Britain. In these anomalous university constituencies the argument has far greater force, since every voter has also a vote in his home town for his local M.P., so that whatever influence we Labour university people bring to bear on the graduate's mind is helping some local constituency, although we know that our own man has no chance.

Thus the question boils itself down to this: Is it worth while for the Labour Party, inspired from headquarters, to encourage and practically to organise from headquarters, these contests, purely for the sake of propaganda, i.e., to spread the light in a very dark corner of Britain? I can well imagine that many will say quite decisively: "No, we do not want to preach our gospel to University graduates. Why spend even a few hundreds a year (I reckon it would cost only a small amount to Transport House for the whole of the eleven seats in eight constituencies to be properly handled) to maintain a cause in which *visible* results can never be witnessed?"

Now it is scarcely for me to argue the question: I shall not be a candidate again, for every one agrees that in any hopeless constituency one ought to "change the bowling" after every election or two. The decision depends entirely upon the extent to which we value the untraceable effect of propaganda on the minds of an educated group whom the Party, by this extraordinary device of University election, can influence. I myself believe that this influence is important, and that the young men and women who are chiefly open to it are worth winning to our side. The Labour Party Conference should, I feel sure, declare its policy, and if it decides to promote contests in London, Wales, Scotland, and the

* These form only a small percentage of the voter, but from the standpoint of encouraging young intellectual talent to play its part in Labour politics, the University Labour Clubs are not to be ignored. I am assuming that Labour leaders want such talent to be fostered: one can quite understand that some will be suspicious of an *intelligentsia* which is pretty remote from the rank and file.

Combined English Constituency (possibly also in Oxford and Cambridge); it should announce to all concerned that these contests are undertaken purely for the purpose of propaganda. Few if any votes would be lost by making this announcement beforehand.

If on the other hand the Labour Party Conference prove indifferent to this field of propaganda (regarding this plural vote as an absurdity from which the Party should keep wholly aloof) that also is a sensible attitude to take: a decision either way would be better than leaving the voters to the uncertainties and discouragements which at least in one constituency have been felt by the few workers who have put hard work into the contests.

One final point concerns the finding of candidates to stand for these elections. It is not an easy matter to induce suitable persons to let their names go forward; few men or women are willing to take the trouble for a contest in which the handicap against success is so heavy. At the present moment, I gather that none of the seven constituencies are ready with a Labour

candidate for the forthcoming General Election. May I make a suggestion, which will appear at first blush to be fantastic, and yet on consideration is quite reasonable, in view of the fact, admitted on all hands, that the Labour Party has absolutely no chance of success, and that the contest is merely a paper contest, on which we embark simply for propaganda purposes. I suggest that in case the Labour Party Conference recommend that these seats be contested, the Leader of the Party in the House of Commons be requested to allow himself to be nominated as candidate in any and all of them where there is reasonable evidence that more than one-eighth of the voters are on our side. One Election Address would serve for all; the whole country would then have a piquant illustration, at every General Election, of the way in which eleven seats in Parliament are kept as a close preserve for the old historical parties. No doubt our opponents will regard this suggestion as tending to hold up these constituencies to public ridicule. If so, it is for them to find a remedy; at present, the laugh is all on their side.

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An Industrial Esperanto

By
L. URWICK

(Hon. Secretary, Management Research Groups)

UNDER the title, "The Industrial Tower of Babel," which appeared in the August number, Mr. R. M. Fox reviewed the Congress of the International Association for the Study and Improvement of Human Relations and Conditions in Industry, which took place at Cambridge in July of this year. As he rightly observed "the keynote of the Congress was to be found in the declaration that work is a social function, industry is a science." Apparently this point of departure met with his approval. On the other hand, he was critical of those who believed in scientific management. He did not seem to appreciate that Taylor was the first man to insist to the world that industry is a science, that the only hope of the dispassionate study of work as a social function lies with those who would apply the definition, the intellectual methods, and the ethical standards which inspire scientific workers.

Much early mythology still centres round the work of F. W. Taylor. The founder of scientific management, as is the case with nearly all great and original thinkers, was hugely misrepresented in the days when his work first attracted public attention. He was particularly distorted by a large number of unscrupulous people who advertised themselves as "efficiency engineers" in order to exploit the goodwill attaching to his ideas. Since they had no conception of the underlying principles on which those ideas were based, they were guilty of many crimes both against the employers who consulted them, and against the workers in those factories with which they were permitted to experiment.

It is, therefore, not surprising that the Trade Union world in the United States should have re-acted sharply against what it described as "Taylorism." Over several successive years the annual congress of the American Federation of Labour passed the strongest possible resolutions on the subject, which contained such phrases as "the hideous and tyrannical so-called Taylor system." This chain of events was naturally well-known to Trade Union leaders in this country. A feeling grew up among the workers that scientific management was something hard

and ruthless, and that their sole concern with it was to oppose it with might and main.

The fact is that the question of scientific management has been confused with the various matters at issue between labour and capital. With that great controversy it has, properly considered, nothing directly to do. As a Trade Union representative from Vienna pointed out at the Cambridge Conference: "Whatever may be the ultimate political organisation of industry, there will always be human problems arising from the employment of persons." Unless we are prepared to scrap the whole of our modern machinery of production, in which case we should have to cut down our population by more than two-thirds, we must contemplate a state of society in which there are those whose function it is to plan and to direct, and those whose function it is to carry out those plans and directions.

The same consideration applies to our political, educational, recreational, and other forms of social organisation. As F. W. Taylor himself constantly insisted, scientific management is not a system. It does not consist of a particular series of methods and devices. It is an attitude of mind, a method of approach to all those problems which arise from the employment of persons, whoever happens to be in control, or whatever the purpose in view. It is as applicable to a Government Department, a church, a football club, or to the international administration of a Trade Union as it is to the conduct of a factory under the control of a limited liability company.

It differs from the older conceptions of management in this, that it approaches all such problems afresh, with the methods, the standards, and the intellectual technique of the scientist. It endeavours to secure that every decision is arrived at, not as the result of rule of thumb, guesswork, or personal emotion, but by a careful collection, balancing, measurement, and test of *all* the available facts bearing on the point at issue.

The methods of science are analysis, definition, measurement, and proof. The scientist forms tentative conclusions by means of experiment, and is constantly engaged in adjusting these conclusions in the light of

fresh hypotheses or of fresh groups of facts. Where they stand this searching test they issue in the formation of principles and laws. As will presently be recognised, more particularly by the workers, it was F. W. Taylor who first insisted on this great principle, that the confusion of modern industrial administration can only be solved in the light of principles, evolved by the methods of thought which have inspired the triumphs of modern discovery in the material sciences.

Inevitably, Taylor's work was tentative and incomplete . . . as the work of Darwin in biology has been rounded out by later workers in the same field. Experimental psychologists of the English school have rightly called attention to the importance of individual rhythms and the necessity of modifying the conception of the "one best way" in the light of more recent discoveries. Taylor himself would have welcomed such discoveries. He even envisaged developments in experimental psychology which have taken place since his day. "There is one science," he writes, "to which insufficient attention has been given, the science of human motives."

Similarly in the United States, the technique which he applied specially to the problems of machine production, has been carried over into the field of industrial relations. The results in many factories in the increased comfort, welfare, and contentment of the workers have been noted by the MacKenzie Commission, and by many Trade Union observers.

Those who have made the closest study of his underlying philosophy are the most convinced that the faults of expression and the ignorant and piecemeal attempts to apply his methods which brought his work into temporary disrepute with the American Trade Unions in no way represented the fine social idealism and underlying vision of the man himself. It is true that in his later years he was critical of the Trade Unions. He was a human being. And in the confusion of immediate controversy they had covered with obloquy the work and the ideas to which he had given his life and his fortune.

This is being realised by ever-increasing numbers of persons in all branches of the Labour Movement. For some years past, leaders of the American Trade Unions have taken note of two important facts. In the first place it is just in those factories where Taylor's principles are most thoroughly understood, that they find the strongest support for the doctrine of high wages. Secondly, it is

there, too, that they find the greatest willingness to co-operate in working out experiments in industrial relations.

The past and present Presidents of the American Federation of Labour have declared roundly in favour of scientific methods of production and the elimination of waste. At a recent conference a representative of the printers described how his union had established its own consultants in scientific management. When an employer said that he could not pay the union rates, they sent him along to advise him on the better management of his plant.

The same is true of this country. It is not the employers who are indifferent to labour and its developing status who are most interested in scientific management. It is the Renolds and the Rowntrees—the men who are most willing to accord full recognition to Trade Unionism and to co-operate with its leaders in working out in practice those measures by which the workers may collaborate critically and creatively, and take a growing part in the running of industry.

Many of the leaders of the Labour Party appreciate this. Mr. Bevin's signature appears under the report of the Mackenzie Commission. Mr. Pugh recently said at a conference at the Guildhall: "Rationalisation involves scientific management, a much misunderstood term. This does not mean the regimentation of labour, a sort of goose-step to the time of the machine; it means the science of good management, good government in industry, applied to the workshop, winning the co-operation of labour for the elimination of waste in human effort, material, and organisation, and in getting the best results in productive enterprises and services. Combined with this is the acceptance of the principle that in the science of good management, cutting down wages and extending hours of labour is the last and not the first resource."

Turning to the left wing, it may be noticed that one of the first actions of the U.S.S.R. was to establish in Moscow an institution for the study of F. W. Taylor's work, and of the developments which have flowed from it. Is any further evidence needed that the science of management is not integral with the present political organisation of industry, an employers' dodge to be dismissed with a shrug, but is something essential to any form of effort in which men must co-operate?

But the prejudice remains. Many workers seem to be totally unaware that the chief motive which drove Taylor to try to evolve a new approach to questions of industrial

management was the disgust of a sympathetic and sensitive man at the bullying methods which were the common currency of foremanship in the American machine shop of the '80's. To say, as has been said, that Taylor desired "to remove all initiative, all thought, all criticism from the workshop," and to "degrade the worker into a productive machine" is preposterously wide of the mark. One wonders how many of his critics have studied the standard biography of the great reformer.*

Now, this prejudice is important. Because it blinds some of the ablest minds in the Labour Movement to the strongest line of attack against many of the inequalities and injustices under which the workers suffer, an attack on the obsolete methods of management which give rise to them. Moreover, it prevents a proper understanding between the worker groups and those groups of managers and technicians who, economically, should be in sympathy with them. Collaboration is a social fact. It will remain a social fact whoever owns the industrial capital of the country, or on whatever system our industry is organised. To-day, co-operative societies, municipal undertakings, and Government Departments have their problems of management, no less than capitalist undertakings. They can only be solved with the consent and willing co-operation of all concerned.

But men cannot collaborate, they cannot even negotiate or discuss a question intelligently together unless the words they

use have the same meaning for all of them. An effort to introduce a common language into the industrial babel is probably the most important problem which now confronts the world. The only progress which has ever been achieved in this direction has been in the established sciences. In mathematics, physics, and chemistry, men of different races and different social status can speak together on their problems of common interest. Because they have used the intellectual technique of the investigator—analysis, definition, measurement, and proof. They have established a currency for the rapid and easy exchange of ideas in the search for truth. There is no other path by which we can march to the solution of our industrial and social difficulties.

When, therefore, representatives of the workers say that "they do not believe in scientific management," when they misrepresent the essential work which F. W. Taylor performed—the application to industrial problems of the scientific intellectual technique—what they are really saying is this: "We do not believe in definition. We do not want analysis. We abhor measurement. We are indifferent to proof." They are shutting the door on the only real hope, the progressive discovery of truth. They are denying at the start any possibility of collaboration, because they will not use the intellectual methods by which alone the verbal instruments of collaboration can be forged. They leave the manager and technician feeling like a Darwinian biologist trying to talk to a fundamentalist from Dayton.

* *F. W. Taylor*. By F. B. Copley. 2 vols. Harpers.

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The Mother of Parliaments

A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY

By

EDWARD HUNTER

THERE are some most remarkable characteristics in the every day habits of the people, which extending through long years assume the status of phenomena. In my own little Scots village I am amazed over the number of persons who have never looked upon the sea; the coast-line can be reached all round three points of the compass at the end of a forty mile journey. Lovers of nature all, to whom, from childhood, every nook and crannie of the glens, every mood of the moorlands, the manner of water life, are understood. They are in sincerity and truth veritable children of nature. But the first Great Mother of all life, the sea, many have not seen.

In May-June of this year I left the village and wandered forth to London, there to spend a month. Upon the second day after my arrival in the greatest city of all time I sought the Mother of Parliaments. No doubt a strong histrionic instinct urged me there: to look upon the scenes from which emerge the decrees affecting the destiny of the Britannic Imperial millions and beyond. While there I met those who had come from the ends of the earth with a like desire.

During my residence I was delighted to find people who had lived for many years within a brief walking distance from the House of Parliament who had never visited its chambers of majesty and power; delighted over the discovery of the same strange characteristic human habit in city and glen. In quest of keener delight I spoke to my city friends of the strath natives and the sea, and upon my return told the glenfolk of the Londoners who had not been to look upon the Mother of Parliaments. Without exception each expressed philosophical astonishment at the habits of the other.

I found myself seated in the Distinguished Visitors' Gallery. How one could ruminate over the primitive and foundational arts of law giving, the coming and the going of the People's Chosen. The tinker and the tailor, the laird and the captain of industry, the craftsmen, the miner, the artisan, the poet, the philosopher, the usurper, the upstart, the clown, the mind with soul and vision, and the robot.

As I looked down upon the "legislative assembly" the records of many great and moving events arose before me. Of those I

had heard in my boyhood imagination yet lent its vivid glow of life; the "moving finger" of the day left many a stirring scene to rouse anew in mystic fervour, and the calm, tranquil penetration of the cold, clear intellectual statesmen who delivered their well-chiselled sentences seemed to speak with the breath of the prophets.

I thought of the times that had held a nation's imagination centred within these gilded chambers. The fateful hours fraught with civil war and carrying the negation of all life, yet stirring the soul of the millions—now all, all gone the transient way that leads to forgetfulness and the dust. Which arrested the thought of just what makes a truly historic past in a people's annals?

The issue before the House was the Mining situation. Just two years ago (1926) these same miners had brought about the elements of revolution against the Government. During that greatest of industrial struggles ever witnessed in Britain a stern direct urge was given the lawmakers. The struggle passed, and the Mother of Parliaments remained!

The cause of that broken army of six million miner-folk, one-quarter of whom were existing below the bread line, with no hope and little trust left in a common humanity, bereft of the most primitive elements of life, that cause was to be pleaded as I sat looking down—down upon what?

If ever injustice and unfairness were manifest within a social polity all those ill-gotten traits were present in the coal-fields of Britain; and if turbulence lends aid to a cause, if passionate out-burst of the iconoclast is justifiable in aid of his search for human betterment, verily, if the seizure of the House, *a la* Cromwell, were the need of the hour, and that need based upon human suffering, then that hour and act were at hand.

As I looked down in the House of Commons the manners of other Legislative Chambers in other lands thrust themselves across my vision. I recalled incidents of an angry people giving live expression to their protestations in the terms of death. Being a man of peace I deemed it odd that such thoughts should come—but, then, life is filled with oddities. How easy for the rebel boom to be hurled across the dimness, almost drowsy dusk, of those chambers before me, to carry a cause

in the language of violence and sensation. And looking down I understood why no such instrument was utilised, despite the tension of a degraded, down-trodden humanity by the super-shylocks of the day: the only wreck would have been the ruins of the miners' own cause.

It was a unique occasion. Was there ever so powerful a Government? For two hours I looked and wondered. The massive emptiness of the Government benches—three sole representatives, sitting like three Hindu gods in the purple places of power in the Mother of Parliaments! Of the departed glory of the Liberals eleven remained! His Majesty's opposition and late Government in office, like a well picked clan to keep and hold the pass, as was meet, represented forty-five hefty men from the coalfields, two women and many loyal camp-followers.

Duncan Graham, of Lanarkshire Black Country, was saying, "Never in the memory of man had such suffering and misery been known," facts rattled across the floor like as many bullets, there to be lost within the vast cushiony billows of neglect and contempt. Robert Smillie, toiling in his remembrance of half-a-century's devotion to the cause of those for whom he pleaded, brought forward the thin wasted forms of the disinherited children, women and men of the barren, cold, stoney coalfields. Every known manner of downright, straightforward speech he called into service. He challenged the sincerity of the House in morning prayers, holding up in his worn, aged hands the horrors of the pitfolk whose existence was a mockery to Almighty God and honest men.

When the Government's voice of the mines had toyed and played with phrases, meaningless to the hungry, save to intensify their suffering, I came away. A few moments later the House rose for Whitsun holiday.

In the following days I was to come into contact with the flaunting wealth of London and a small struggling band of Welsh mining choristers—Wales, where the suffering is keenest and the singing the sweetest. "Land of our Fathers" outsoared the splendid beauty of royal Hyde Park, which was declared to be then at its best.

My next visit to the Mother of Parliaments was after the holiday. My companion had the soul of the poet. Together we walked through the dusky corridors, the dream of Art and beauty. Chisel and brush had caught the ideal and the vision, held the real from the destruction of the dust. The gilt and the purple set amid the romance and the splendour of lost and won causes—and waited in a poignant calm the ever Chosen of the People.

Whoever walks therein may well be impressed with the simple, eternal truth that Man is but a tiny dew-bead unto the ocean. From every nook and corner, from recess and canopy alike emerges the sure true voice of destiny. All human elementals pervade the atmosphere and give a penetrating urge. Through those corridors have passed the mighty in their weakness and the weak in their might: the strength of the poor and the frailty of the strong.

The sun shone brightly upon the Home of The Mother of Parliaments, while clouds gathered overhead.

"Are you coming in? The Prayer Book is on," invited a friendly M.P., one of the Chosen.

I said I had been when the mining situation was considered, that now I had no desire to go.

"Not even the Prayers? They're all there—"

My cynical friend understood as I left to go down into the coalfields.

As sure as the Thames flows unendingly and washes the foundations of the House of Parliament there will yet come the Chosen of the People who will translate the wealth and beauty of power into the homes and lives of the inhabitants of these Isles—and on that day, there will be neither great nor lowly, rich nor disinherited. The Mother of Parliaments will not hear in mockery the weary annals of suffering, for there will be none such in a land of beauty and the plenitude of the good gifts of life.

ERRATUM

"The Trials and Tribulations of the Red International"

Mr. William O'Brien, General Secretary of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, writes to correct the impression given by a passage in the above article, which appeared in the September issue of the "Labour Magazine," in which it was stated:—

"In the course of the past four years the Red International of Labour Unions has not been able to secure the affiliation of a Trade Union Movement in any single European country; it is, however, faced with the secession of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union."

Mr. O'Brien states that this union has never been affiliated to the R.I.L.U.

The Editor of the "Labour Magazine" regrets that, by an inadvertence, the position of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union should have been misrepresented, and gives publicity gladly to the correction.

THE

LABOUR MAGAZINE

*Official Journal of the Trades Union Congress
and the Labour Party*

Editorial Offices: TRANSPORT HOUSE (SOUTH
BLOCK), SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W. 1.

Telephones: VICTORIA 8016-7-8

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THE political deck is being cleared for action. Each of the political parties is now busily engaged in taking stock of its position, and in completing efforts for the coming strenuous fight. In every respect, excepting that of finance, the Labour Party is in a better condition to enter the fray than it has been prior to any previous General Election. Its draft programme—entitled, “Labour and the Nation,” is ready. Including the 158 sitting Labour Members of Parliament, the number of endorsed candidates has passed the 480 mark, and other candidatures are in process of being fixed up. The gratifying progress that Labour has made during the long series of by-elections that have taken place since the last General Election has had a very stimulating effect upon the whole Labour Movement. Only in the matter of finance has a setback been experienced. As the Executive report for the year states: “During the four years that have passed since the Labour Ministry vacated office, the movement has suffered harshly from the industrial and political policy pursued by the Conservative Government, and its inaction with regard to the ever-present problem of unemployment has also had a direct effect upon the membership of our affiliated Trade Unions and, indirectly, upon our own political organisation.”

* * *

THIS has inevitably involved a temporary financial strain—a result that was undoubtedly intended and aimed at by our opponents. But it is true, nevertheless, that our constituency parties everywhere are

looking forward with expectation and confidence to the general appeal to the people next year. “There was never a more widespread sense of the Labour Party’s capacity nor a greater anxiety on the part of the great masses of the electors for an opportunity to give a Labour Government a mandate to assume power as well as office.” The past history of political Labour has shown that it has been able to rely more upon the practical loyalty, the devoted service, the comradeship and sense of solidarity of its rank and file than upon large financial resources, and although our political opponents are wallowing in wealth, they will be deluding themselves if they imagine that it will enable them to stem the strong tide that is flowing with Labour. For every £1 we have been able to spend they have always been able to spend £100, but as the rapid rise of Labour proves, this has not been a determining advantage to them. Still, it is necessary that the Labour Party should have adequate resources for the efficient conduct of the campaign upon which it will embark, and now that the General Election has become imminent, we confidently look to the rank and file to rise generously to the occasion and provide the political party with the means necessary to enable it to achieve the full measure of success.

* * *

THE Report on Currency, Banking and Credit—to be incorporated in *Labour and the Nation* if approved by Conference—has attracted a considerable amount of attention in the Press, and its importance certainly warrants careful consideration. Briefly, it is proposed: (a) That the Bank of England should be controlled by a public corporation containing representatives of the Treasury, the Board of Trade, Industry, Labour, and the Co-operative Movement; (b) that banking facilities to people with small means should be extended by the development of Municipal and Co-operative Banks throughout the country; (c) That an inquiry should be undertaken as regards the best means of securing the qualitative, and not merely the quantitative use of credit, since the interests of the community demand that differential financial treatment should be meted out to forms of productive

enterprises according as their uses are of social advantage to the revenue ; (d) that the Genoa Conference proposals of 1922 for the regulation of the value of gold by international agreement should be carried out.

* * *

IT is to the interest of the world as a whole that prices should be stable, that exchanges should be stable. A nation acting independently can at most only achieve one of these objects; to achieve both international co-operation is necessary. The Genoa Conference of 1922 therefore proposed that the central banks of the different countries should confer with a view to the general maintenance of stable gold prices, and the true policy for this country is to do all in its power to implement the Genoa proposals. As regards internal control, the Bank of England exercises functions not merely commercial but also governmental. In practice co-operation with the Treasury takes place, and some regard is had to national responsibilities. But the governing body, possessing great powers, ought to be made responsible to the community and not merely to banking individuals, and for that reason should be representative of various interests as proposed. The "banking" view is by no means necessarily the best national and social view. The proper direction of credit is more difficult. The total amount of credit is more or less limited, and the more limited it is the more desirable is it that the best possible use from the national point of view should be made of the available supply. The control of investment and the allocation of credit are of vital importance, and it is necessary to work out some qualitative policy in accordance with which such control should be exercised. This is to a large extent unbroken ground, and an inquiry should take place to investigate the best means of carrying the idea into practical effect. The idea that currency and credit matters can be left to the Bank of England and Treasury officials to settle, and that they are of little interest and importance either to the general public or to Parliament, is a profound error. Informed opinion must be developed, and the proposals outlined are an important step in this direction.

THE prospect of any substantial reduction of armaments by mutual agreement recedes for the moment into the uncertain future, when the Governments of the Great Powers will have been overthrown by the representatives of organised Labour. The promise of disarmament made to Germany in the Treaty of Versailles is but a mocking gesture. This unfulfilled promise may come home to roost very shortly in the form of a demand for the recognition of the right of Germany to re-arm. The terms of the Anglo-French compromise on the basis of naval limitation, and the terms of the speeches made at the Assembly of the League, admit of no other conclusion. According to Press reports M. Paul Boncour was quite explicit. "Everyone," he said, "had abandoned the idea of a single great disarmament achievement. They must progress by stages, and the first stage was to stop absolutely the competition in armaments." Limitation, the status quo, economy, a naval holiday, if you like, are the immediate end of the elaborate diplomatic and technical preparations which have been taking place since 1918, and are still incomplete. The reduction of armaments has ceased to be the objective of the Great Powers represented in the miscalled Preparatory Disarmament Commission. The outlawry of war was but a ceremonial function. "The Multilateral Treaty," Mr. Kellogg gently explains to the Press, "is not related to the naval problem." "We are already disarmed, more or less," says every Conservative orator.

* * *

IF disarmament were the aim of the Powers, the terms of the Anglo-French compromise would be relatively insignificant. Within the framework of a treaty upon that basis, all battleships, all battle cruisers, all aircraft carriers, all cruisers with more than 6in. guns, all deep-sea submarines, and all military aircraft might be abolished; the great Powers might be left without battle fleets on the sea or in the air. But that is not the intention. What is being discussed is only a formula for the basis of limitation, and from that standpoint will not obtain the agreement of Italy and the United States. It is a formula which abandons the Washington

ratio for small submarines and cruisers with 6in. guns or less. It is therefore unacceptable to the Americans, who think they must build ship for ship with Great Britain, and as they intend to build many 10,000 ton cruisers, the building of small cruisers which they do not want would increase, and not reduce, their expenditure on naval armaments. Italy, the greatest obstacle to agreement in the Disarmament Commission, proposed that the total tonnage of each navy should be limited, leaving the Governments to distribute and arrange this tonnage as they saw fit. Agreement upon this thesis is impossible. The Anglo-French basis will certainly displease the Italian Government.

* * *

BUT the convenient assumption that, when agreement has been reached among the naval powers, the Disarmament Commission may then meet with some prospect of success is both gratuitous and disingenuous. The mists of innuendo, intrigue, and diplomatic legerdemain which now surround the Anglo-French negotiations serve to conceal other, equally vital, points of disagreement. Does the French Government now agree that the number of men to be called to the colours each year and the period of their stay in barracks should be limited? Does the British Government now agree that rifles, tanks, howitzers, etc., should be limited? Do either the British or the American Governments now accept the principle of the international control of the traffic in arms and the manufacture of arms? Do they now agree that a Disarmament Treaty would be valueless without some machinery of supervision? Does Italy now agree to the separation of her civil and military aviation services? Does Mr. Kellogg imagine that his proposition that the American Army bears no relation to any other army in the world, when thrown into a Disarmament Conference, would promote the reduction of armed forces in Europe? When these unsettled points are settled, it may be useful to hold a Disarmament Conference. It is the primary function of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission to settle them. This Commission has not met for 18 months, and

within that time, the single achievement of the method of diplomatic bilateral negotiations has been the conclusion of an agreement upon the naval clauses of a treaty by Britain and France which may satisfy Japan, but which will certainly dissatisfy Italy and the United States. The other unsettled points remain unsettled. At this rate of progress, the Preparatory Disarmament Commission might well have been postponed *sine die*, without the pretext that it may meet in the early part of 1929.

* * *

SCIENTIFIC Trade Unionism won a notable triumph at the Swansea Congress, when issues as momentous as any which have been presented during the two generations of Congress history were decided. Two things contributed primarily to the result on each issue raised: The evidences offered in the report before Congress of the close consideration given by the General Council during the year under review of the problems before the movement, and the unshakable commonsense of the delegates, who refused to be swayed by any other consideration than the sheer logic of the situation. Thus the calculations of those irresponsibles who expected that the occasion would be a suitable one for a little baiting of the General Council were sadly thrown out; most of these self-appointed critics found themselves treated with a crushing tolerance which did indeed verge on impatience when their methods of self-expression threatened to hold up serious business.

* * *

THE debate on the Turner-Mond conferences was an encouraging one from the point of view of the General Council, for it revealed how deep was the interest of the movement in the undertaking on which they had embarked, and how sincere was the appreciation of their motives in accepting responsibilities which they might plausibly have evaded. From the outset of the debate, there was no real doubt as to the verdict of Congress. The commonsense argument of Mr. Citrine that it was impossible to talk about workers' control in industry while refusing to discuss the topic with the employers carried conviction; the argument was

reinforced by the remark of Mr. Clynes that rationalisation would go on in any case, and that it was better for the workers to have their say with regard to the process than to leave it to work itself out to the tune of ancient jeremiads. The triumph of the General Council's policy was all the more remarkable in view of the formidable weight, in personnel, of the opposition. Three members of the General Council—two of them ex-chairmen—were among those who found themselves unable to accept the General Council's point of view, and the report of the debate shows that they were given ample opportunity to develop their arguments. But these influential critics, despite the fact that their contributions to the debate did not fall below the high level which characterised the discussions throughout, were unable to make any effective impression; by an overwhelming majority Congress supported a policy which as a matter of logic and commonsense had proved unassailable.

* * *

PURELY factious criticism, such as was in evidence in the debate on the South Wales Miners' March, got very short shrift. It was clear in this, as in some other passages at Congress, that the patience of the Trade Union Movement has been at last thoroughly exhausted by the peevish obstructiveness and the disruptive double-dealing of secret or avowed Communists. One of the defects which appear to characterise their psychology is an inability to perceive the unpleasantly obvious, and for that reason it may be some time before Communism fully understands that the kicks which deposited it downstairs at Swansea registered a real and hearty feeling of dislike, and did not imply the coyness of dissembled affection. But it should be impossible for them to maintain, even to themselves, the fiction that a distaste for intrigue and disloyalty is a mere bureaucratic idiosyncrasy, and that the rank and file are longing for the chance to ply the hammer and sickle in an assault on the structure which for a hundred years has been their refuge against industrial tyranny. The decisions at Swansea were the decisions of a Trade Union democracy which is no more minded to submit to the domination of a handful of disgruntled doctrinaires than it is to

relinquish its intention of pressing forward on the progressive lines planned for it by its leaders. Communism has failed completely and finally to stampede the Trade Union Movement, and its failure has immensely strengthened the aspirations of those who are genuinely concerned in realising for the workers their claims to a freer economic life, and a fuller share of the fruits of their industry.

* * *

THE protective value of Trade Unionism is strikingly illustrated in connection with a case which came before the Social Insurance Committee of the Trades Union Congress General Council at its last meeting. The case, which arose out of appeals to the umpire by the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation and the National Union of Textile Workers, may be summarised historically as follows. Prior to the 1927 Unemployment Insurance Act the Umpire had decided that days of customary holiday, as well as the idle Monday or Saturday in a five-shift week, should count for "continuity," though not counting for benefit or waiting days. The effect of this decision was to make benefit payable for days which would otherwise have been disallowed on the ground that there had been a break between them. In the 1927 Act the present Government inserted certain words with the apparent intention of destroying the effect of the Umpire's decision on this point, and, acting on this change, the Chief Insurance Officer disallowed all claims based on that decision. The two unions alluded to above each took a case to the Umpire, who ruled that the words added in the 1927 Act did not affect the principle stated in the previous decision, and that the rule of practice which had been followed in the past should, therefore, be continued. This important victory is very largely due to the prompt action of two powerful unions in defence of the rights of their constituents. It is hardly necessary to say that the difficulties which would have faced an individual in attempting to raise such an issue must have proved insuperable. Incidentally, the result is an incontrovertible argument in favour of an independent umpire, able to review cases with a detachment from all considerations save those of logic and fairplay.

New Tasks for Trade Unionists

By
BEN TILLET

II.

TO give the category of just a small proportion of the achievements of organised labour is the best answer to the extremists. I give it here.

There are three great systems of protective legislation designed for the benefit of the workpeople. Take first the series of Factory Acts, extending over a period of more than a century. I should be the last to say that this system of factory legislation is perfect. It can be extended, and must be extended in various directions. But it is already a comprehensive, wide-ranging system. It began in 1819 with an Act applying to cotton mills, and prohibiting the employment of children under nine years of age and limiting the hours of work for young people under sixteen years of age to nine hours a day exclusive of meal times. Not a great thing, we may think, in these days, but it was a beginning. Government inspection of factories was secured in the Act of 1833, and by 1867 when the principal Factory Act was passed practically all factories of any importance were brought within the scope of its provisions.

The earlier Factory Acts applied mainly to children, but women workers were brought in under the Act of 1844, and some male workers in the Act of 1891. As early as 1847 a Ten Hours Act was passed for the factories, applying to all except adult male workers, and though this gain was lost a few years later in non-textile factories—where the legal standard day is still ten and a-half hours—the textile factory workers got back their ten-hour day in 1874. And as we know, since then the eight-hour day has become almost universal in British industry, by voluntary collective agreement between the Trade Unions and the

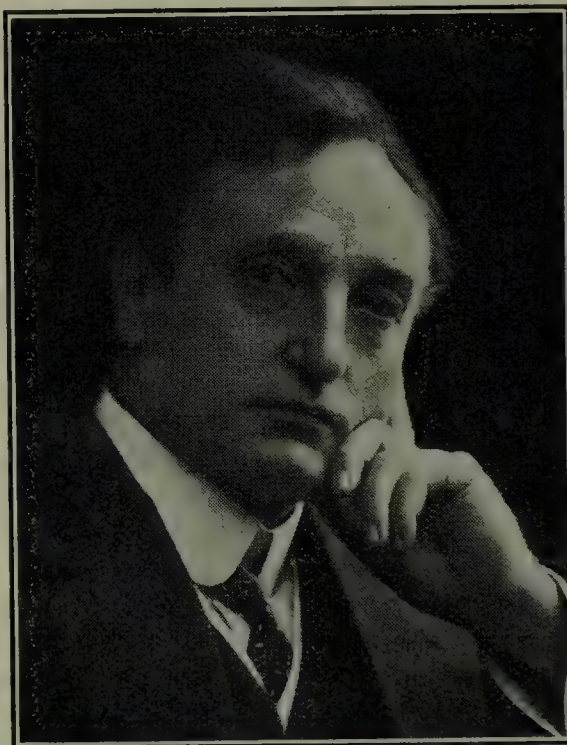
employers. In the Act of 1867 there were the important provisions relating to safety in the factories which have since been so widely extended. In the 1891 Act more detailed regulations were made on these lines, and the age of employment for children was raised to eleven years. Then came the Act of 1895 which initiated the provisions for protecting the workpeople against the dangers of a certain

industrial process, including anthrax, lead, arsenic, and phosphorous poisoning. By 1901 the activities of the Home Office Inspectors had led to the extension of these provisions by administrative orders from the Home Secretary, and to-day they cover more than 30 trades. The series of Factory Acts was added to by the measure passed in 1916, and further legislation is contemplated.

Our own Labour Government in 1924 framed a most comprehensive measure and I confidently anticipate a forward step will soon be made in further factory legislation.

Another great legislative series affecting the workpeople directly is the

system of national insurance against sickness and unemployment. The National Health Insurance Act of 1911 extended protection in sickness to all manual workers between sixteen and seventy years of age, and to non-manual workers earning less than £250 a year who do not claim exemption. To-day more than 15,000,000 workers are covered by the health insurance system, including agricultural workers and domestic servants. The normal benefit payable under the scheme is 15s. a week for men and 12s. a week for women for a period of 26 weeks, Disablement Benefit after the 26th week of 7s. 6d.; a Maternity Benefit of 40s. for the wife of an insured workman,



BEN TILLET

increased to £4 if the wife is also an insured person herself. In addition there are provisions made for medical treatment, including the supply of medicines and surgical appliances.

Then there is the unemployment insurance system, which this country was the first to introduce as a national policy. There has been a long series of amending Acts, culminating in the measure passed in 1920 when the scheme applied to something like 11,000,000 workpeople, and the rates of contributions provide between £40,000,000 and £50,000,000 a year to mitigate the worst ravages of the scourge of unemployment.

Finally, there is the system of workmen's compensation, beginning with the Employers' Liability Act of 1880, and continued through a whole series of Workmen's Compensation Acts, consolidated as recently as 1925. This has been an inestimable boon to many thousands of working-class homes. Here, too, much has yet to be done to perfect the system. Our own Trades Union Congress General Council has been working with representatives of the Labour Party and the Parliamentary Labour Party on a new Act which will introduce new principles into the administration of workmen's compensation. But as it stands, the system of legislative protection for the workers embodied in these three great series of Acts of Parliament are a signal illustration of progress made in the last 100 years. I say nothing of the other developments in particular industries, such as the mines regulations which provide for periodical inspections to ensure as far as is humanly possible the safety of our brothers underground. Much might be written, too, of the work of the Home Office inspectors, who are not merely policemen to see that the law and regulations of the State authorities are enforced, but are guardians of the workpeople, constantly advising, warning, and guiding the managements of industrial enterprise. And the historian will note that these developments in industrial legislation coincide and synchronise with the establishment of a powerfully organised workers' movement which has become as influential in politics as it is in industry. It has been the instrument of this vast socially beneficial revolution with which I have been dealing here.

In our Parliamentary, in our municipal, and in our civil life, the Trade Union Movement has, and still is, persuading and determining not only the lives of the vast proportion of the workers, but the lives of millions of those who may not come under a Trade Union label. Efficiency, economy, and untold benefits, have resulted from

the intervention and from the use of the brains and skill of the working-class in municipal administration as well as in Parliamentary, executive, and general administrative affairs. The great Co-operative Movement itself is an instance of this practical, every-day, solid, beneficial working. What meant, a few years back, the interchange of just a few thousand pounds by the use of the workers' pence, now runs into hundreds of millions of pounds per annum, whilst property of colossal extent and value has been erected. Co-operative machinery and control is the most effective defence the worker of this country has against the food profiteers. And be it known that practical work has been carried on by millions of contributors and servants who may not be able even to explain in programme, policy, or speech what it all means. It is an intuition and a common sense which urges them on.

The Co-operative Movement has in it all the great seeds of potential revolutionary change, and is now developing a political spirit and organising a citizen vote that will, I feel sure, compete successfully against the capitalist organisations of traders and shopkeepers who, through their ordinary retail business, verily bite the hand that feeds them. The multiple shop is assisting the great revolutionary change. One feature that appears to pass unnoticed by the glib-tongued, unthinking critic is that collective enterprise is swallowing private enterprise. Even the development of trusts, combinations, mergers, and the like, are object

"NEW TASKS FOR TRADE UNIONISTS."

Owing to a printer's error, the concluding phrase of the 1st instalment of Mr. Tillet's article in the September issue of the Labour Magazine was changed in meaning. The phrase should run:—

"... there are vast revolutionary possibilities in the interchange of viewpoints, of knowledge, and of experience, which, by unremitting labour and patience, may represent a step along the road to the desired co-operative commonwealth that would be impossible by the insane methods of the extremists on both sides."

lessons to the student of evolution and development generally.

If these features were the only reasons to be offered, or the only arguments to be advanced, there is enough fighting resource and enough fighting material and organisation ready to take its place in the line against even the monopolistic octopus, whatever its supposed power may be. The real bogey the workers have to fight is their own weakness. The so-called organisations of non-unionists, anti-Trade Unionists, and others, ought not to be tolerated in any organisation of labour. The Trade Union Movement, which has been built up on so much suffering and martyrdom, has been the only machinery and the only defence for the toilers during the last 100 years.

In my early days the employers and the Shipping Federations had free Labour organisations; blackleg legions upon which they spent millions of money. They were employed by the capitalists for the purpose of destroying Trade Unionism, but even their tactics and methods were more honest than the tactics now being employed by the movements (the majority of whose members do not possess a Trade Union card) which have the temerity to claim official recognition. In the mining section alone there are 1,000,000 men, women and children suffering every condition of famine. Not merely is the Government—the rapacious, sordid, ruthless Government—responsible for these things; the small section of reckless, frothy, irresponsible leaders of the miners, is equally responsible for the debacle.

The worst type of capitalist hails with delight the work of the sabotage and the vile abuse being poured forth, not merely by the “yellow” Press but by a jaundiced crowd of self-seekers.

The Trade Union Movement has beaten the “Free Labour” Movement and the blackleg organisations of the employers. It must now beat the meaner, sinister organisations, whatever their origin, their label, their claims, or their slogans may be. It is essential that the Trade Union Movement should prosper, and that its educative and constructive work, and its active policy, should be energetically continued.

Taking our racial outlook, our temperament, our experience, our political, social, and environmental conditions, the Trade Union Movement is the only factor, organised constructive and persistent, that can operate in the interests of the workers. After all, the Trade Union basis of organisation is the model on whatever is practical in the Soviet governing system. Our Trade Union Movement has been copied by the

Soviets, to whom, let us say, we wish every good luck and every success.

I have no desire to interfere with any political nostrums, whether they be “Left” or “Right” Minorityism or Communism, “I.W.W.” or “X.Y.Z.’s,” but I am concerned with the British Trade Union Movement above all others. I have buried too much of my life in that movement to be otherwise. I have seen its rising and its extension; I have seen its power grow and its recognition compelled.

Whatever the opinions of the private member may be our scrap is with the capitalist system. We are inside that system and we meet at the round table of its magnates. We fight what is inevitable. We fight for our place in the sun, and I feel, as sure as I live, that the men who can undertake this steadfast work on behalf of the movement will be the dependable minds, hearts, and souls, in any change, even if that change be rapid. The Trade Union Movement must go on. Its disruption would leave this country without a working-class movement of any consequence, just as the disruption of the French Trade Union Movement has left it a wreck with creeping paralysis, unable to defend itself. In France, the capitalists have conquered the disjointed ranks of labour without lifting a finger. In fact, the capitalist Government of that country has done more for national socialism than the Socialists; for, in investing £500,000,000 in the restoration of the devastated area, they are not merely lenders of money but are in strict executive control of the great industries that have been built up since the war, thereby adding 500 per cent. to the value of their investment. Italy and Germany might also be quoted.

Russia was only saved from utter dissolution by the Trade Union Movement, just as that movement fortified it against the world’s capitalists who, wolflike, still watch their opportunity to rob and pillage. The Trade Unionism of Russia is the great solid force feared by the capitalist Governments and is the strength of Russian Sovietism.

It would be quite easy to expose, in a very few chapters, the horrible results of the sabotage and wreckage in the forms of unemployment, lower wages and starvation, that can only be faced up to by a united front as expressed through Trade Unionism. In the fierce industrial battles which will necessarily accompany the mighty changes taking place in every conceivable form of production, machinery, invention, organisation, plant, transport—internationally as well as nationally—there is a need for the closing-up of the ranks, for a well-ordered discipline, and for a command over the forces of labour through

the machinery of Trade Unionism. The loss of trade, the loss of wages, and the loss of Trade Union membership, go to make up a tragedy of social and industrial consequence which is already spelling ruin to the country.

The worst capitalist enemy of the Trade Union Movement is the most self-satisfied person in viewing the disruptive tactics of the so-called Labour champions. Those of us who have given a long life to the movement, who have known the bitterness of the struggles, and who have helped work for order out of chaos, courage out of cowardice, stability out of the casual, have seen our movement grow in a manner which has gladdened our hearts.

Our contributions, our maintenance, our administration, our Government and executive control, represent the last word in democracy. The movement gives to every man a chance of place and power. Its membership brings ever-increasing benefits. Its outlook is still promising as its strength is still vigorous. We have nothing to lose but our chains even when we meet the employers. We have nothing to lose in our strength unless our forces are disrupted by ill-governed minds and judgments.

It is only just beginning to dawn upon the more vigorous Trade Union membership and leadership that it is essential that our debates across the small table shall continue, and that as the revolutionary changes take place in manufacture, in production and distribution, in values and costs, in prices and markets, consequent upon the furtherance of the capitalist policy of enlarging mergers, combines, trusts, cartels, and national and international amalgamations, our brains should follow the developments with anxiety, at the same time as fiercely promoting the interests of Labour as the other side energetically seek their own good and gains.

That is the logic of our position. To introduce slogans like "Turnerism" or "Mondism," or any other "ism," is so much blathering. It is capitalism we are dealing with, and capitalism in this or any other country without a Mond is still the same capitalism. True, Mond may have more brains than the average capitalist. That is why we can pit our brains against any organisation of capital that he or others may manipulate.

The cavemen of economics and their troglodytes cannot for ever declaim shibboleths

whilst the world is in tumult and millions starve. Sooner or later they must face the issue. We are charged with side-tracking the Trade Union Movement away from its real objective; with seeking to elbow from the path of progress the real dyed-in-the-wool champions of the cause. *It is the vagaries of those who should be trustworthy, responsible leaders which have done more than anything else to side-track the movement, to elbow out men of proved worth, to jockey the unions into a false position for the benefit of a faction, and to hinder the organised movement in carrying out its tasks with the conscious strength that comes from disciplined authority.*

Just as the capitalist puts brains into his organisation, we want brains, persistence, patience, courage, sacrifice and service in those who are in command of our movement, whose duty it is to protect the Trade Union army.

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From the

LABOUR PARTY PRESS AND PUBLICITY
DEPARTMENT, TRANSPORT HOUSE,
SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1

The Girdings of Mr. Gallacher

By

EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD

A PAMPHLET entitled "Mondism and MacDonaldism," written by Mr. William Gallacher, and published by the Communist Party of Great Britain, has recently appeared to swell the muddy torrent of misrepresentation and abuse that is continually flowing from this source.

In a general way it would be sufficient to dub the contents of this pamphlet "The mixture as before," but as in some ways its misrepresentations and its abuse appear to exceed the limits hitherto achieved, it may be well to examine this precious document a little more closely.

The workers are well accustomed by this time to the continuous refrain that the leaders of the Labour Party and the I.L.P. are the tools and servants of capitalism. It is part and parcel of the declared tactic of discrediting "The Leaders of the Reformist Trade Unions and the Social Democratic Parties," no matter what they do or say, nor how they act. The Communists apparently believe that if they only repeat this sufficiently often, someone at last will believe them. It is a slender hope.

The following choice specimen of abuse, however, deserves to be taken from its context and displayed for all to read.

"... this old reactionary who goes around all the time with a hypocritical cloak of sanctity and humility. Cursing MacDonald in private, even while he crawls before him in public, there is nothing left for him to do but to vent his spiteful nature by kicking the working class at every opportunity." (Page 10, lines 25 to 30.)

Who, would one imagine, was to be the recipient of this particularly malodorous piece of mud? None other than our old friend George Lansbury. Comment would spoil this gem of dialectics. Suffice it to say that while many of us suspected that Gallacher had a blind spot or two in his mental make up, the authorship of such perverted nonsense shows that either wantonly or involuntarily he must be possessed of whole areas of blindness in his perceptive faculties.

And what, we may ask, is Lansbury's sin that merits such condemnation? It is just this. He is alleged to have recently stated in comment on the Cook-Maxton manifesto, "... but the greatest obstacle to Socialism is not the leaders." This statement,

which as all of us know, would be made with perfect honesty and sincerity, cuts right across the avowed Communist tactic of vilifying and attempting to discredit the Labour Party leaders. Hence the annoyance of Mr. Gallacher.

Briefly stated, the line of argument pursued in the pamphlet under consideration is the old, old story that the workers must "levy war" on capitalism or submit to slavery and starvation. That the Communist Party and none other can lead them in that war. That only the Communist Party has a class war policy and programme. That when the workers understand they will have faith in the Communists. That when that day comes MacDonald and his I.L.P. lackeys will be swept aside, and all in the garden will be lovely.

There is more to the effect that the only policy for Maxton and his friends is one of "open association with the Communists," but Maxton is no doubt well able to deal with that aspect of the matter himself.

Gallacher commences by typically misrepresenting the views of his opponents. Their idea of Socialism is, he says (page 4, line 8), "Work for all, with an adequate supply of food, clothing, and shelter, without any fundamental change in the basis or structure of society."

The essence of the misrepresentation here lies in the adjective "fundamental." No Labour leader, to my knowledge, has ever denied that he desires to see a fundamental change in the basis or structure of society. What he does not desire to see, for which cogent, commonsense, reasons exist, is a catastrophic sudden change, which is much more likely to harm than to benefit his class.

Because a change is not sudden and catastrophic, does not mean that it will not be fundamental. The change over from the industrial capitalism of last century to the finance capitalism of this century is certainly fundamental in character. But at no point was it sudden and catastrophic. The industrial capitalists and the finance capitalists were at no point engaged in "heavy civil war." A series of stringent palliatives can amount, in effect, to a revolutionary change.

Gallacher sets out his interpretation of rationalisation under capitalism. It is quite

probable that many readers, more than he suspects, will largely agree with him.

He then proceeds to set out the dangers of Mondism. On this point, too, there will be more agreement with Mr. Gallacher than he possibly bargains for. We need, however, to look a little further than that. We need to ask ourselves what is the alternative policy that Gallacher, Cook, and the other critics of Mondism, are offering as an alternative policy? And to ask ourselves whether that policy objectively holds out as real prospects as Mondism for ultimately bettering the conditions of the workers?

We need, indeed, to go even a little further than that. We need to ask "at what price" is this problematical gain in the conditions of the workers to be achieved? At what price in suffering and starvation and deaths, and imprisonments of members of the working class? And we need to ask ourselves what are the odds that any reasonably efficient member of the bookmaking fraternity would give on the chances of the Gallacher tactic being crowned with ultimate success?

There is one more question we can legitimately put, and that is as to what are the objective possibilities as regards the conditions of the workers if the Gallacher gamble happens to miscarry, and the path straight up the face of the mountain towards Socialism proves as impracticable as the Churchillian method of getting through the Dardanelles?

When we have considered and weighed these questions in the light of all available evidence, especially of recent years, we shall be in a position to decide whether the most practicable method of attaining Socialism is by the heroic path straight up the face of the mountain, or by the more roundabout and zig-zag path up the sides.

Firstly, a few words about Mondism. No Labour leader has ever assumed that Mondism is a heaven-sent remedy for all our evils that will lead straight to the celestial city. Far from it. In considering Mondism, we have to especially consider the objective conditions of struggle existing at the moment, and of the stage of capitalism that has been reached in Western industrial countries.

It is a commonplace to say that we live in the era of the decline of capitalism, and that capitalism is "on the verge" of being superseded by a newer and better form of society. This is true, and we all of us subscribe to that belief. "Verge," however, in an historical sense, may cover a period of several years, or even decades, but none the less that change is historically imminent.

Western capitalism is distinguished by two outstanding characteristics. Firstly, the ever greater productive power due to the constant march of invention and to progress in the science of organisation (i.e., rationalisation). Secondly, the ever greater armies of unemployed.

The ever greater productive power is nowhere more clearly illustrated than in the United States, where both food and commodities—wheat, meat, and manufactured articles—are produced in such over abounding plenteousness that there is no longer any question as to whether capitalism can or cannot produce sufficient to give all the necessities of a civilised existence. Whether it can arrange the distribution of those necessities is another question, however.

In Britain, even in the space of the last twenty years, productivity per worker has risen over 70 per cent. in both the cotton and steel trades. This continual rise in productivity and the continual advance of science undeniably presages the dawn of an era within two or three decades, wherein humanity will at least have ample abundance of material things.

The second characteristic factor of the continually growing armies of unemployed in every country, due to the fact that the necessary work in every community can be performed by a lesser and lesser proportion of persons, is a factor that is forcing itself with increasing strength on the attention of all people, whether worker or capitalist.

And here it is necessary to point out that capitalists are not all fools and scoundrels. They are human beings, of very much the same make up as ourselves, and were we born in their sphere of life we should doubtless act in very much the same way as that in which they act. Even capitalists, and the most wooden-headed and class-conscious of their class, are realising slowly, by sheer weight of concrete facts and personal conviction, that there are inherent contradictions in capitalism, and begin to ask and guess where it is leading. Baldwin himself is obviously alarmed at the complete failure of his Government to make any impression whatever on the huge totals of registered unemployed. He may be willing and anxious to have a certain reservoir of unemployed, but the dimensions of that reservoir, from his own point of view, is growing so huge that there is neither sense nor reason for it. He and his class are not complacent at the fact that one worker in every ten has to be permanently fed and clothed without yielding anything in productive work. He is not complacent that this army is rapidly tending to produce a

C 3 nation of unemployables and unfits. Even capitalists are not such crass idiots as all that, and are beginning to question.

It is at this precise stage of sociological development that the Mond conversations are taking place, and that representative capitalists are discussing, and discussing at great length, the problems of industry and employment from a national point of view, sitting at a round table, and listening to the workers' point of view.

Whatever the Mond conversations will not do, one thing they will do at least, and that is to help the employers to modify and develop their outlook. That this outlook is continually modified and developed is certain, as in the sociological sphere at least, nothing is fixed and stable, everything undergoes continual modification and change.

The Mond conversations will help to hasten and clarify that process of change of outlook. Even employers, be they as bigoted and bone-headed as they may be, must at last suspect that an ever growing army of idle potential wealth producers is a stupidity. Some employers at least, such as Ford and other American employers, have at long last suspected that high wages mean a stimulated home market, better trade, and larger profits. A few of them may even be so inspired as to stumble on the hidden truth that shorter hours—a six-hour day all round—would absorb a million workers and begin to solve some of these stupidities, and that it might be more sensible after all to share round the work than to overwork one half of the workers, and rot the other half with idleness. Capitalists as a class may be cruel, callous, and stupid, with a very low capacity for absorbing a new idea. Some capacity, however, they undoubtedly have, and that capacity will be stimulated rather than hindered by the Mond discussions.

We need now to turn and ask ourselves what is the alternative policy that Gallacher, Cook, and other critics of Mondism have to offer as an alternative policy. In this field they have nothing new to suggest. They stand for a return to the old tactic—better organisations of the unions, a fighting policy, preparations for even greater fights, and struggles that have taken place in the past. In a word they stand for a continuance of the old tactic that ended so disastrously in 1926, to the tactic that caused such additional widespread suffering, such semi-starvation, imprisonment and victimisation to the toiling masses.

We may act the part of ostriches, and bury our heads in the sand, but it is no use denying

that the weapon of the passive strike in any single industry is played out. No single union can hope to wield the weapon of the passive strike to radically improve Labour conditions with success. Recent history has demonstrated that quite conclusively.

The general strike itself can be, in theory at least, a most devastating weapon, but there is no example in history where that weapon has proved in practise half so effective as it appears in theory. And the delusion is due to the inherent contradictions in human nature itself.

Gallacher and Cook presuppose for their tactic a 100 per cent. organisation filled with the desire to fight, struggle, sacrifice, and suffer. The first desired quantity, the 100 per cent. organisation, can be achieved in some sections of workers. It is practically impossible of achievement in other sections, of which clerks form one good example, and shop assistants another.

The whole desired pre-requisite, the 100 per cent. organisation filled with a desire to fight, struggle, sacrifice, and suffer is frankly an impossibility. It is a dream and a mirage, made impossible by human nature itself.

Human nature is not built on a basis of 100 per cent. of any large general body of men and women being filled with a desire to fight and struggle. A large proportion always desires, and always has desired, to live steady, regular, peaceful, useful lives. Such individuals are not built for fighting and struggling, it is contrary to their own essential make up, and such a section in any general mass movement must, at the best, be a deadweight of unwilling passive participants.

It is useless to fail to recognise that the spirit of the times is against fighting and struggling. Men and women everywhere are seeing in increasing numbers the idiocy and futility of settling national disputes by recourse to war.

They are determining that they have had enough of that lunacy, for their own lifetimes at least.

And the same spirit that abhors continual fighting and struggle instead of rational arbitration and reasonable settlement is also operating in regard to industrial disputes.

This famous programme of Gallacher and Company, of "Strikes, strikes combined with demonstrations, the combination of armed demonstrations and strikes, finally the general strike conjoined with the armed uprising against the political power of the bourgeoisie" is a programme of horror and suffering that

women and men of all classes prefer if possible to avoid. Just as the masses do not want to be drilled with bullets or choked with phosgene gas in an imperialist war, so too, they do not want to starve and get embroiled with riots and police charges in industrial disputes.

The tactic has been tried. It has been tried in Italy, in Germany, in Bulgaria, in Esthonia. Everywhere it has led to heavy defeat, black reaction, untold suffering for the working masses. Let the Class War Prisoners' Aid International publish the figures of the casualties, in lives and centuries of imprisonment, that a pursuit of this tactic has meant for the workers in Europe in the last decade. Then, and only then, can we judge it.

It is only when all these considerations are taken into account that it is possible to estimate whether the General Council of the T.U.C. has taken a better path for the workers in initiating the Mond discussions than it would have done had it declared for the old tactic.

It needs courage, honesty, and vision on the part of responsible leaders to swing round and tell the rank and file that the old tactic is played out, that it is wasteful and cruel, and that it is much more likely to lead to black reaction and white terror than to any improvement in the lot of the workers.

A spirit of continual hatred and war on one side breeds callousness and blindness on the other. A spirit of peace and reasonableness on one side breeds reasonableness and intelligent appreciation on the other.

Gallacher and Company can continue in their pamphlets to grind out the old tune of the handful of fanatics in the Kremlin. They may delude a few and cause serious weakening and apathy in the ranks of the intelligent workers. They may, God forbid, even get their "putsch," and then defeat and reaction, a fate in which they have already embroiled the workers of several countries, thereby seriously delaying the advance of steady and ordered progress. Just as it has been the share of the workers of Vienna to show that the path of steady rational step-by-step progress brings substantial continual improvement in the municipal sphere, so it would appear to be the function of the steady, intelligent, thoughtful, British working class to point the same road by concrete achievement in the national sphere.

From that task and that path, the gurgitations of Mr. Gallacher and his friends are not likely to deflect them.

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LAB M. pp. 157

In the "Eight-fifteen"

THE TORY SCENE-SHIFTERS SET THE STAGE

By

T. S. DICKSON

SOME dirty work to be done at the cross-roads this morning, if I'm any judge."

With which cryptic utterance, the Man with the L.M.S. Badge in his Cap gripped the arm of the Man with the Briar as they entered the railway platform at Propriety Suburb rather earlier than usual, with the arrival of "The Eight-Fifteen" not yet signalled.

But Hardphace, Esq., had been earlier still, and stood, well apart from the crowd, in the direction in which the Badge had indicated, deep in consultation with the local lawyer, Mr. Snatchett, the long-jawed, sallow, silent election agent of the Tory Party.

"Wondering where they can get another Red Letter for the next General Election, I should say," hazarded the Man with the Badge.

"Good morning!" This from the Briar in return to the cold salutation of the Young Man with the Purple Socks, who didn't mind a frigid acknowledgment of such people, but drew the line at being seen in open conversation with them, at least in so public a place. Presently he was observed by Hardphace, who held up a crooked finger in invitation. He hurried forward, and performed a jack-knife bend as he shook hands with Snatchett.

"Here she comes," said the Badge as "The Eight-Fifteen" swung round the bend into the platform. "Should have fun with that lot this morning," indicating Hardphace and his companions.

"No you won't," guessed the Briar, making for the usual compartment. "A secret conclave, I fancy."

"Steady a moment," Hardphace had cautioned, when the Young Man with the Purple Socks rushed eagerly to open a door for his betters. "Let the others get in, and then we can select an empty where we won't be disturbed." And it was so.

Snatchett put his black leathern bag, his hat, and his umbrella on the rack, removed his horn-rimmed glasses, spread his coat tails, sat down, rubbed his hands, and said: "M'yes. M'yes. We'll have to be thinking matters over."

"How are things going," inquired Hardphace earnestly. "You're in touch with the headquarter's chiefs, and know what's what."

"Not too well, not too well," replied Snatchett with grim mouth and drawn brows, "Not too well. Young man"—he turned to the Purple Socks—"we rely on your discretion."

Purple Socks indicated that he was a cross between the Wise Man of the East and the Dumb Man of Manchester. Upon which Snatchett pronounced, "We can talk frankly. Things are decidedly *not* looking well. Recent by-elections show the tide is slipping out again. This unemployment business is a mill-stone round our necks; and, to tell the truth, that letter of Stanley's to the employers hasn't improved matters."

"He's over-doing the simplicity business, don't you think. A judicious dose of it now and again, you know, is all right—a winning card, in fact. But, to pretend that we, as employers, didn't know we could take on a few hundred thousand men until the Prime Minister sent us a letter, it's—well, you know even the density of the British electorate has its limits. He should be more careful."

"True, m-true," agreed Snatchett; but then he had to do something. Or rather—if you can't do anything, the next best thing is to pretend you're straining every nerve to do something." He dug a knowing elbow into the ribs of Hardphace, and looked up to discover a disturbed expression on the face of the Purple Socks.

"You cannot always tell the people the whole truth, young man," Snatchett hurried to explain. "They don't understand; they haven't the knowledge—and so we have to do the best under the circumstances. Just like a play, you know—if the public saw all the scene-shifters, heard all the machinery creaking, knew how the effects are produced with rattling tins, exploding crackers, and bursting balloons, they'd walk out and leave the show."

"Of course," said the Purple Socks.

"Wages are tumbling down; the big industries are simply stagnant," supplemented Hardphace; "textiles rotten, coal an unholy mess—God knows where it's going to end."

"Yes"—Snatchett turned again to the Purple Socks. "You cannot expect to win an election if you tell the people a story like that. We simply have to switch them on to another tack, or let the Socialists sweep the country. And *that* has to be prevented by hook, or by crook."

"Couldn't risk another Red letter," suggested Hardphace tentatively.

"Oh, dear, no. Joynson-Hicks has overdone the Bolshie stunt—a good one, mark you, but the people have got used to it. In fact, even our own supporters have got a bit suspicious as to the genuineness of that Zinovieff business. You see, the body has never been produced."

The eyes of the Young Man with the Purple Socks bulged.

"A legal metaphor, a legal metaphor," Snatchett explained. "Signifying that the original of the Red Letter has never been discovered."

"Something will turn up between now and the election," suggested Hardphace cheerfully.

"Something most certainly will," nodded Snatchett with emphasis. "Give us a cloud no bigger than a man's hand—a reference in a Socialist speech to the uselessness of the monarchy, a riot in India, the assault of a British resident in China, a resolution on confiscation at a Socialist Conference—give us that, turn the magnifiers and the megaphones of our Press on it, and—well, there you are." Snatchett spread his hands. "*Quod erat demonstrandum!*"

"Lucky we can depend on most of the Press," said Hardphace.

"But there's the *Daily Herald*," timorously suggested the Young Man with the Purple Socks. "And those other Red rags."

"M'yes, but how many of the people ever see 'em, my lad?" Snatchett returned.

"A good Tory, my boy"—Hardphace lowered one eyelid, slyly—"a good Tory never reads his opponent's case—it's against his principles." And Hardphace and Snatchett chuckled in unison, as if over a meaty jest.

"But, of course"—Snatchett's face jerked back into solemnity—"we can't leave things to the chance of the last minute. We've got to have a line of campaign."

"I think so," ventured Purple Socks. "I find it pretty rotten to answer these chaps—unemployment, and so on, you know."

"Ah, yes, but that is fairly simple after all. Instead of talking about the number who are unemployed, you talk about the larger number who are at work."

"I see," drawled the Young Man with the Purple Socks, a light of understanding dawning in his eyes. "You turn it round about and lead your opponent up a garden? Good! jolly good!!"

"Then, of course," proceeded the lesson, "in the case of bad trade, low wages, and so on, you always fall back on the terrible effects of the general strike, the damage done to foreign markets by the coal strike, put the blame on Socialist propagandist, and so on. The average audience falls for that."

"Yes" said Hardphace meditatively. "It's a good thing to play up the bogey-men idea. And a good thing there are the bogey-men to be played up. Why it's as simple as eating candy."

"Simpler, my dear sir," nodded Snatchett. "But meantime—meantime, we haven't to be asleep. We've got to follow definite lines. Those garden parties in the summer time were a good idea—got the workers where we wanted 'em. Fostered the all-together-for-the-good-of-the-nation idea. Made 'em feel they were on talking terms with the best people, and that the Socialists were rather a low lot. And for the winter, we've got to do the thing well. Whist drives, you know, and dances where Lord Gawk and Lady Maud can look in for an hour, and smile on the flappers. Got to remember the flapper vote—that sort of thing should fetch 'em."

"Excuse me," came the Purple Socks hesitantly, as if afraid to hazard an opinion, "but I wouldn't bank too much on that, sir. Some of them are taken in with that sort of thing, but a lot of them aren't. I—well, I mix a lot with them." He stopped, looked flustered. Hardphace laughed, and added: "I meet them at tennis, dances, and that sort of thing, and lots of them are pure Reds—talking about wages, freedom, and turning up their noses at the idea of getting married if it's only going to mean poverty. They're thinking a lot, sir."

"That's bad," frowned Hardphace.

"You can't keep them all from thinking," interposed Snatchett airily, "but when we tell 'em that Socialism means everything and everybody to be on a dead level, that the State will decide who is to be a domestic servant, or a typist, or a factory hand—that a State department will decide the fashions and what they're to wear—that'll make 'em sit up."

"Will a State department really do that, sir?" asked Purple Socks.

"Of course it will—under Socialism. Everybody knows that. Private enterprise is to be wiped out. That means the State will

decide everything. And if that is so, how can it avoid deciding the fashions?"

"The girls won't stand for that, sir," declared the Socks.

"I should think they won't—and if for no other reason, Socialism must be opposed."

"But we can't depend altogether on that sort of thing," said Hardphace. "There is always a proportion of our supporters who want to hear big political and economic questions discussed. These Reds keep at it week after week, and some of their stuff is bound to stick."

"True, but then our folk have been staying away—putting on the boycott. Changed times, change tactics, you know. There was a time when we could go to their meetings and riddle 'em, but of late we've learned that these fellows actually like to be questioned and heckled. They believe they make more converts that way, than by making speeches. They've got clever men amongst them—we have to admit that."

"And they'll get well paid for it, too," interjected the Young Man with the Purple Socks.

"De-pend upon that, de-pend upon that," agreed Snatchett, who looked shocked at the thought of such wickedness—he being a Tory election agent. "But, about those meetings—when the best people boycotted those Labour meetings, everybody who didn't want to be thought among the common trash had to stay away, of course."

"But with an election coming along, we'll have to adjust tactics," suggested Hardphace.

"A little, a little," agreed Snatchett. "Our platforms will be an exhibition of the people who really matter. They'll be social events—and everybody who wants to be thought anybody will feel they simply must be there. That'll have an effect upon the young women. Then our speakers—a title here and there, smart young university men, a popular cricketer, an actress that moves in good society—that rather gets the people to believe they belong to that set, if they just vote with it once in a while."

"Imphm! But what about the other fellow's meetings," inquired Hardphace.

"We'll pass the word round that our supporters should stay away—'not mix with rowdies,' and that sort of thing—but we'll have one or two special hecklers to put awkward questions about Maxton not agreeing with MacDonald, and so on. Split 'em up, you see. That's the game. Our own crowd will simply hear our case, and stick to it. What we've to aim at it is to get people to decide on politics without hearing anything about them—or just as much as is good for 'em."

"So you think everything will go all right?"

"Of course, of course. Here we are!"

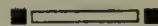
And Snatchett grabbed his umbrella, his leathern bag, and his hat, and followed Hardphace and the Purple Socks on to Grubtown platform.

"Hullo, Rudolph!" came the voice of the Man with the L.M.S. Badge who had hopped out farther up, and was lying in wait for the Purple Socks. "See the unemployment figgers are up with another bump! About time you Tories brought along that solution, ain't it?"

Purple Socks was ready. He recalled Snatchett's instructions. "You forget," he said, confidently smiling at Hardphace, "that the number of people who *are* in employment is much greater than ever it was."

"Hark to the Cherub," the Badge counselled the Man with the Briar who walked alongside. "If there are more people being killed by buses now than there were some years ago, why worry—there are more people dodging 'em! Good morning, Solomon." The Badge raised his hat elaborately, and stepped ahead, leaving Purple Socks to ask Snatchett for the answer to that one

LABOUR AND THE NATION



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Truth about the Turner-Mond Talks

By

WALTER M. CITRINE

General Secretary, Trades Union Congress

[Summary of the address delivered at the Swansea Congress, when attempts to censure the proceedings of the General Council in connection with the Industrial Conferences were heavily defeated.]

THE history of the Industrial Conference is so well known as to require but little recapitulation. The immediately recent steps were taken first at Edinburgh in the speech of our President. That speech represented in my view a courageous facing up to the responsibilities and realities of modern Trade Unionism. That speech recognised that instead of being at the limits of our development, our movement was only at the beginning of one of the most important phases with which it has ever been associated. It was emphasised in the course of that speech that more and more the workers are demanding a voice in the control and administration of industry, and that some participation in that administration and control was an essential preliminary for the workers, in order to equip themselves for complete control.

What followed the President's Address? For a long time none of the organised employers' bodies gave any indication as to their view of that address, but in October the National Confederation of Employers' Organisations published a statement the effect of which was to say that the aims which had been foreshadowed by our Chairman could be best achieved by the utilisation of the machinery now existing in the various industries throughout the country. That statement very shortly afterwards was followed by a similar statement from the Engineering Employers' Federation. That was the position until November 23, 1927. On November 23 the General Council received a letter signed by twenty of the leading industrialists of this country, and subsequently signed by four more, making 24 in all.

We referred that letter to a special meeting which took place a month later. In the meantime the letter was circulated to each member of the Council in order that he could make himself thoroughly conversant with its terms. When we assembled on December 20 the first question that arose in our deliberations was this: Who are these people? Why do they want to meet us? How is it that their organisations have not approached us? And

the final question was: Shall we accept the invitation?

With regard to the first point, as to who they were, our Research Department supplied us with information indicating the standing of the various signatories. They represented directorships in 189 companies; they included 98 chairmen of those companies; 2 past presidents, 6 vice-presidents, and 3 other members of the Executive of the Federation of British Industries, as well as the chairman and past chairman of the National Confederation of Employers' Organisations, 2 past chairmen of the Iron and Steel Manufacturers' Association, the chairman of the Chemical Employers' Federation, the chairman of the Flour Milling Employers' Federation, and the president of the Association of Chambers of Commerce. Those signatories, in the opening sentence of the letter they sent to us, made this remarkable statement, remarkable in the sense that it has nowhere been challenged, either on the side of the employers or even on the part of those who have been most critical of the Council. They said: "As it appears to us after investigation that no single employers' organisation exists which is able to deal with the whole range of questions involved in industrial relationship and industrial organisation, we send you this invitation." That is the gist of what was said in the opening paragraph of their letter. They were men who were able to speak with authority as to the powers of their organisations (I have told you that a number of them were ex-presidents of the two important organisations), and when they told us that after investigation they had satisfied themselves that none of their organisations had the power to meet us we were justified, in the absence of a challenge to that statement, in believing there was substance for it. The question which arose at that time as to acceptance of the invitation involved the questions of the authority of the Council to act. That authority has been challenged in proper form by one of our organisations. In order to answer the point of that challenge and to try to show the

Council's position, it is necessary for a moment to look at the background of the events which have led up to the acceptance of the invitation.

None of us who are active Trade Unionists, no matter what our points of view may be, can be satisfied with the position of the workers at the present time. The long continued depression, particularly in the basic industries, has created something which may be compared with the industrial revolution in the last part of the 18th century. We may be even now in the throes of a revolution such as that. We are too near events to calculate fully their significance. All that we know is that we are suffering materially to-day because of causes which are not yet adequately investigated. Our movement has felt instinctively the importance of these changes. They have been reflected in our organisations, which have been concentrating more and more upon consolidating their ranks, developing the big unions in order to meet something which they thought was ahead of them. In the same way the post-war changes had scarcely commenced before there arose a demand for a better form of organisation at the centre—some body which would be endowed with the authority to speak on the day-to-day problems of the Trade Union Movement. Your General Council has been created in order that it may be able, always having regard to the powers of our executives and not trespassing on their functions, to deal with these day-to-day problems.

Furthermore, has not the General Council been upbraided by many of the very men who are now criticising it for not exhibiting the quality of leadership? Have we not been told that leadership and courage are synonymous terms and that the leaders should give a lead? Presumably that advice is good when the leadership is in the direction its critics desire it to be. The objects of the Congress, which I have briefly referred to, particularly the object in regard to control, lie at the root of these discussions. How are you going to achieve those objects? We were specifically instructed by the Hull Charter—the Charter passed at Hull—that we should carry on an agitation for the purpose of educating the public as to the justice of the demands that we were putting forward. I suggest that if you will examine the agitation which has accompanied the Conference which the Council has had, you will find that not only has it succeeded definitely in converting a leading body of influential industrialists to the justice of its demands but practically the whole Press of this country has been behind the Council and been behind

the Conferences, recognising that the claims of Labour were just and proper claims.

But what about the attitude of the organised employers? How have they shown their views towards this increasing demand of Labour? Has it not been the almost universal experience of the Trade Unions that at a point in industrial negotiations the employers have said, "Hands off! These are our preserves." Have we forgotten the classical engineering lock-out in 1922? Have we forgotten the quarrel picked first with the A.E.U., and subsequently with unions which were not involved in any single question at issue, on the nebulous issue of managerial functions? Have we forgotten that almost the first duty of the newly-created General Council was to intervene in that dispute? I suggest if you will look at the attitude of the employers you will find a traditional hostility to the expanding claims of Labour, and a refusal to give it a voice, a refusal to admit the justice of its claim to a voice. That was the position when we received the Mond letter.

These employers in that letter made it quite specific and plain that no fact whatever in connection with industry would be excluded from the purview of these discussions. They told us that they had no organised power, that they were not speaking for their associations; they were not speaking for their business. But what they did say was: "We are men of experience, we are men of influence, and if we can evolve a policy, after investigation, it will be our duty to try to get our people to see that that policy is right and equitable." We had gone a long way along the lines of educating public opinion when we succeeded in converting 24 prominent employers to that view.

The alternatives which faced us was either rejection of the invitation out of hand, or awaiting the formation—and I want this point to be noted—of a special body of employers who could meet us. We had been told there was no such body in existence. Nobody, as I say, has ever challenged that statement, and we know it to be true from the constitutions and rules of the two employers' organisations. The alternative therefore was if we turned this thing down we would have to wait until such time as the employers were able to create a special organisation to deal with us, or on the other hand, were able so to amend their constitution so as to give them that power.

We decided, after very mature consideration, that the right course was to proceed to explore what was in this invitation, to see how far it was possible to make progress along those lines. When we arrived at that point the

obvious question that presented itself was this : Will not our unions feel that in some way their provinces are being invaded if we enter on these discussions, and shall we not, therefore, take the elementary step of laying it down right at the commencement that we have no desire to trespass, and that we shall not trespass upon the functions of any of those unions? We shall not interfere with the machinery which now exists and is functioning in industry, but we shall confine ourselves to those general principles which are common to industry as a whole and many of which are outside the power of individual industries to settle. The interlockings of capital to-day, the relations between industrial and financial capital, are such as to make it extremely difficult for one industry individually to take decisions on certain questions without affecting the interests of others ; and consequently we decided to confine ourselves entirely to the question of general principle common to them all. We held the first Conference with the employers six weeks after the original invitation was sent in. At that Conference our chairman specifically and categorically stated we were there not to commit anyone in any shape or form ; that we had no right to commit anybody ; that our constituents had not been consulted and, consequently, we were only able to investigate what the employers had to say. The employers on their part made their position just as plain and clear, and the discussions were entered into on the clear understanding that there was to be no surrender of principle, that there was to be no commitments on either side, and that there would be free and unfettered discussion. But even at that Conference we did not decide to continue. We adjourned for a further two weeks. Then, subsequently, we examined the courses which were open to us.

I want to make one observation here which may have some importance in the light of the subsequent debate. We decided we would accept this invitation on the ground that the employers were non-representative. We accepted this invitation because the employers were non-representative. That may be a very extraordinary decision in the view of some people, but it was a very definite one. The reason it was definite was this : It was regarded as being easier and less committal, to discuss matters of this description with men who said they could commit nobody and bind nobody, than it might have been with an employers' organisation. We could not be properly accused, as we have been so illogically accused, of committing the Trade Union Movement, and binding it by " facts " with people who told us

in advance they had no power to implement those " facts " or to commit anybody. Consequently, it was felt desirable to go ahead.

But there was a second consideration that emerged. The employers would be freer to state and express opinions than if they came forward in the position of delegates. If they had come as delegates from their organisations they would have received specific instructions as to what to do. There was more opportunity for freedom of discussion in meeting the employers in their individual capacity. Is that a very extraordinary experience with the Trade Union Movement? Has it not been almost the universal experience of Labour that when a Trade Union has been formed it has found no corresponding body of employers on the opposite side able to negotiate with it? I can think of half-a-dozen cases right away where that situation has arisen, and what has happened has been that the union operating through its official body has had to meet small groups of employers and negotiate with them, until those groups have formed themselves into an association, and have subsequently been able to speak for the whole of the trade. I suggest that the proposed formation of a National Industrial Council is a justification for believing that development would be similar in these centralised discussions.

We come now to May 25, 1928, when it was suggested we should break off these negotiations. It was ruled that notice of motion would be required in order to terminate those discussions, and a month was set aside in which that notice could be given. On June 26 at a Special Meeting we entered into discussions of that motion. I do not think the terms of the motion are very generally understood although they have been widely circulated. The terms of the motion were that we should cease negotiating with this body of employers, but we should signify our willingness to engage in discussion with representative employers. That is rather important in view of some of the criticism to which we have been subjected. What were the grounds upon which termination was suggested? Principally they were personal grounds. As you see from your Report, Sir Alfred Mond had given an interview in Rome. That interview was reproduced in the British Press and purported to be as given by him. It was agreed that if Mond associated himself with Fascism we could not deal with him. We saw Sir Alfred Mond face to face, and he was openly charged with supporting Fascism. He at once denied the charge, and subsequently wrote a long letter in which he completely repudiated any such statement. But supposing that the

statement had been true, and that he had associated himself with Fascism, would that have been a logical ground on which to break down discussions? We did not imagine Sir Alfred Mond was a Socialist! Members who raised the complaint against Sir Alfred Mond have themselves lost no opportunity whilst the Conference has been proceeding of denouncing the institution for which Mond apparently stands. Indeed, they have gone further; members of our Council have attacked individual members of the Conference. But the employers have not suggested that because of that we should break off discussions. The desire not to have dealings with Mond on personal grounds is quite illogical. Mond is at present the Vice-Chairman of the Federation of British Industries, and in the normal course of things he becomes President next year; so that the very people who moved the motion that we should meet official bodies were in those terms expressing their willingness to meet Mond when he becomes President of the Federation.

May I say that those who have been accusing the General Council of entering into a pact with the employers should kindly show the evidence to us. I go further and say that some of the very people who have been accusing us of making a pact have themselves suggested a pact. Perhaps they did not realise when they were saying it the nature of what they were suggesting, but they were doing it just the same. The people who have been advising an "industrial truce," the people who have been telling the employers they must not go ahead with wages movements or an hours movement, by that very suggestion have been inviting the employers to come along and make a pact. You cannot have a one-sided industrial truce; if you say the employers have to cease to lock-out, and not to want changes of hours and wages, you have admitted the right of the employers to come to you and say that you shall not move for changes either. A truce pre-supposes the status quo; it pre-supposes that you shall do nothing during the duration of that truce on one side to injure or adversely affect the other. Therefore those who have talked about the calling off of the dogs of war and have been asking the employers to give certain undertakings, I say were inviting the employers to come along to us and say, "If we give up the right to lock-out you give up the right to strike." Suppose we had done that! The very people criticising now would

have made that the chief ground of their objection, instead of which, as you will observe by the Report, the parties at the beginning decided definitely there would be no interference of any kind with the right to strike or lockout. That is specifically stated in our Report.

I think in viewing a question of this kind, emerging as it does from our new world situation, a situation which I said has only been imperfectly analysed by anyone, it is necessary for us to avoid as far as we can extravagance of either optimism or pessimism as to what is going to happen. May I give it as my considered opinion that there will be a great difficulty on the part of employers who have signed this report to get it accepted by their associations. Those associations may view it from the standpoint of thinking too much has been conceded to the claims of Labour, and we may find, instead of the employers wanting to lock the Trade Union Movement up by these proposals, we may find a non-acceptance of the proposals by many of the employers' associations. That is a contingency with which we have to reckon. Therefore when we are viewing this matter let us keep our sense of perspective, let us realise this is not a way of bringing about the millennium, neither is it a way of enslaving the working-class. It is a logical, common sense, sequential step in the development of Trade Unionism, and probably we shall have to go as far along the toilsome road, as many of our unions have done.

We are in line with the world development of Trade Unionism, which stands at the present time for the voice of the worker in the administration and control of industry, to be heard in the councils of the employers, and to talk about exercising control of industry without meeting the employers to discuss that control is a figment of the imagination. We cannot await the advent of the breakdown of capitalism before we start marching towards control. If control is one of our specific objects, we are most likely to give effect to it by seeing a body of employers and trying to get them to admit our claim—a body of men who, in the terms of our report have said they will exclude nothing and are willing to discuss anything—and with them to try to come to some arrangement. I say emphatically the Council has taken a wise and courageous step, and a step which I have every confidence will be supported overwhelmingly by this Congress.

Book Reviews

The Fascist Dictatorship in Italy. By G. Salvemini. Vol. I.: *Origin and Practices.* (Cape, 1928.)

Professor Salvemini's account of the history of Italy between 1919 and the murder of Matteotti in 1924 provides evidence of the true character of Fascism. He has been able to draw upon the Italian Press during this period, and he has the additional advantage of being able to use certain memoranda and telegrams of Mussolini himself. Professor Salvemini is not concerned in this book to dispute the theory of Fascism, nor even to discuss the economic effects of Mussolini's dictatorship.

He is chiefly engaged in correcting some false views of what has happened. First, he shows clearly that there was no revolution nor even social chaos in Italy by the time the Fascists seized the Government. What social confusion there had been in 1919 had ceased by 1922. But it seems clear from Professor Salvemini's account that the Italian Government in 1922 was incompetent, and that the political groups which might have prevented a dictatorship were divided and quarrelsome. Fascism seized control in what was practically a period of political inertia. Secondly, it is clear that Fascism secured its control by the systematic killing or injuring of as many of its opponents as its most virulent leaders chose. The blustering youth who has a club or a rifle is the chief instrument of this new version of the old practice of violence. The "right to kill" was a doctrine developed out of the identification of the Fascist group with the Italian nation. Accidents occurred, but in many cases the killing of opponents was Government policy. The documents which Professor Salvemini cites in reference to the murder of Matteotti show how uncomfortable Mussolini himself was at the time. It is interesting psychologically also to see how little the chief agents of Fascism trusted one another at the time of the Matteotti murder.

The book ends with the account of the trial of the murderers in 1926; but this is only the first volume of Professor Salvemini's work. It will remain a valuable record of the facts in regard to Fascist methods, and we can only hope that Professor Salvemini will soon be able to give us his second volume showing the results of such methods upon the life of Italy. There are some in England who are willing to condone the methods of Fascism on the ground that the trains in Italy now are punctual. But whatever the results of Fascism

may be for the happiness of tourists, perhaps those who condone its methods do not really know what those methods are. They should read Professor Salvemini's book.

C. D. B.

Empire Government. By Manfred Nathan, K.C. (George Allen and Unwin, 10s.)

The New Democratic Constitutions of Europe. By Agnes Headlam-Morley. (Oxford University Press. 8s. 6d.)

These two volumes are useful contributions to modern constitutional practice. Mr. Nathan's book is a plain study of the constitution of Great Britain and the self-governing dominions of the British Commonwealth, special chapters being devoted also to India, the Crown Colonies, the Protectorates, and the mandated territories.

The second volume constitutes a comparative study of the new European constitutions, evolved subsequent to the war, especially those of Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Finland, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and the Baltic States.

In many of these States endeavour has been made to incorporate all the modern "democratic" devices, including proportional representation and "popular" checks upon Parliamentary power. One is left with the impression that, despite the relative antiquity of our own constitution, we have a greater, rather than a lesser, degree of democracy and real representative government.

The Legal Status of Agricultural Co-operation. E. G. Nourse. (Allen and Unwin. 12s. 6d.)

Agricultural co-operation is vastly important in the United States, the magnitude of whose agricultural industry we are very apt to forget, so accustomed are we to thinking of America in terms of large scale industrial enterprises in the world of steel and motor cars and textiles. The absorbing story of the growth of the legal recognition and regulation of co-operation in the agricultural field is most ably told in this new volume, prepared at the Institute of Economics, Washington.

Every American attempt to establish combined action "in restraint of trade" has had to meet the uncompromising opposition of the State. The fight is still going on unceasingly, but agricultural co-operation has acquired a fairly stable and satisfactory legal standing. The analysis of legal decisions and special legislation that Mr. Nourse gives us in this volume is most instructive, and is of much wider interest than would be imagined from the title.

Industrial Developments

Wage Movements in August

In the industries for which statistics are regularly compiled by the Ministry of Labour the changes in rates of wages reported to have come into operation during August resulted in a reduction of over £47,000 in the weekly full-time wages of about 573,000 workpeople, and in an increase of £145 in those of 5,800 workpeople, according to figures quoted in the *Ministry of Labour Gazette*.

During the eight completed months of 1928, the changes reported to the Department in the industries for which statistics are compiled have resulted in net increases of nearly £17,400 in the weekly full-time wages of 201,000 workpeople, and in net reductions of £167,500 in those of 1,680,000 workpeople. In the corresponding period of 1927 there were net increases of £30,600 in the weekly full-time wages of over 287,500 workpeople, and net reductions of £319,000 in those of 1,709,000 workpeople.

* * *

Statistics of Trade Disputes

The number of trade disputes, involving stoppages of work, reported to the Ministry of Labour as beginning in August was twelve. In addition, eight disputes which began before August were still in progress at the beginning of the month. The number of workpeople involved in all disputes in August (including workpeople thrown out of work at the establishments where the disputes occurred, but not themselves parties to the disputes) was about 5,400 and the aggregate duration of all disputes during August was about 23,000 working days. These figures compare with totals of 21,600 workpeople involved and 227,000 working days lost in the previous month, and with 19,000 workpeople involved and 169,000 days lost in August, 1927.

The aggregate duration of all disputes in progress in the eight completed months of 1928 was about 1,188,000 working days; and the total number of workpeople involved in these disputes was about 103,000. The figures for the corresponding period of 1927 were 954,000 days and 87,000 workpeople respectively.

* * *

Coal Mine Lock-out

It was reported in last month's *Labour Magazine* that a dispute had arisen at the Featherstone Colliery, Pontefract, Yorkshire, as the result of a proposed wages reduction, and that the employees had been locked-out.

The dispute was settled on August 31 at a meeting of the West Yorkshire Joint Mining Board held in Leeds, when it was agreed that the owners should withdraw the demands which caused the stoppage, providing that their liabilities in respect of payment for dirt be limited to 7 per cent. It was agreed that work should be resumed on the old terms—apart from the dirt stipulation—and the men's leaders have undertaken to institute an inquiry for the purpose of effecting a permanent settlement within three months.

* * *

New Wages Schedule for Scale Makers

The Executive Committee of the Society of Scale, Beam and Weighing Machinists has decided to draw up a schedule of wages, hours, and conditions, to be submitted to the members for ballot.

At the completion of the ballot the Executive will review the position with a view to submitting the schedule to the employers.

Centralisation Scheme in Mining Industry

At a special conference of the South Wales Miners' Federation, held on August 20, it was decided by an overwhelming majority to instruct the Executive Council to prepare a scheme of centralisation on the lines suggested by the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. This scheme is to be prepared within the next four months and submitted to the lodges, after which another special conference will be held.

* * *

Annual Conference of Bakers' Union

The Amalgamated Union of Operative Bakers, Confectioners and Allied Workers held their 18th Annual Conference at Cardiff in the week beginning August 20. The question of the abolition of night baking was discussed and it was agreed that this abolition could not be secured without legal enactment. There was also strong opposition to the proposal that bakers' establishments should be open for two hours on Sunday morning.

With regard to the occurrence of dermatitis among workers in the industry, it was agreed to press for the appointment of more inspectors, as in some cases much more strict supervision was required.

In his opening speech the president stated that the Labour and Trade Union movements should take up a stronger attitude against the Communists and the Minority Movement, which, he said, were doing more harm to the Labour Movement than the Tories and Liberals had done.

The conference unanimously decided to make a grant of £100 to the Labour Party, in response to its recent appeal for funds, and the general secretary of the union urged that the branches also should do something to support the Labour Party. It was also reported that a large percentage of the membership had signed the contracting-in cards, in favour of paying the political levy.

* * *

Wages in the Tailoring Trade

Proposals for a new wage agreement in the tailoring trade have been drawn up by the Tailors and Garment Workers' Union, and negotiations with the various employers' federations concerned are to be opened.

The proposals include the setting up of local and area committees to deal with disputes and the reference to a national joint committee of any matter on which these committees fail to agree. With regard to wages and conditions, it is proposed that there shall be increases of 1d. per hour for all women workers, and of ½d. per hour for men; that the differential rates for heavy cotton clothing workers shall be abolished, such workers to receive the rates fixed for other similar classes of workers; that overtime payment shall be made to pieceworkers, as well as to those employed on time rates; and that all workers shall be entitled to one week's holiday annually, and all statutory and public holidays, with pay, on a non-contributory basis.

* * *

Musicians' Union and Non-Union Labour

The dispute at the Vaudeville Theatre, which was referred to in the last issue of the *Labour Magazine*, has now been settled, the eight non-union members of the orchestra having agreed to join the union.

International Trade Union Notes and Labour Abroad

(Specially contributed to the LABOUR MAGAZINE by the International Federation of Trade Unions.)

Progress of Teachers' International

In connection with the ordinary Congress of the French Teachers' organisation, the Executive Committee of the International Trade Secretariat of Teachers, with its seat at Amsterdam, has held a meeting at Rennes, which discussed the resolutions passed at the Vienna Congress of the International in favour of extending the functions of the International and securing new accessions to it, and decided what measures should be taken for the furtherance of these ends. From October next, the Secretariat will issue a quarterly bulletin in German and French.

The Executive Committee, which consists of the French comrades Lebaillif (president), and Klein, together with the Secretary Posthumus (Holland), will act as the editing committee. Correspondents are moreover to be selected for each of the affiliated organisations. The Secretariat will get into touch with the I.F.T.U. on the question of the protection of children, and will suggest to the latter that when problems of special interest to teachers are under discussion, representatives of the teachers' group shall be invited to attend.

* * *

Building Workers' Anniversary.

The Building Workers' International was founded in 1903 at the suggestion of what was then the National Bricklayers' Union of Germany, other unions which co-operated being those of Austria, Denmark, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland. At that time the International had a membership of 135,000, of whom 87,000 belonged to the German Bricklayers' Union. On December 31, 1927, the Building Workers' International had a membership of 844,591, distributed over 25 organisations belonging to 20 countries; now it has a membership approaching 900,000. The Bulletin issued by the International and its other reports are published in the Danish, English, French and German languages. The seat of the Secretariat has been at Hamburg ever since its founding.

On October 25, 1928, and the following days, the Building Workers' International will hold its eighth Congress at the People's Club in Madrid. Besides the various reports of the Secretary and the discussion of the rules, the agenda of the conference contains an item on the eight-hour day in the building trade and another on the proposal to organise an exhibition dealing with "Young Workers in the Building Trades."

* * *

Factory Inspection by Workers

Belgian workers, like those of other lands, have suffered much for years past from inadequate factory inspection and an increasing number of accidents. They declare that inspection can only be successful when the inspectors have among their ranks representatives of the class most closely concerned, i.e., the workers themselves. The Belgian miners have already done excellent work as inspectors, and it now remains to extend the principle to other trades. The recent metal workers' congress decided to get into touch with the Parliamentary Labour Group, and to urge the drafting of a bill amending the present system of inspection so as to include workers among the inspectors, "the class most closely

concerned in inspection appointing candidates themselves, providing they can find persons possessing the requisite qualifications."

Léon Delsinne, director of the Belgian Labour College makes comments on the subject in the Brussels "Peuple" which are well worth quoting, applying as they do to most other countries besides Belgium. "The staff at present engaged in the inspection service is too small, and has too little contact with the labour world. The inspectors are fairly good, but they certainly do regard their functions too much from the "official" standpoint. They have no interest, either direct or indirect, in the strict observance of the law: in point of fact, they may easily get into hot water if they show too much zeal.

But if workers are employed as inspectors, they are not mere officials, they are also holders of a mandate; they feel their responsibility towards those who have elected them. They will look less to the number of reports sent in, and more to the actual improvements effected. Then, too, they, and they only, can get the workers to pay heed to the protective measures in force. These are only too often neglected by those for whose sake they have been compiled.

* * *

Unemployment in France

Judging by the records of the Municipal and Departmental Unemployment Insurance Centres, unemployment in France is steadily declining. The last wave of depression set in in December, 1926, and reached its lowest depth in March, 1927, after which unemployment steadily declined up to the end of the year. The decline has continued into 1928, so that the number of registered unemployed—which is, of course, only a gauge of the general trend of the market, and not to be regarded as an exact measure of unemployment—is to-day only 1,050, instead of 81,916 in March, 1927.

The wholesale index figures, which had been rising steadily since last December, fell in June by 7 points and in July by 2, although it is still 4 points above the level of the same month in the previous year. The decline is exclusively due to seasonal price reductions in food (the seasonal fall was 34 points, but there were also rises in sugar, coffee, and cocoa up to 29 points). The index figure for industrial raw materials rose in July by 1 point.

* * *

Prevention of Accidents

When measures for the prevention of industrial accidents are discussed and decided on in Germany, representatives of the workers, with full voting rights and in equal numbers with the executive members of the insurance companies catering for the various trades, take part in the discussions. Even in Germany this co-operation of the workers is not always all that could be desired, for the different trade insurance companies often neglect to consult the representatives of the insured persons when reporting on the measures to be taken to prevent accidents, thus disregarding the provisions of the law. In order, therefore, to prevent the right to co-operation from becoming a mere form, and the workers' representatives from being systematically excluded, the

executive of the national centre has made representations to the National Insurance Office. in response to which the latter has issued a bye-law reminding the insurance companies of their duties.

This bye-law enacts that all future official reports of the insurance companies concerning official safety measures shall contain a clear statement of the views of the workers' representatives; it must also be clearly shown in these reports how the representatives of insured persons, i.e., the workers' representatives, have voted. Workers' representatives who are elected for five years, and whose re-election has already taken place or is impending, are moreover urged by the national centre to take care that they enjoy their full legal rights, and that, whenever new safety measures are decreed, there shall be due expression of the opinions of both the parties in question, viz., the representatives of the workers, and both of the companies.

* * *

Unemployment in Germany

Enquiries made by the German national centre elicited that at the end of July, 1928, in respect of the 9,427 branches (in June 9,447) sending in reports, and representing 4,031,021 members (3,994,772 members in June), the number of unemployed was 252,850 (248,124 in June) or in membership percentage 6.3 instead of 6.2 in June. Short-time workers were 247,460 instead of 221,951, or 6.1 instead of 5.6 per cent.

The highest percentages of unemployment—reckoned on the membership and compared with the June figures—are as follows: Hatters, 25.5 (26.6); boot and shoe operatives, 19.5 (16.6); clothing workers, 17.8 (13.2); saddlers, upholsterers, and leather case makers, 16.3 (15.7); market gardeners, 13 (11.2); roofers, 10.7 (13.3); wood workers, 10.5 (10.3). Of the short-time workers the maximum figures were: Boot and shoe workers, 56.9 (52); leather workers, 24.2 (21.8); textile workers, 23.7 (22.4); clothing workers, 22.8 (15.9); bookbinders, 13.2 (9.9); saddlers, upholsterers, and leather case makers, 11.8 (12.2); tobacco workers, 9.2 (10.2).

For the first time this year the July unemployment figures show a rise. The number of short-time workers has risen also, but somewhat less than last month.

* * *

Miscellaneous.

TRADE UNION UNITY.—The Congress of French workers in the gas and electricity industries carried a resolution promising the utmost possible assistance to employees in the service of the State and municipal gas and electricity industries in the defence of Trade Union freedom. The Congress also demanded that the workers of Tunis and Algeria should be placed on an equal footing with the French in respect to Trade Union rights.

INCREASE IN NUMBER OF ACCIDENTS.—During the first six months of the present year no less than 1,128 persons were killed in the mining industry of the United States. According to German official reports for the year 1927, there was a considerable increase in the number of accidents in Prussia above the figures for 1926; in some districts the rise was as much as 40 per cent.

MEMBERSHIP INCREASE IN FINLAND.—In the second quarter of 1928 the Finnish Trade Union Centre recorded a membership increase of 5,643, so that the total membership is now 85,265. The increase in membership is continuing, and it is hoped to reach a total of 100,000 by the end of the year.

NEW ACCESSION IN SWEDEN.—A recent Congress of the Swedish Hotel Employees' Union decided by 27 to 11 votes to affiliate with the Swedish National Centre.

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International Labour Office Notes

Assembly and "I.L.O."

Considerable discussion took place in the Fourth Commission of the Assembly of the League of Nations last month before the budget of the International Labour Office for 1929 was adopted.

* * *

Two Conference Sessions Next Year

After prolonged consideration by the Governing Body of the Office, it had been decided that the two sessions of the International Labour Conference to be held next year—one a general session and the other dealing exclusively with maritime affairs—should be held at different times of the year, and provision for this expense had accordingly been made in the budget.

Mr. Godfrey Locker Lampson (Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs), the British delegate to the Assembly, requested that 27,000 Swiss francs (£1,080) should be saved by holding these two sessions consecutively.

* * *

The Director's Reply

M. Albert Thomas, Director of the International Labour Office, according to a British press report, recalled that Mr. Humbert Wolfe, the British Government delegate to the Governing Body, had expressly consented to the outlay, and had given definite pledges that the British delegation to the Assembly would approve the Labour Office budget as he himself had done.

Mr. Locker Lampson's attitude was quite inconsistent with Mr. Wolfe's statement, and M. Thomas asked how he could continue his work confidently when a Government delegate in the Governing Body said "yes" and a delegate of the same Government in the League Assembly said "no."

* * *

Governing Body in Warsaw

The Governing Body of the Office will meet in Warsaw, at the invitation of the Polish Government, on October 5. Last October's meeting was held in Berlin, at the invitation of the German Government, which thereby wished to show its sympathy with the work of the "I.L.O." Among the questions before the Governing Body will be the preliminary study of questions to be placed on the agenda of the 1930 conference.

Consideration will also be given to the best way of giving effect to the large number of resolutions adopted at the last session of the Conference. The names of the British delegates attending this important meeting have not yet been announced.

* * *

German Official Visit

Herr Geib, Secretary of State to the German Ministry of Labour, visited the Office in Geneva in September, accompanied by Herr Weigert, German Government representative on the Governing Body, and was received by the Director, the Deputy Director, Mr. H. B. Butler, and the chiefs of divisions.

Herr Geib said that Germany would continue to co-operate sincerely with the International Labour Organisation and, as proof positive of this good will, he was authorised to hand M. Thomas the instruments of ratification of two further conventions, that dealing with workmen's compensation for occupational diseases, and that dealing with equal rights for alien workers in respect of accident compensation.

World Mining Conditions

The committee on conditions of work in coalfields met at Geneva on September 17th and 18th and was attended by Mr. Lee, of the Miners' Federation. The committee unanimously adopted a standardised method of arriving at statistics for comparing the real wages of the miners in the different countries, and asked the International Labour Office to collect as much data as possible in regard to annual holidays with pay in the separate countries.

It was thought desirable that the inquiry should be extended to Spain, Russia, the United States, Canada, Australia, South Africa, India, and Japan. The committee agreed that the Office should prepare reports on miners' unemployment, pensions, sickness insurance and the like.

* * *

Size of Governing Body

Ratifications by Persia and Chile make only two further ratifications necessary for the forty-two required to bring into operation an amendment of the Peace Treaty to increase the size of the Governing Body. Its present composition is twelve Government representatives and six each employers and workers.

At its fourth Session in 1922, the International Labour Conference adopted an amendment to article 393 of the Treaty, to bring this number up to sixteen Government representatives and eight each employers and workers, the object being to ensure a larger representation of countries outside Europe, and thus give the Governing Body a composition more in keeping with the universal character of the Organisation.

* * *

The Hours Convention

The resolution, adopted by the annual congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies at the Hague, welcomed the ratification of the Washington Hours Convention by France, and expressed the hope that the conditions laid down for its coming into effect (ratification by Germany and Great Britain) would soon be realised. Regret was expressed at the proposal to revise the Convention, in view of the danger to which the adoption of that proposal would expose the whole work of the organisation.

An appeal was made to affiliated societies to do everything in their power to secure that representatives of their countries should be instructed to vote against immediate revision of the Hours Convention.

* * *

German Sickness Insurance

The Office has recently published an important study on "Benefits of the German Sickness Insurance System from the point of view of Social Hygiene" by two eminent specialists, Dr. Franz Goldman, research member of the Principal Health Office of the Municipality of Berlin, and Dr. Alfred Grotjahn, professor of Social Hygiene at Berlin University.

After analysing the work done and the results obtained by insurance in reducing the risks of infection, preventing disablement, and maintaining the health of the insured persons and their families, who together form half the total population of Germany, the authors draw the outlines of a national health programme for the State.

Co-operative Activities

Co-operative Milk Supplies

At the recent Co-operative Congress co-operative societies were urged to pay attention to the supply of liquid milk to their members. The question of whether or not certain food articles could be better supplied to the people by co-operative societies or municipalities was also discussed. While co-operators are naturally inclined to favour co-operative supplies, it is stated and felt that they are not yet in a position in respect to certain articles to provide for public supplies entirely.

With the object of bringing societies to this level, the Co-operative Union has sent out a circular urging societies to institute and equip a milk service sufficiently large to meet any reasonable demands which may be expected in the near future. This is being done frankly to try to forestall the municipal milk supplies, and the Co-operative Union believe that co-operative societies can give a more efficient, secure, and economic service in staple food commodities. This, however, is a matter which will be decided by the future attitude and education of the people.

* * *

Private Traders' Tyranny

It is no new move on the part of manufacturers and private traders to decline to serve the Co-operative Movement with goods unless they will sell them to consumers without the usual co-operative dividend. This has been the practice of the Proprietary Articles Trade Association for many years, and in most cases local co-operative societies have yielded to it. Not content with exercising its own influence, the P.A.T.A. is now advising other private trading and manufacturing bodies to do the same. Co-operative societies are being asked by the Co-operative Union to fight this menace to co-operative trading, and the C.W.S. is doing its best to secure boycotted articles from other sources, either British or foreign.

The boycotters, who are well organised, fix the price at which their goods are to be sold by retailers, and their contention is that if a co-operative store sells at this price and allows dividend in addition it is unfair competition. By this attitude they presume to be commercial moralists, but co-operators suspect that the underlying object is to render the profit-sharing principle of their movement nugatory.

* * *

Failure in Farming

Farming by co-operative societies, including the C.W.S., has not been a great success. Several months ago the C.W.S. decided to get rid of one or two of their agricultural estates and it has now been announced that the farms and land owned by them in Wiltshire are to be disposed of by auction. These are at Down Ampney and Compton Bassett and consist of 8,700 acres. Cottages, indeed villages, are included in the sale. In all the C.W.S. own 34,645 acres of agricultural land in nine or ten counties, and in the last half-year the loss on these was over £53,800, the Wiltshire estates accounting for £35,500 of this. The society, however, let most of the farms to tenants farming themselves 18,900 acres.

But the discouraging feature of the effort made to get back to the land, made mostly within recent years, comparatively, is that the estates have been subject to continual losses. Only last half-year the working costs were greater than the management costs and overhead charges in respect to every estate. It is time that nearly all the places were bought on war prices, but apart from that there is a doubt as to whether industrial societies can ever run farms successfully. Warrington Society have

just sold their farm at Lymm, Cheshire, owing to losses. The board of this society are of the opinion that owing to peculiarities of the farming industry and special difficulties connected with management they are better out of the business.

* * *

Interfering With Production

An example of the attempt to put co-operative concerns in the cart comes from Paisley. The Paisley Co-operative Manufacturing Society had been told that its supplies of cloth—for shirtmaking and ladies' underwear—would be stopped unless the retail societies to whom the made-up goods were sold ceased to pay dividend on these goods. The directors refused to be bound by such an impertinent condition of trade, and the shareholders have backed them up.

* * *

Sales in Scotland

The Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society has issued its report and balance sheet for the half-year ended June 30. The net sales for the six months amounted to £9,111,546, which represents an increase of 7.1 per cent. over the corresponding half-year of 1927. The S.C.W.S. has a number of factories in which it manufactures goods for sale to retail societies. The value of its own productions for the six months under review came to £3,166,064, an increase of 7.5 per cent. over the corresponding period of last year.

The balance sheet shows that the society had for distribution among societies £268,345, and it was recommended that the greater part of this be given back to societies at the rate of 6d. in the £ on purchases, which compares with 3d. in the £ which for the past year or two has been distributed by the English C.W.S.

* * *

The Milk War

With regard to the fight between the farmers and organised distributors of milk concerning prices for the winter, the Co-operative Movement has been sitting tight with the idea, no doubt, of falling in with the decision when one is arrived at. As stated in another paragraph the Co-operative Movement is doing all it can to urge retail societies to provide milk supplies for their members. This being so it is interesting to know that for the present, 347 retail societies handle milk, in addition to the two Co-operative Wholesale Societies of England and Scotland. Societies in the movement now distribute 1,238,998 gallons per week.

We understand that many other societies are now making inquiries with the object of taking up a milk supply of their own, and would where possible, prefer to deal with farmers organised on the co-operative basis, or with the C.W.S.

* * *

Sports Developments

The C.W.S. continues to extend among its 40,000 employees' sports associations, and on September 8 the first sports ground was opened at Chigwell Road, Woodford Bridge, Essex. This is to serve the London and district of the C.W.S. A ground is being laid out in Manchester for employees there, and space has been acquired in Liverpool for sports development. These grounds are suitable for football, hockey, bowls, and running.

The C.W.S. has made a grant to cover costs, and the grounds will be maintained by small contributions from employees.

THE LABOUR MAGAZINE

Incorporating The British Trades Union Review and the Labour Party Bulletin

VOL. VII

NOVEMBER, 1928

No. 7

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*THE "BIG FOUR" OF THE PROPOSED NEW TRADE
UNION MERGER*

Another Step Towards Unity

PROPOSED MERGING OF TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNION AND THE WORKERS' UNION

THE proposed amalgamation of the Transport and General Workers' Union and the Workers' Union is, at the time of writing, approaching its final stages. The negotiators have practically completed their labours and in a few weeks' time, when one or two final amendments have been endorsed, the ballot papers will be printed, together with a copy of the Amalgamation Scheme, and circulated to the whole of the membership of the two unions. Conferences and meetings will be held throughout the country in order that there can be a complete understanding both as between the officers of the two unions who will be brought together and between the membership. Then the vote will be taken.

The membership that will be brought together by the merging of these two big unions approaches half a million, and ranges over nearly 200 industries, that is if the boundaries of the various industries are determined by the separate machinery that exists for dealing with wages.

By this merger another step will be taken in the consolidation of the Trade Union movement and in making provision for its more orderly development, so that it can cater in the widest possible sense for various classes of labour for whom it would be absolutely impossible to set up separate unions and separate organisations.

The Transport and General Workers' Union, as is well known, is a combination of 25 Trade Unions, and it really grew out of the economic efforts that were made by its various constituent sections, both before and during the war, to deal with their problems on a broader basis. In certain sections it was even necessary to establish the organisation in a way that it could deal comprehensively with international questions as well. This particularly applied to the waterside section. The main features of the union were the establishment of what is known as the Group system, the object being to prevent the development of the conglomerate inert mass that would inevitably have followed had the promoters merely gone for the grouping of numbers instead of for scientific organisation. The union was divided into seven national groups, and these groups deal with all the technical matters of their trades in precisely the same manner as if they were distinct and separate unions, the Central Executive dealing with finance and policy and the big general

national questions. The advantage of this has been to leave the Executive freer than it otherwise would have been to take a large and general view of the problems of the movement. At the same time it has made it possible, where the different groups impinge upon each other, to get co-ordinated efforts without any trouble, instead of having to contend with the old difficulty of consulting the other Executive—a course that often leads to considerable ill-feeling, owing to the fact that the two bodies may be at variance and in desperate competition.

Another great advantage has arisen from the fact that the union has been able to pool the knowledge from the different industries that are represented by its various sections and to make this available for the remainder. The financial and other co-operation between the groups has also been of considerable advantage.

The Workers' Union is a general union which, while it has not been developed on precisely the same lines, has in another form attempted to achieve the same object as the Transport and General Workers' Union.

What has been found with regard to these unions, however, is that notwithstanding the amalgamations that have already been carried out, there is an enormous amount of duplication and waste of effort. Take organising, for instance. It is a common occurrence when a new industry develops or an opportunity for organising presents itself to find that both unions have been considering the problem, and probably both sets of organisers find themselves at the factory gate, each inevitably trying to convey to the people that he has the best goods to offer. The result is generally confusion in the minds of the people and no organisation at all. There is a similar lack of cohesion between the work of the unions on Joint Industrial Councils and in connection with other wage negotiating machinery. It is often found that unions of similar type have representatives on the same body, policy often conflicts, there is no real opportunity of hammering out the differences before meeting the employers, and the best results cannot be obtained.

The third difficulty that arises, however, is that where there are a number of unions and where no single one of them is big enough or has sufficient members to create a national section or group of members in an industry, it is not possible to develop and organise the real "trade consciousness" that is so necessary,

especially now when not merely the question of wages has to be considered but deeper problems of industry itself.

The coming together of these two unions will mean that while there is no need to disturb the main groups of the Transport and General Workers' Union, there will be an opportunity, after careful examination, to ascertain the exact strength of the general workers' groups, of the Transport Workers' Union and the Workers' Union, and to re-sort them out in such a way that other national trade groups can be formed within the new union. This will enable the people employed in those industries to act on a national industrial basis and to deal more efficiently with their problems than is possible now with the membership divided between two organisations.

A special feature of the amalgamation is that it is a complete merging. The whole of the funds, assets, liabilities, etc., will be pooled. The position of the officers is safeguarded. The rights of representation are carefully worked out. The political power that will result from the co-ordination of the work of the M.P.s who are now members of the two unions and of the representatives on local authorities will be considerably enhanced and made more effective. The benefits to the existing membership, in certain conditions, are specially safeguarded. The scheme also enables the new union to merge its scales of benefit, or to take advantage of the experience of the two organisations in administering the benefit side of the union in such a way that it will enable new scales of a very sound and yet attractive kind to be promoted.

The promoters of the amalgamation look forward to big developments on the financial side of Trade Unionism as a result of the merger. They have a vision of expanding the services that Trade Unions can render in this direction, instead of leaving the whole field free for purely private capitalist enterprise.

It will provide probably the first real opportunity of tackling the problem of the organisation of women, and for dealing with organisation in new industries at the time of their inception. It will provide for what is hoped will become a fairly powerful agricultural workers' development. The Workers' Union, as is well-known, now has a large agricultural section, and the amalgamation should provide opportunities for bringing to the assistance of the rural districts the services of a very competent staff of officials who, in the interests of the movement itself, would render a good deal of spare-time assistance in the rural districts.

Arguments are sometimes encountered that the establishment of a great union such as

this will make it difficult to administer. Experience has demonstrated in the case of both the unions, however, that there is no greater difficulty in keeping in touch with a membership in a large and scientifically organised union than in a small union. In fact, the possibilities are much greater. For instance, there is no doubt that the journalistic side of a union of this character will be developed and intensified, while the information and knowledge that is capable of being disseminated will be of incalculable value to the Labour Movement as a whole. Another special feature of the development of this amalgamation is that while its system of grouping will put each Group always in the position of being able to obtain assistance from other Groups, each great national Group will be developed on a self-reliant basis. In other words, the propaganda for membership is, and will be in future, carried on in such a way that each trade organised will be taught to stand on its own legs, but with the additional confidence that added support is available.

A very important side of this amalgamation movement is the responsibility that such a big union brings. There are sometimes fears in the public mind that the growth of these powerful organisations is a danger, but in reality the unions are only endeavouring to keep up with the growth of interlocking capital and the trustification and rationalisation of industry on the other side; and from the negotiating point of view the opportunity that is given for training expert negotiators, for establishing well-equipped research departments, and for furnishing the officers with a greater knowledge of the facts of the problems to be dealt with, facilitates negotiation. Moreover, while looking at it from purely the employers' point of view, it is better for them to have one great union to deal with rather than a multitude of unions in competition, and there is no doubt that testimony would be given by those with whom the unions have relations at the moment that while probably the unions are in a position to strike a better bargain than they were when in their scattered condition, yet the responsible methods and the scientific way in which these industrial matters are handled is, in the long run, of advantage to industry itself.

The problem now, of course, is to get the scheme carried. From the point of view of the officials and Executives of the two unions they have subordinated themselves to the desire for unity and a more efficient organisation. The rank and file will have their opportunity of endorsing or otherwise the efforts that these bodies have made, and it now rests with them to give their decision.

The Anglo-French Naval Agreement

By
"SIGMA"

IT has long been known through indiscretions in the French newspapers, and is now confirmed by the British Government's White Book on the limitation of naval armaments, that France and England agreed to the following naval programme, which they were to uphold in common in the Preparatory Commission of the Conference on Disarmament:—

1. *The Washington ratios relating to capital ships and aircraft carriers over 10,000 tons are to remain.*
2. *Cruisers up to 10,000 tons armed with guns of more than 6" and up to 8" calibre to be limited according to parity.*
3. *Cruisers of any size carrying guns up to 6" calibre to remain unlimited.*
4. *Submarines over 600 tons to be limited according to parity.*
5. *Submarines up to 600 tons to remain unlimited.*

It was believed that the U.S.A. would accept this programme. This belief was mistaken, for the U.S.A. has rejected it with much emphasis.

What does this programme imply?

It implies that the two Governments were not really concerned with disarmament. It is an armament, not a disarmament programme. It does not advance the principles of the Washington Agreement—it goes against them. The Washington ratio with regard to capital ships and aircraft carriers (1) must be maintained in any case, because the agreement does not expire until 1931. That there is to be parity with regard to large cruisers (2) means that France and Italy shall be allowed to maintain as many of these powerful vessels as the U.S.A. This is the direct contrary of the principles of the agreement, which began the attempt to grade the naval strength of the interested powers—England, U.S.A., France, Italy, Japan—according to the real needs of each.

In cruisers with guns of 6in. calibre or less there is to be no limitation but competition. These cruisers may be of any size and as expensive as the new German armoured cruiser. They may have any speed and be made as

expensive as naval architects can make them. The calibre of their guns sets a certain limit to their effectiveness, but they may be extremely formidable. If all the powers are free to build as many of these as they like, there can be no real disarmament at sea.

All the interested powers are to be allowed an equal number of large submarines (4). Both the British and American Governments have been in favour of abolishing the submarine altogether. The submarine is not a defensive but an almost exclusively offensive weapon. In the Great War it took hardly any part in naval battles. It did, at first, sink a few battleships, but later on it proved almost useless against battleships and cruisers. Its chief function was that of a commerce destroyer. Both swift cruisers with guns up to 6in. calibre and submarines are essentially blockade ships. And yet France, who cannot herself be effectively blockaded, because she grows her own food and has long land frontiers, is allowed to have, at least, as many blockade ships as England, who can be effectively blockaded and quickly starved into submission.

Small submarines (5) are to remain unlimited, so that in these vessels also there would be unrestricted competition. Small submarines may be very formidable, especially in striking at a vessel not too far off. Germany, with her few submarines, very nearly defeated England in 1917 by preying on her commerce; France, solely by building a fleet of small but powerful submarines, could be a real menace to England in war, especially as her bases are much more favourably situated than were the German bases for striking at England's trade routes.

With her great resources, the U.S.A. could build a great many light cruisers and small submarines, and, being at such an immense distance from every possible enemy, they have not overmuch to fear from competition in these vessels. But the U.S.A. have rejected the Anglo-French naval programme because they are for disarmament, and the programme is one of armament. There can only be two principles of effective limitation—by total tonnage or by separate categories that together embrace all vessels. The Anglo-French proposal avoids both principles—it limits by certain categories only, and leaves others open to a race in armaments.

The proposal has another aspect. It is the result of close co-operation between the French and British Governments, and the two Admiralties. Is there an Anglo-French "Entente"? There may be no "secret treaty," there may be no documents of any kind except the minutes of conversations. There may, indeed, be nothing that is legally binding. Nevertheless, there is a general understanding between the two Powers.

The British Admiralty feared, and rightly feared, the growing strength of the French navy, which in the last few years has been converted from a second-rate, to a first-rate fighting force. The French at sea, have intensified their armaments just as the Germans did before the war. The British Admiralty is no longer afraid. Indeed, so little is it afraid that it agrees to a programme that would, in case of war, enable France to defeat England mightily and surely. There can be only one explanation—France is an ally.

The naval agreement has been accompanied by an extraordinary bargain. Land disarmament has all along been an extremely difficult problem. Indeed it has not, so far, been resolutely dealt with. Not even a beginning has been made, although in naval disarmament a beginning, and a very good one, was made at Washington. France is by far the greatest military power on the continent. Together with her allies she asserts a military preponderance, the purpose of which is to perpetuate the victory won in the Great War. France and her allies have consistently opposed any change that might weaken this preponderance, even if the change would have made for general concord and used for friendlier relations with the former enemy. She opposes the evacuation of the Rhineland and the union of Germany and Austria. She wishes to perpetuate Germany's eastern frontiers although these frontiers need to be modified. She opposes an equitable solution of the problem of reparations.

No Power was ever able to lighten the dead weight of this military preponderance except England. England has been the mainstay of the League of Nations; it was chiefly under English pressure and guidance that the Dawes Plan and the Locarno Agreement came into existence. England was the chief guardian of those natural and pacific forces that were healing the wounds inflicted on the body of Europe by the Great War. But of late England has been playing a very different part. She has either supported or tacitly accepted the French preponderance in Europe. She believes that in principle the evacuation of the Rhineland is due, but makes no stand by this principle. She really sees no connection between the with-

drawal of troops from the Rhineland and the payment of a large sum by Germany. She does not think that the withdrawal is a matter for bargaining, yet at Geneva she supports the French efforts to strike precisely this bargain.

The French preponderance is based on the conscript system, and is maintained by huge conscript armies. England is opposed to conscription, and in attempting to promote the limitation of land armaments she demanded that trained reservists (which are the essence of the conscript system) should be included in the limitation. She was supported by Germany, but, naturally, her chief opponent was France. She has now abandoned her attitude with regard to trained reservists, and, therefore, to conscription.

This backward step is connected with the naval agreement. It has been denied that there was any bargain, but the British White Book leaves no doubt on that point. Document No. 18 includes a letter from the French Foreign Office to the British Embassy in Paris. In this letter it is stated that on June 28, 1928, the British Ambassador (the Marquis of Crewe), communicated to M. Briand the outline of an agreement relating to the limitation of naval armaments, and declared that "if the French Government would come to share their (the British) view, then the British Government, on its part, would renounce its opposition to the French thesis in the question of trained reservists." The British Government—indeed, Lord Robert Cecil himself as early as April last year—had previously weakened in its opposition, but it abandoned it finally and definitely in return for the French acceptance of the naval programme.

This programme has been rejected by the U.S.A. and by Italy. Japan has given only qualified acceptance. It is therefore doomed. Nevertheless, Franco-British co-operation does not appear to cease. The same letter from the French Foreign Office ends with the statement that even if the naval programme is rejected "the two Governments would, none the less, be under the urgent obligation to concert either to ensure success by other means or to adopt a common policy so as to deal with the difficulties which would inevitably arise."

If co-operation between England and France persists in this as in other matters, disarmament on land and sea becomes illusory. The French military preponderance in Europe and the ring of armed alliances surrounding Germany remain unchanged. At sea the French and British fleets would together form the mightiest armada that ever existed. The two fleets would compliment each other. England would be strong in capital ships, and in

naval bases scattered all over the world, France would be strong in light cruisers and submarines, that is to say, in commerce-destroying craft. Thus, even if no pooling of the two fleets is contemplated, given the close co-operation between the two countries, the pooling of the fleets would come about in actual fact. This again is contrary to the essential principle of disarmament. If a Power agrees to limitation and then concludes what amounts to a naval "entente," it clearly makes limitation illusory and forces other Powers either to conclude counter alliances, or to increase their naval armaments.

It will be for the Opposition when the House of Commons meets to extract from the Government information as to how far England is committed. The purely naval agreement will be abandoned, or at least modified; but is the Government, as stated in the letter from the French Foreign Office, bound to continue its co-operation with France in dealing with the

problem of naval armaments? Is the Government committed to permanent acceptance of the French thesis with regard to trained reserves? Indeed, are there any commitments, whether written or verbal? Have there been any "conversations" between the Governments, the Admiralties, or the General Staffs that in any way oblige this country to make common cause with France? The French—especially the French newspapers, whether they support the French Government or not—assume that England is under this obligation.

British policy in Europe should be British and European, not merely British and French. An entente is bound to produce a counter-entente—indeed, Italy has already begun to look for allies, while Germany and the U.S.A. have been made deeply suspicious. If the Anglo-French entente persists it will inevitably divide Europe and estrange the U.S.A., although a united Europe and friendship with the U.S.A. are in the supreme interest of England.

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The Parties in Conference

By

PROFESSOR HAROLD J. LASKI

THE imminence of a general election gave a special character to the autumn conferences of the parties this year. The atmosphere of foreign politics, the desperate effort of the Cabinet to find some kind of domestic policy before it meets the electorate, the general feeling that the present huge majority is destined to vanish, have all given to the political struggle a keenness and urgency which have been lacking since 1924. The last few years, indeed, have been duller politically than anything in English history since the days of Lord Liverpool. If it were not that, as with his pompous respectability, dullness has also been the twin-sister of malignancy, it would have been difficult to arouse interest in the conflict. As it is, the sense is widespread that five more years of Baldwinism would be not merely a European, but even a world-disaster.

The Yarmouth Conference of the Tory Party was a carefully stage-managed eulogy of the Government. Even the strident accents of Sir Henry Page-Croft were toned down to dulcet cooings in favour of Tariff Reform. The reform of the House of Lords was kept discreetly in the background; Mr. Neville Chamberlain's rating proposals were ardently equated with the millennium; and Lord Hailsham's son was duly introduced to assert that the Conservative youth of Oxford and Cambridge is eternally committed to the improvement of social conditions. Mr. Baldwin, of course, made one of his stirring speeches. He explained to enthusiastic thousands that he was at the head of a great Party. He insisted (despite the accumulating mass of evidence) that Sir Austen Chamberlain was not merely devoted to peace but knew how to get it. He eulogised Mr. Neville Chamberlain as the architect of a great scheme of rating reform which he wisely refrained from attempting to expound. He even praised Lord Eustace Percy, whose devotion to educational advance might otherwise have remained unobserved. Upon the burning theme of safeguarding he explained that if there was a case for its extension, it would be extended, and if not, not; a view which doubtless comforts both wings of his Party. He argued that Labour was not yet grown up and that Liberalism was decrepit. In general, he gave the impression of a thoroughly likeable human being utterly unaware of the

problems he confronts, on the one hand, or what his colleagues are actually doing, on the other. From the enthusiasm he inspired it does not seem unfair to conclude that he represents the best mind of his Party.

Men so different as Mr. Lansbury and Mr. Herbert Morrison have united to praise the Birmingham Conference of the Labour Party; and that seems in itself a sufficient commentary on its proceedings. The three outstanding facts in its discussions were first, the profound realisation that the present foreign policy of the Government is leading directly to a new war atmosphere; the general agreement (in which Mr. Snowden concurred) that the Bank of England cannot be allowed to remain a private institution; and the refusal of the overwhelming majority of the Party to be attracted by millennial schemes of any kind. The debate upon foreign policy reached a remarkably high level; an eminent foreign observer said to me that Mr. MacDonald's speech made Europe realise more keenly than ever before what had been lost by Sir Austen Chamberlain's accession to office. The discussion on banking policy was refreshingly free from nostrums about currency at one end and conventional timidity at the other. The stern refusal of the Party to move an inch towards Communism was the reflection of a natural indignation at the wrecking policies of Moscow; and the rejection of Mr. Maxton's dream of a Socialist commonwealth in the next six months was, I think, the inevitable view of men who had learned from 1926 that declarations of right are not realisations of justice. The substance of the programme, as it emerged from Birmingham, goes nearer to the great mood of 1918 than anything that has happened since the Armistice. One hopes, indeed, that the new Executive will be as courageous as Mr. Henderson in matters like Children's Allowances; that Mr. MacDonald will allow no considerations of expediency to deflect him one hair's breadth from his pledge to repeal the Trade Disputes Act of 1927; and that with a programme in firm outline, the Advisory Committees will set to work to give it the flesh and blood of realistic detail. One hopes, also, that now that Communist disintegration in the Party has been definitely arrested, emphasis will be laid not on the light troop; on our flanks,

but on the heavy artillery in front of us. Labour's business is to make its case against the Government, to insist on the positive proposals it recommends, and not to bother its head with heresy-hunting. The Party in the country is eager to fight; what it now wants, what Birmingham really called for, is a fighting lead in Socialist terms. Mr. MacDonald's work in the next six months will make Party history (and, thereby) national history for the next ten years. He will go forward in the knowledge that he was never more secure in the leadership than to-day.

The Liberals returned to Yarmouth after the Tories had left it; and it is not, I think, a discourtesy to its proceedings to say that their main interest was not in the resolutions, but in the very skilful speech made by Mr. Lloyd George on the aftermath of the election. For the resolutions were either an affirmation of things like Free Trade, better education, a wiser foreign policy, on which the record of Liberalism is, after all, finally prejudicial to the Party's pretensions; or else an urgent plea for proportional representation which is always the platform of a Party in decline. Mr. Lloyd George had to do three things. He had to affirm his belief that Liberalism was still an essential force in national politics; he had to prove that his claims to office could not be neglected; and he had to leave the door open for those possible combinations upon the political chess-board to which he probably looks most hopefully for a fresh lease of power.

No member of the Labour Party will deny him, I hope, the credit of having performed his part with incomparable virtuosity. If he had only some music to play in which men were still willing to believe, he would be a supreme artist upon the platform. As it is, he does not seem even to have convinced Mr. Garvin. His part was to warn everybody that Liberalism is completely independent; if it gets the chance of office, it will (as we have all thought) jump at it. If it cannot take office, it will not permit another Party to remain there without insisting upon its pound of flesh. This, we were told, was to apply both to Labour and the Tories; but there is a progressive area which is common ground between Liberalism and Labour. Mr. Lloyd George hopes, for the good of the nation, that it will be possible, at the proper time, and in the proper way, to cultivate that ground in common. Mr. Lloyd George who made the Peace of Versailles; who rejected the Sankey Report; who nearly plunged us into war over Poland and Turkey; who left the Education Act of 1918 a dead letter on the Statute Book;

this Mr. Lloyd George has not been entirely forgotten by the Labour Party. Nor does it forget that his re-emergence as the Liberal Chief has not been hampered by his ability to provide the sinews of war. It would be interesting to know how many hereditary titles represent the expenses of 500 Liberal candidates.

For us, as a Party, the essential principles that emerge in this fight are merely reaffirmed by the conferences of this autumn. We go into the election to win an independent majority in the House of Commons. We hope to emerge from that election with the power to translate Socialist principles into terms of legislation. We believe that five years of Tory rule have done grave harm to both England and Europe; and we see no reason to suppose that what, as a Party, we want is wanted by the Liberals either in the same way or for the same ends. The record of Mr. Lloyd George is, for the overwhelming majority of Labour, fatal to any prospect of even tenuous collaboration with him. Of remaining Liberals, half the present Members of Parliament are undeviating supporters of Mr. Baldwin, and, of the rest, the majority either never support a Labour motion, or are absent in essential divisions. When Mr. Lloyd George speaks of common ground, it is difficult to know for whom he is speaking. On the Trade Disputes Act he does not speak for Sir John Simon; on coal and power, Sir Herbert Samuel has rejected the Labour Policy; on banking we have no reason to suppose that Liberals sympathise with the Labour proposals; on foreign policy, it is difficult to reconcile the contemporary pacificism of Mr. Lloyd George either with the picture recently drawn for us by Lord Morley or with the protagonist of Versailles. The philosophy of Labour, not less than its experience of its opponents, requires the tactic of independence. Whether we gain a majority, or take office as a Minority Party, those only can be associated with our effort who accept the policy for which we stand.

A great opportunity lies before the Party. The Government is clearly bankrupt of ideas. It has pursued upon the Continent a policy which even its most ardent advocates are not eager to defend. At home, it has done nothing for unemployment; and its new rating scheme has already been riddled with criticism by those to whom it was expected to appeal. For it has now been made clear by the criticism of experts not only that the derating scheme is financially unsound, but, also, that it definitely involves a check upon the activities of all progressive local government. As Mr. Snowden said years ago, the public needs require more

and not less public expenditure; and Mr. Chamberlain's proposals are simply a formula for tying all initiative in local affairs to the leading-strings of Whitehall. If the Labour Party can, in the next eight months drive home the positive policy for which it stands, there is every reason to suppose that a great gain is assured. The temper of the electorate is progressive; and Mr. Baldwin's feeble incompetence has alienated support which was given to him willingly when he was unknown and untried. But the opportunity is not there for the taking. To seize it means hard work and hard thinking. The by-elections show a drift to Labour that, if small, is nevertheless real. What is wanted is clarity and courage in the statement of policy, determination, and effort in the insistence upon its meaning.

This is the more urgent since another period of Tory rule may well impair fatally the future of this country. It is obvious enough that the next Tory Government will not only change the fiscal system of this country, but effect a revolution in constitutional structure. Their intention permanently to control the House of Lords as a safeguard against Labour legislation is obvious enough. Their desire, under Mr. Chamberlain's lead, to hamper creativeness in local government is increasingly apparent. Their desire, under Lord Eustace Percy, to make education the "Cinderella" of commerce is the more clear, the more the Government shows its hand. What

public liberty will be after five more years of the Home Secretary no one can prophesy. It is not merely that under Sir William Joynson-Hicks we have had disturbing evidence of police inadequacy. There is also evidence and to spare that he is by nature one of those fussy and meddling bureaucrats who cannot help making his own personal ignorance the measure of what he believes other people ought to be permitted to know. Five more years of him might well mean the creation of a censorship over both morals and ideals which would make Mrs. Grundy appear a thoroughgoing Radical. Five more years of Sir Austen Chamberlain may not only sow the seeds of Anglo-American conflict, but reduce all of what promise there is in Geneva to impotence. No one who examines the atmosphere he has managed to create can miss its similarity to the days before 1914, when Germany emerged as the rival of Great Britain. His policy has not merely blocked every effort at disarmament; it has not only taken an attitude to the League which is definitely hostile to its growth; it has revived in a sinister sense the idea of alliances and the old balance of power. Another epoch of Sir Austen Chamberlain, and we may well confront a new Armageddon. It is against a policy of drift and reaction that Labour makes its protest. To implement the pledges of Birmingham it must prove that it has a clear vision of the end to pursue and a high courage in moving towards its goal.

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Five Questions

By

EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD

IN "The Girdings of Mr. Gallacher," in the October issue of the LABOUR MAGAZINE, five questions were formulated. These questions were:—

1. What is the alternative policy that Mr. Gallacher and other critics of the T.U.C. conversations with the Mond group of employers, are offering in its place?

2. Whether that alternative policy holds out as real prospects as the present policy of the T.U.C. for bettering the condition of the workers?

3. At what price in suffering, starvation, imprisonment, and deaths of members of the working class is the problematical gain that would accrue from the tactic of Messrs. Gallacher, Cook, and their friends to be achieved?

4. What are the odds that any reasonably efficient member of the bookmaking fraternity would give on the chances of the Gallacher tactic being crowned with success?

5. What are the objective possibilities as regards the position of the workers if the Gallacher tactic happens to miscarry, and the path straight up the face of the mountain towards Socialism proves as impracticable as the Churchillian method of getting through the Dardanelles?

These questions strike fundamentally at the essential rightness or wrongness of the whole of the propaganda being carried on at the bidding of Moscow through the agency of the Communist Party and the Minority Movement. A brief consideration of them will enable us to understand exactly where we stand.

QUESTION 1.—What is the alternative policy that Mr. Gallacher and other critics of the T.U.C. conversations with the Mond group of employers, are offering in its place?

The bulk of criticism directed against the policy of T.U.C. conversations with the Mond group of employers comes from Communist or near Communist sources, and the best source to study the alternative policy of Mr. Gallacher and his friends is in the programme of the Communist International itself.

The *International Press Correspondence* published on June 6, 1928, an English transla-

tion of the draft programme to be submitted to the coming conference of the Communist International.

This conference recently concluded, after occupying 500 delegates for a period of seven weeks, or a total of 20,000 delegate days, without amending in principle the draft programme submitted to it, and pending the publication of the endorsed official programme, we can well take the draft programme as a fair guide.

This draft programme, a document of 22,000 words, was fairly dealt with in the September issue of the LABOUR MAGAZINE. The whole point about it is that it is entirely built up on the totally unproved assumption that the only possible path from capitalism to Socialism lies in heavy civil war in all countries between the workers and the employers, a path involving many years of strikes, armed strikes, revolutionary battles, and bloodshed. To quote the programme itself (Section IV., line 5): "*The transition from the world dictatorship of Imperialism to the world dictatorship of the Proletariat extends over a long period of Proletarian struggles, defeats, and victories. This is a period of continuous general crisis in capitalist relationships and maturing social revolution, a period of national wars and Colonial rebellions . . . etc.*"

That wholly unwarrantable assumption that the only path from the present chaotic state of society to a saner and more rational system lies through a gigantic blood bath is the keynote to their whole programme and ideology. It debases man from being a thinking, rational animal to the level of the tiger. It rules out all possibilities of education, persuasion, argument, reason, appeals either to commonsense or to the nobler side of human nature, ever being of the slightest effectiveness in shaping and evolving a better social order. It stigmatises all the great thinkers and philosophers of the world—Buddha, Christ, Marcus Aurelius among them—as sentimental bourgeois ideologists, and presumably masked agents of capitalist domination.

Mr. J. T. Walton Newbold, writing in *Forward*, under date October 6, 1928, rightly and succinctly says: "They are out to ensue an end which is nothing less than 'heavy civil war.' Convinced that the capitalist class

will never surrender, they contend that the sooner the conflict becomes open, evident, and plainly incapable of compromise, the better for the working class. To achieve that end they wish, and so wishing, are resolutely determined to force the pace AND TO DRIVE THE WORKERS UP AGAINST THE MACHINE GUNS." That contains the essence and reality of Communist tactics in a nutshell.

QUESTION 2.—Whether that alternative policy holds out as real prospects for bettering the condition of the workers as the present policy of the T.U.C.?

If we rightly reject the various partial programmes, and transitional programmes issued by the Minority Movement, the Communist Party, and kindred bodies from time to time, as Communist ground bait to attract the workers to getting firmly fixed on the Communist hook, and always look to the real and full programme of the Communist International, we have no difficulty in estimating the prospects of such a programme.

The immediate prospects are strikes, riots, armed demonstrations, battles with the police, heavy civil war.

The ultimate prospects, if civilisation is not wholly destroyed in the meantime, will be at best, much like the present position of the workers in Soviet Russia. Opinions differ, and differ very considerably, as to the actual conditions of the workers in Russia. There has recently been a long controversy in *Forward* showing that miners' conditions in Russia as regards actual hours worked, real wages, frequency of accidents are not one whit better, if as good, as the conditions of British miners.

What those prospects will develop into none as yet can tell.

The ultimate prospects for the workers if this famous programme of strikes, armed risings, and civil war happens to miscarry is dealt with under Question 5, and need not be touched on here.

In comparison it can at least be pointed out for the present policy of the T.U.C. that it is a logical continuation of past policy for the last 60 years. Ben Tillett has outlined the achievements of the T.U.C., the substantial gains made by steady progress, in the September and October issues of this magazine, but apart from this, transport workers, railwaymen, dockers, factory workers know from their own experience, and the experience of their forbears, the improvement in hours, conditions, and status that have been achieved by 60 years' Trade Unionism.

There is no reason to think that the same type of leader and the same method of responsible and thought-out conduct that has characterised the advances of the last half century will fail to find the best solution to the present difficulties.

In countries where the Communist tactic has been much more successful in swopping leadership for that of the real red variety, no gains whatever have been made in the conditions of the workers in comparison with the conditions existing in this country.

Whether it be France, Germany, or Czecho-Slovakia, three countries where the Communist policy has been largely successful, they have nothing to point to but split and disrupted unions, a disunited and divided working class, and no material advantages. Recent evidence in countries such as these points to the fact that Communist influence in the Trade Unions of these countries is now on the decline, and a very short experience of this new type of leader has been sufficient to convince the workers of their total unfitness to be practical leaders.

The alternative programme of Mr. Gallacher and his friends offers to the workers of Britain neither immediate nor ultimate prospects of social or economic betterment.

QUESTION 3.—At what price in suffering, starvation, imprisonment, and deaths of members of the working class is the problematical gain that would accrue from the Communist tactic to be achieved?

The tactic has been tried in other countries. Let results speak for themselves. Roland Holst, the Dutch Communist writer in *Inprecorr*, March 8, 1923, stated: "*Proletarian class war has never cost such immeasurable sacrifices as during the last four years, never have so many young lives been destroyed in the flower of their youth.*"

From the same source, under date, January 17, 1924, we read of 100 executions at the village of Gorna Goynitza, in Bulgaria, five days after the end of the Communist revolutionary attempt. At Bregovo 300 executions. At Brazigivo, 200 revolutionaries, who had surrendered, were shot.

Under date October 29, 1924, we read of 7,000 revolutionary proletarians being in prison in Germany. On the December 31, 1924, we read: "The terror is raging in the Baltic States." On the February 26, 1925, we read of, "The Roumanian Hell." On the October 1, 1925, we have, "Fresh Wave of White Terror in Horthy Hungary," and on the December 24, 1925, "Mass Murders in Chili."

Then we have the mass assassinations following the unsuccessful revolutionary attempts in Finland, 1918, in Hungary, 1919, and in Bulgaria, 1923, to say nothing of the tens of thousands of deaths in Fascist Italy.

All these evidences of working class suffering as the result of following the Communist tactic are taken, it should be borne in mind, from a Communist source, the *International Press Correspondence*. Indeed in turning over the file of this paper for the last few years there is hardly an issue that has not its section headed "The White Terror," showing it to be a constant permanent feature of the Communist tactic. Yugo-Slavia, Horthy Hungary, Esthonia, Lithuania, Pilsudski's Poland, Bulgaria, Spain, Finland, Portugal, Egypt, Italy, Germany, Palestine, Turkey, all these countries have from time to time their bulletins on the White Terror following the use of the Communist tactic. Great Britain is probably mentioned fewer times than any other country, and it is very noteworthy that it is especially in Britain that the Communist Party and the Communist tactic finds the least attraction for the masses.

All these sufferings, merciless beatings, tortures, imprisonments, and assassinations have not been accompanied in any country outside Russia with one scrap of gain for the working class.

QUESTION 4.—What are the odds that any reasonably efficient member of the bookmaking fraternity would give on the chances of the Gallacher tactic being crowned with success?

If we accept the evidence of their own publications the odds would appear to be 100 to 1 against, as those are the odds the bookmaker on the cover of "Mond's Manacles" pamphlet is offering against Communism. The chances of success in various countries will be different, but any close student of the history of the last ten years will agree that in a Western industrial country the chances of success are absolutely nil.

If ever a Western country had the necessary objective conditions for carrying through a working-class physical force revolution with success that country was Germany in 1922-3. The whole working class had been suffering semi-starvation for years in the chaos of the falling mark. The workers were well educated and intelligent, and largely Marxist in outlook. There was a highly disciplined Communist Party numbering over a quarter of a million, and yet, when it came

to a show-down in the late autumn of 1922, the workers, practically without arms, found themselves faced with—not merely the police and the army—but a highly disciplined army of Fascists, holding what was variously estimated at from 600,000 to 800,000 rifles. The task was frankly impossible, and from that day the prospects of success of this kind of action have declined. I was one of a party of working-class journalists secreted all night in a room with Thalheimer, the leading German Communist, waiting to proceed to the "revolutionary front," when the fighting started in the morning, on the outskirts of Dresden, in Saxony. Morning came, but no revolution, and frankly it was an impossibility. I formed the opinion that if Saxony then was unable to carry through a physical force revolution, all hopes of this tactic ever being successful in Western Europe must be given up.

QUESTION 5.—What are the objective possibilities as regards the position of the workers if the Gallacher tactic happens to miscarry?

This question is largely answered under Question 3, but perhaps the classic example is to be found in Fascist Italy, where the tale of Trade Unions destroyed, co-operatives pillaged and shut down, and all forms of workers' organisations suppressed supplies its own answer. The iron heel, loss of freedom of speech and expression, loss of the right of combination—that is the price to be paid if this thousand to one chance does not happen to come off.

Enough has been written to show that as soon as you get down to fundamental considerations, and to ultimate prospects and ultimate programmes, that the tactic of Mr. Gallacher and his friends is hopelessly unsound.

I often speculate how different the world might have been if the Russian Communists, after carrying through their successful coup, had known how to exercise the virtue of tolerance, and permitted the workers of each country to work out their own tactic and method free from outside interference and subsidised intrigue. If instead of attacking and antagonising responsible and trusted working class leaders in each country, they had been willing to cultivate friendly relations free from dictation.

There is much virtue in "if." History has yet to record its final verdict on the Leninist tactic of antagonising all your potential friends and well-wishers.

Fuel, Power and Transport

By

J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

VI.—*An End to Municipal Enterprise?*

PREOCCUPATION with the Labour Party programme for the next General Election, together with the attention inevitably attracted towards our own two conferences at Swansea and Birmingham, must not be allowed entirely to distract our notice from the plans and projects which are, at this time, not only engaging the energies of the capitalists and their Government, but are beginning to take obvious and official effect. Quite apart from his other and manifold activities in the realms of industry and finance, separate altogether from his conversations with the General Council, the ubiquitous Lord Melchett has been presiding over and has now presented to the Board of Trade the report of the Fuel and Power Committee.

This latter, issued on the eve of the opening in London, under the presidency of Lord Reading, also of the Board of Imperial Chemical Industries Limited, of the World Power Conference on Fuel, whereat came together the experts of 48 nations, is a document which commands the careful and comprehending scrutiny of all those within our ranks seriously concerned with the problems of industrial reconstruction combined, at the same time, with effective popular control. For, in the event that we should not secure an electoral mandate adequate to drive ahead into the face of all the vested interests far reaching measures of our own evolving, the scheme foreshadowed in the Melchett Report would undoubtedly hold the field. Even should we succeed in securing a majority and the opportunity to act on our own initiative there are many features of our power and transport proposals that would need to be modified—if only in the way of amplification—to bring within the compass of public ownership and operation the industries which Lord Melchett and Sir Cunliffe-Lister now purpose to explore with a view to their co-ordination.

The problem of the more economic operation of the coke-oven industry, whether attached to the collieries as a finishing or to the blast furnaces and steelworks as a primary industry, appears to be the snag that now

delays all the projects for the rationalisation of the British steel plants.

Furthermore, until this reconciliation is achieved and the iron and steel industry can show more ample evidence that it is taking steps to make itself efficient there is no likelihood that Mr. Baldwin will be any more definite than he has been in reply to the 200 M.P.'s who demanded a tariff on steel or than he was at Yarmouth, when he said of the extension of "safeguarding" "that no industry will be barred from making its case and proving it, if it can, before the appropriate tribunal." Till Mr. Baldwin can become more precise without at the same time offending the financial fraternity who will not listen to "safeguarding" unless safeguarded against its extension to "inefficient" concerns, individually controlled instead of "bossed" by the banks, there will be no fighting fury injected into the listless ranks of the Tory Tariff Reformers.

So something must be done at once to find out how, supposing the steel industry to modernise its coke-ovens or the colliery undertakings to erect at a central point coal distillation plants on a scale comparable with those in Germany and America, could the surplus coke and the surplus gas, especially the latter, be made to sell at a profit.

According to a witness of the Coke Oven Managers' Association before the Melchett Committee:—

"Whereas in 1914 British coke ovens were approximately equal in efficiency to the Continental ovens . . . the position was that in this country there had, except in a few cases, been no progress since that date, while the Continental practice had advanced."

According to a paper read at the World Fuel Conference:—

"With a few admirable exceptions, the by-product coking industry in this country has made very little progress since 1913 . . . whereas in Germany plants are being reconstructed with ovens of the latest and most economical type at a remarkably rapid rate. . . . Our plants in the majority of cases are so inefficient and expensive by comparison

with those of other countries that they must eventually be rebuilt or abandoned, otherwise they will not be able to compete in the world markets, and iron and steel makers in this country will not be able to pay the prices which uneconomic costs involve, with the result that they may be compelled to import coke." (*"Iron and Coal Trades Review,"* p. 456, September 28, 1928.)

"The coke-oven owners say," the lecturer went on, "they cannot undertake the cost of reconstruction unless they can sell the greater quantity of surplus gas which will be available after reconstruction."

Such a view having been accepted by the Melchett Committee, the latter recommended:—

"The Government should undertake an investigation in relation to a limited area such as that lying between the Humber and Liverpool and between Leeds and Birmingham of the technical and economic aspects of an area gas supply system comprising an inter-connecting network of pipe-lines fed by a number of gasworks, coke ovens, and the like."

This committee "might be composed of two representatives of the gas industry, one representative of the coke industry, one representative of the iron and steel industry, and an independent chairman having technical and commercial experience."

This recommendation, it was announced by the President of the Board of Trade, speaking at the banquet held in connection with the World Fuel Conference on September 24th, within a week of the issue of the Melchett report, he considered "a very valuable suggestion upon which he proposed to take immediate action." (*Gas World*, September 29, 1928.)

His remarks, with the twist they give to the proposal of the report that the aid of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research should be invoked, are worth careful notice, so obvious is their anti-social bias:—

"Work of this nature requires an efficient and experienced staff, and his proposal was that this staff should be supplied from the existing staffs of the industries concerned, because they would have the necessary experience for the task." (*Gas World*, September 29, 1928.)

In his more general observations, Sir P. Cunliffe-Lister made great play with the fact that "combination in the coal industry meant efficient plants for coking and by-products, and this at once impinged upon the gas industry, the chemical industry, and iron and steel."

All of which adds point to the contention of Sir Herbert Samuel and his colleagues—a contention to which again and again I have drawn the attention of the Labour Movement—because of their belief:—

"that in the future coalmining will be found to have become an integral part of a great industrial complex, which will comprise also electricity, smokeless fuel, gas, oil, chemical products, blast furnaces, and possibly other activities,"

in their opinion "the mining industry (is) particularly unsuitable for conduct by the State." (*Coal Industry Commission Report*, p. 66.)

It also suggests—what Labour members of county, borough, and urban authorities would do well to keep in mind—that the gas industry, like the electricity industry, is "an integral part of a great industrial complex" and so "particularly unsuitable" any longer to remain in public ownership and control.

Beyond a peradventure this is "the mine-owners' next step" to be taken so soon as Messrs. Neville Chamberlain and Winston Churchill shall completely have subverted the whole structure of local government and local taxation, and always providing that, along with Messrs. Baldwin and Cunliffe-Lister, they get another lease of Parliamentary powers.

Germany's long-distance gas distribution scheme, it seems, has been undertaken "to cut out the import of British coal." And as that scheme already ramifies into Holland and the French and Belgians have similar projects in hand, albeit on a less ambitious scale, obviously British producers of gas coal are turning in upon the Midlands, there to secure a profit that now is going back into the accounts of the great municipalities.

In the area selected by Lord Melchett and his colleagues and so eagerly accepted by Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, the supply of gas is much more generally in the ownership and operation of the public authorities than is the case in the smaller and more compact area of Northumberland, Durham, and Cleveland. In London and the Thames Valley, the opposition of a member of the Melchett Committee, Sir D. Milne-Watson of the Gas Light and Coke Company, would prevent any experimental feeding in of gas from the coal-fields whether of the Midlands or of Kent.

If someone must pay the piper, then let it be the public—in Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, and, of course, Socialist-controlled Sheffield.

(To be continued.)

Britain's Bread Basket

THE ROAD TO THE PROMISED LAND

By

EDWARD HUNTER

TO see and to experience is to believe. Only upon such basis dare one approach the mechanism of Britain's "Bread Basket," with any hope of understanding the poignant human drama which witnesses our National Cinderella gleaning among the husks and the Man with the Hoe bent and spent in the shreds of the tragedy of his labours. Let us be dispassionate: we will examine the vital parts of that mechanism, revealing cold, stern facts, and let those who may become lyrical over "England's green and pleasant land."

The present treatise can be written best without elaborate statistics and tables of reference. Recently, I received for review, *Official Statistics*, by Arthur L. Bowley, Sc.D., F.B.A., Professor of Statistics in the University of London, and published by the Oxford University Press. In the book there is a plethora of built-up tables, excellent insofar as they go. The weakness of the Government's Departmental publications is clearly understood when one desires to relate any tangible concept with real conditions as represented in figures. One can only despair when quality is expressed in average prices and quantity in measure, there being no co-relating factor provided. These official papers are largely misleading. When one attempts to abstract a useful basis to indicate home consumption from imports; exports and re-exports, one meets a tangle that can only appeal to the romantic mentality. Out of this unsatisfactory state of matters it will be necessary to reconstruct and to reorganise several Departments, then to co-ordinate in such a way that a clear statement of actual relationship throughout the mechanism of State organism can be available.

Among the farmers themselves is an unwritten proverb: "Farm as if for 100 years, live as for a day." In that cryptic phrase lies the philosophy and psychology giving probably the most useful key to the knowledge we seek. Because we have seen and experienced, we set down the principles and foundations of our beliefs—which, insofar as space will allow, will be a forthright analysis of the "Bread Basket" problem.

In this problem we meet the first and last law of all living things: a vitally human study, and

like most human affairs it is big in achievement and in failure. The rudimentary crafts, the epics of the Arts are full of romance, and nowhere as markedly so as found in relation to Britain's "Bread Basket"; but however interesting, in this brief essay, we must pass by Biology and the kindred sciences.

Our first outstanding fact may very well be described in the simple statement: "Britain imports four out of every five loaves upon her breakfast table." From this established truth the human factor immediately relates itself to the mechanism of our problem. In Scotland alone—to give a clear illustration and keep our statistics at the minimum—in 1908, there were 119,000 male workers engaged in agriculture, and in 1925 that number was reduced by 36,350. In the same period the acreage under crops decreased by 168,972 acres. In England and Wales, to observe another aspect, out of 27,000,000 acres of cultivated land, 1,000,000 have been allowed by the landlords to become waterlogged, and another 500,000 badly drained. And we behold the great wastes of unemployed craving work and bread in the face of our country rapidly approaching the wilderness. To the lover of Home and Statecraft, the call to the prairies of Canada sounds far, far away.

Let us turn from this devastating situation claiming our Homelands to food-exporting countries, keeping within the Empire. I spent some fourteen years among the experimental social laboratories of Australasia; held national office, including permanent organiser in the Agricultural and Pastoral Workers' Union of New Zealand. My experience brought me into close contact with every department of our "Bread Basket" industry. Successive Governments evolved far-reaching schemes, each taking an intimate interest in the problems of the food producer. The population itself, drawn from many lands, attracted by new opportunities, happily included theorist and realist alike. Freed from the deep-rooted conservatism of the old world there emerged a series of events which moved along many forms of Co-operation: Co-operative Dairy, Co-operative Meat-Freezing Works, Creameries, Stores; District, National and International buying and selling agencies; Transport:

Australia possessed nationalised ships, and New Zealand nationalised railways; Manures, implements, seeds; Government experts, colleges; rebates on produce. Probably the largest achievement in Statecraft was in providing easy credit in the initial settling grants, and generous allowances for improvements. If tribute can be paid to one man for these wonderful organisms, that tribute must be given to Dick Seddon, Premier, N.Z. (died 1906), a Fabian Socialist, comrade of Bruce Glasier and Keir Hardie, for his inspired leadership. Had he lived but one more year the banks too would have been a national asset. I have given but a glimpse of the road to achievement. Let us remember that these lands, being agricultural and pastoral countries primarily, must succeed in the world's great "Bread Basket" industry that they may flourish.

Co-operative production has been developed to a high degree. There yet remains much to achieve, and the most vital is to bring consumer and producer into closer relationship. As long ago as 1914 I found myself advocating a Co-operative fleet between the British Co-operative Movement and the Colonial producers. Freightage and middleman profits account for a difference of 400 per cent. in fruit alone between the prices received by the producer and those paid by the consumer.

We can now turn to Canada. Probably the greatest example in a single scale Co-operative effort is that of the Canadian Wheat Pool. The C.W.P. controls 16,000,000 acres of wheat land, or 75 per cent. of the total wheat acreage of the Dominion. Freed from the bonds of the elevator companies, this farmers' Co-operative concern has 51 agents in wheat-importing countries. The administrative expenses for 1926-27 were less than one-fifth of a cent. per bushel.

To come nearer home. I have before me the official circulars and communications of September this year to the farmers, sent out by the Scottish Milk Agency Limited. The agency has within its membership 1,400 individual producers and 16 of the Farmers' Co-operative Creameries, and by the end of the year its membership will probably be about 3,000. It controls approximately between 70 and 75 per cent. of the milk supply into Glasgow and the Clyde Valley, and is at the present time passing through its books something approaching 2,000,000 gallons per month. The idea now is

to extend operations covering Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Inverness, and their districts.

The only use I wish to make of this movement at the moment is to give an indication of organisation, which also extends to marketing and manufacture and regulation of prices.

Let us note here that this agency carried on operations last winter in England.

I have also a circular dated September this year, sent out by the National Farmers' Union of Scotland, upon feeding stuffs, and direct delivery from the Scots Grain Distilling Company Limited, commencing at an early date. These direct and co-operative methods promise large measures of financial gain to the individual farmer. On feeding stuffs, in certain cases, a saving of £8 per ton is effected. The question of transport is one of first-class magnitude to the producer.

The motor conveyance is ousting the railway, both in freightage rates and facilities. This expressed in money amounts to an eighth of a penny per gallon of milk alone cheaper by motor; the better facility is found in that the motor collects at the door, and can wait a few minutes when required by the farmer. The motor transport service belongs to the Scottish Milk Agency.

Every department of Britain's "Bread Basket" is subject to the same limiting strictures revealed within this sketch. The expensive and exacting middleman so long as he is allowed to exist will continue to defeat the producer. Our farmer, and we include fisheries in our "Bread Basket" industry and all food manufacturing agencies for the same reason, is standing upon his own feet. True Co-operation must be evolved, and with it a sincere loyalty to its standards. The co-operative dairyman is no friend of the farmer, for instance. He comes between the producer and the consumer, dictating terms which in no way reward the husbandry while increasing the costs to the consumer. Obviously, this road is an economic one, clearly to travel it means the acceptance of a new ethical spirit. The individual conservatism will give way to a regenerating social vision. And in the realisation of the new ideal, the gamble in our "Bread Basket" finished for all time, there will be no room for the useless landlord; and better than all, the weary, heartless toil of the labourer will have passed away for ever: the road to the "Promised Land," prosperity for all who serve in our "Bread Basket" Industry.

The Negro Renaissance

By

R. M. FOX

THE literature of underman races, nationalities and classes has much in common. It is a literature of protest, repression and occasional revolt. The "comic nigger," the "stage Irishman," the thick-witted workman, as commonly depicted—all these represent a deliberate looking-down upon what is regarded as the lower stratas of human society. Satire, at its best, aims its barbed shafts at the ridiculous pomposities of wealth and power. It is a wholesome influence preventing human inflation. But it is often turned from its true purpose, and is used as a weapon against races, classes or nationalities that are emerging to a higher level of life.

Nowhere is this seen more clearly than in relation to the darker-skinned peoples. It has long been a convention on the American stage, though by no means confined thereto, that while a white actor is entitled to present any sort of ridiculous figure as typifying the negro, no negro performer must imitate a white man. Consequently, we have had broadcasted as accurate grotesque ideas of negro life.

Even when, as in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), there is a sympathetic portrayal of negro wrongs, standardised types have been created in the submissive "Uncle Tom" and the irresponsible "Topsy," which have long clouded the white man's understanding of the negro. It was accepted as perfectly natural that mulattoes should be proud of their lighter skin and the negro was looked at from the standpoint of white standards. In a Southern State a statue erected ostensibly to honour the negro participants in the Great War depicted a humble, submissive Uncle Tom with bowed shoulders and a slave soul. Common to all these conceptions of the negro is an entire absence of individual and racial dignity. African folk-lore was "adapted" in the *Uncle Remus* tales, which are gems of literature, in order to show the negro as inherently comic, though these tales are drawn from a background rich in irony, in grimness and in varying expression of human moods. One white critic has indeed written that *Uncle Remus* "makes clear to every thoughtful reader that the system of slavery, pernicious as it may appear to us now, took the dusky savage from his haunts in the African jungle and made of him a Christian and a

gentleman." Much of the "white" writing about negroes in the past has had a similar propagandist purpose embedded in it, sometimes unconsciously, for the artist often accepts current conventions without examination.

Against this one-sided view of negro life, modern negroes have reacted fiercely. They have tabooed dialect writing as bad English which only brings them into contempt, they have regarded their folk-lore as belonging to illiterates of whom they should be ashamed, and their moving sorrow songs, those "spirituals" born of the need for religious consolation in slavery, have been rejected as not being challenging or militant enough to suit the new times. This tendency to reject completely the old is now fading, for the heritage of treasure in these songs and folk-lore is undeniable. But it is true that the negro poet, Paul Laurence Dunbar, with whom, in 1895, the Negro Renaissance may be said to have begun, bitterly regretted that his humorous dialect verse so overshadowed the rest of his work in popular estimation. His wife has written, "the tragedy of his life was that the world turned to praise the jingle in a broken tongue." Yet because he made the black people articulate in verse he has been likened to Robert Burns. A good example of Dunbar's work is his *Death Song* :—

"Lay me down beneaf de willers in de grass
Whah de branch'll go a-singin' as it pass
An w'en I's a-layin' low I kin hyeah it as it go
Singin' 'Sleep ma honey, tak yo' res' at las'."

At the same time that Dunbar was opening up possibilities of self-expression in art for the American negro, Booker T. Washington was beginning his work as an educator. Later Dunbar wrote the *Tuskegee School Song* for Booker T. Washington. Before this certain sympathetic white writers had presented the negro in a favourable light but now he began to stand upon his own feet.

It was only when the negro stepped forward proudly to reveal his own powers, kicking off the chains which had bitten deeply into his flesh and spirit, that we began to revise our earlier conceptions of the negro and to see that he is not the everlasting humble suppliant which the white man has imagined. A growing number of negro poets, musicians and writers are now helping to clear away this illusion. The new

note is struck in *Africa* by Lewis Alexander, a well-known negro poet. He is also interested in drama and was a member of the Ethiopian Art Theatre, besides having been director of two other theatrical groups. His poem reads:—

*"Thou art not dead, although the spoiler's hand
Lies heavy as death upon thee; though the wrath
Of its accursed might is in thy path
And has usurped thy children of their land;
Though yet the scourges of a monstrous band
Roam on thy ruined fields, thy trampled lanes,
Thy ravaged homes and desolated fanes;
Thou are not dead, but sleeping—Motherland.*

*"A mighty country, valorous and free,
Thou shalt outlive this terror and this pain;
Shall call thy scattered children back to thee,
Strong with the memory of their brothers slain;
And rise from out thy charnel house to be
Thine own immortal, brilliant self again."*

Here is the spirit of the Negro Renaissance. In any movement making either for cultural or social advance it is necessary that the upward-striving people should have dignity and self-confidence. Consequently, a low appeal, though it may have a temporary success, always injures the rising side though this is something which the demagogue will never understand.

The war period was a great liberating, energising force among American negroes, and while the movement dates back to Dunbar and Booker T. Washington, the real advance has been made since that time. Not only did negro soldiers go to the front but negroes from the South poured into the Northern cities of America where they found an eager market for their strength and skill. The European War helped to do for the negro in America what it did for the women in England, it gave them a place in industrial and commercial life and so made them independent and self-reliant. Many ugly conflicts occurred after the war when attempts were made to drive the negro out of the cities. Claude McKay, a young Jamaican poet of genius, fired by the injustice and cruelty of the proceeding, sounded a note of indignation and defiance in a poem which was copied and re-copied in many American negro journals:—

*"If we must die, let it not be like hogs
Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot . . ."*

It is important to note here that the new negro poets and writers do not seek to detach themselves from their fellows. They speak for them. Lighter-skinned negroes often endeavour to "pass" as dark-skinned Europeans, but "passing" in the intellectual sense is tabooed by the young writers who take a pride in speaking

for their race. William Stanley Braithwaite, the leading negro critic and a poet of distinction, has in *The New Negro* (Boni. New York) hailed Claude McKay as "the poet who leads his generation . . . His work is caught between the currents of the poetry of protest and the poetry of expression; he is in turn the violent and strident propagandist, using his poetic gifts to clothe arrogant and defiant thoughts, and then the pure lyric dreamer, contemplating life and nature with a wistful, sympathetic passion." In McKay's poetry all the notes of the Negro Renaissance are heard. In *White Houses*, pride is dominant:—

*"Your door is shut against my tightened face,
And I am sharp as steel with discontent,
But I possess the courage and the grace
To bear my anger proudly and unbent."*

A note of humility sounds at the other end of the scale in *Russian Cathedral*:—

*"Bow down my soul in worship very low,
And in the holy silences be lost;
Bow down before the marble man of woe,
Bow down before the singing angel host."*

Vivid colour glows in other verses, while his poems on Harlem are filled with ecstasy and loveliness.

Meeting Claude McKay a few years ago when he lived in London, I was struck with his power of direct response to life. He and Tagore, the Indian mystic, are at opposite poles. And this impression deepened when I heard Tagore speak at Oxford. In Tagore is the mystic who loves to sit contemplatively while from his brain pours a succession of gorgeous imagery and poetic symbolism, like water gushing from a fountain. But this Indian mysticism is nebulous as compared with the riotous energy of the negro with its fierce power, its virility and its love of the concrete. The negro is, I think, closer to the typical European than he is to the Indian dreamer, though he is responsive to much that is fantastic in nature and in life. He has remained closer to nature than the European who has wrapped himself round with artificial conventions. His "spirituals" have now received world recognition, while his jazz is the foundation of American dancing and music, which is now being used to express American civilisation. In all this the negro power of direct response to natural impulses of joy and sorrow is evident.

In *The Story of the Jubilee Singers*, the popularity of negro spirituals is traced back to a party of negro singers who started out in 1871 to raise funds for the Fisk University, of which they were students. Later, other negro

universities co-operated in rescuing these songs from oblivion. Jazz, we are told by J. A. Rogers in *The New Negro*, got its name from Jasbo Brown, a reckless musician of a negro cabaret in Chicago. He would make the trombone talk by putting a derby hat, and later a tin can to its mouth, blowing his own extravagant moods into it. His delighted patrons shouted, "More Jasbo! More, Jas, more!" So the name originated. At first, poverty compelled improvised instruments. Just as children march around poor districts with tin cans, old saucepans, combs and paper, so the make-shift instruments now utilised as musical novelties were, among early negro musicians, the product of necessity. In the same way the ragged little urchins of Harlem danced the steps of the Charleston to perfection before it was seen in the aristocratic ball-rooms of America and Europe.

Countee Cullen, Editor of an anthology of coloured verse *Caroling Dusk*, deserves mention as one of the new negro poets, as does Jean Toomer. Among the negro women, Jessie Fauset, literary editor of *The Crisis*, is an outstanding figure. So is Elise J. McDougald, who writes in *The New Negro* on *The Task of Negro Womanhood*. Langston Hughes, who has worked at many manual labouring jobs in various parts of the world and is still a young man, has contributed some remarkable poems; among them, *The Negro Speaks of Rivers* :—

"I've known rivers :

I've known rivers ancient as the world and older
than the flow of human blood in human veins.

My soul has grown deep like the rivers."

Harlem—the New York negro city—has been described as the cultural centre of the negro world. It is not a slum—like the London Chinatown—but is a city within a city, containing nearly 200,000 negroes, with its own theatres, restaurants, journals, and social life. The move to Harlem began about 1900. Presently, the whites grew alarmed and a financial organisation, the Hudson Realty Company, was formed to buy up property occupied by the coloured people in order to evict them. The negro countered by forming the Afro-American Realty Company. Harlem is the monument to his success. Friendly relations are the rule there between blacks and whites. The value of Harlem to the negro can hardly be over-estimated, for here he has that sense of equality and freedom which is lacking elsewhere. Here he can develop his own culture, art, music, literature, in close touch with the white world but not overwhelmed by it. The value of Harlem to the negro is well illustrated by the story told by a friend of

Paul Robeson of the time when that negro actor was at the height of his fame in New York. Robeson was drawing crowds to pay him homage in that one-man play, Eugene O'Neill's *Emperor Jones*. After the applause had died down, Paul Robeson left the theatre with his friends :—

"Outside in narrow, noisy Macdougall Street, the four of us stood : Mrs. Robeson, alert, intelligent, merry, an expert chemist for years in one of New York's leading hospitals ; Paul Robeson, clad now in conventional tweeds in place of the ornate, gold-laced trappings of the Emperor Jones ; my wife and I. We wanted supper and a place to talk. All about us blinked invitingly the lights of restaurants and inns of New York's Bohemia. Place after place was suggested and discarded So we mounted a 'bus and rode seven miles or more to coloured Harlem where we could be served with food without fear of insult or contumely."—(*The New Negro*.)

O'Neill's drama is itself evidence of the growing interest in the negro as are such books as Stribling's *Birthright*. In only a few books or plays have negroes appeared as leading characters. There is of course Shakespeare's *Othello* (played invariably by a white actor); Stephen Crane has had a black central figure, while Haldane MacFall, a writer unaccountably neglected, wrote a vivid study of negro life in *The Wooings of Jezebel Pettyfer*. Conrad's *Nigger of the Narcissus* is well known.

The crusading work of Dr. Du Bois, the editor of *The Crisis*, a negro journal, which gives to the negro race a platform commanding the ear of the intellectual world, is worthy of the highest admiration. Du Bois is concerned above everything else with the independence and opportunity for development of the negro race. He is alive to the enslaving influences of economic imperialism and has sounded a call not only to his own people but also to the whites to realise its dangers. He writes :—

"If now the world, and particularly the labouring world, should come to realise that industrial efficiency as measured by the amount of goods made and the size of the private profit derived therefrom is not the greatest thing in the world ; and that by exchanging European efficiency for African leisure and Asiatic contemplation they might gain tremendously in happiness, the world might be less afraid to give up economic imperialism."

As the negro marches forward it is evident that he has much to teach the white race.

The Affair of the "Stolen" State Papers

By

GEORGE SLOCOMBE

[Mr. Slocombe, who is the Paris correspondent of the "Daily Herald," is an ex-president of the Anglo-American Press Association of Paris, and was a member of the delegation which was sent by the Association to interview the French Foreign Office in connection with the "Horan Affair."]

PARIS, October.

THE Horan Affair has made journalistic history. It provided a dramatic curtain for the unsavoury farce of the Naval Pact, and undoubtedly helped to bury that ill-conceived stage adventure. It is doubtful, however, if the general public will ever distinguish the public merits of Mr. Horan as a revealer of State secrets from the private and purely professional fault committed by Mr. Horan as a man. In his capacity as transmitter to his newspaper and to the world of important knowledge which the French and British Governments were attempting to conceal, Mr. Horan triumphed as a journalist. In his breach of the seal of professional secrecy, and in his own pitiful mock heroics, which began with misrepresentation and ended with flight, Mr. Horan failed to live up to his professional triumph. As it is, at least two persons, a French public official and a French journalist, both in the beginnings of their careers, have been ruined by the indiscretions of Mr. Horan.

It is necessary, in order that the history of this curious affair may be understood, that its principal public incidents should be set forth in the order in which they occurred;—

Sept. 21.—The *New York American* and other Hearst newspapers in America, under date line "Paris, Sept. 22," and signature of Harold J. T. Horan, published the text of a confidential circular letter sent by M. Philippe Berthelot, the Permanent Secretary of the French Foreign Ministry, to French diplomatic representatives abroad, commenting on and reproducing, in part, the Anglo-French Naval Agreement.

Sept. 22.—The same papers published a second document issued by the Quai d'Orsay, also commenting on the Naval Pact. It was the publication of this, although less important, document, which revealed to the French authorities the fact that the leakage had taken place in Paris, as indicated by the date lines given in the newspapers.

Oct. 8.—Mr. Horan's car was surrounded in the centre of Paris by a squad of cyclist police, and a plain-clothes detective descending from a high-powered police car, summoned him to proceed at once to the Prefecture of Police, where he was interrogated for seven hours.

Oct. 9.—A hastily summoned meeting of the Committee of the Anglo-American Press Association of Paris was held, and for two hours heard Mr. Horan's version of his experiences at the Prefecture of Police on the previous day.

The Committee, fully accepting Mr. Horan's statement, telegraphed to M. Poincaré and M. Briand, both in the country at the time, an urgent request that the order of expulsion against Mr. Horan should be suspended pending full inquiry into the offence alleged against him.

Oct. 10.—M. Berthelot received the president of the Press Association, Mr. Bird, and assured him that in future other means would be taken of summoning foreign journalists whom the authorities wished to question. This official added that on instructions from M. Briand the expulsion of Mr. Horan would be delayed a few days in order that M. Briand might personally take cognisance of the matter.

Later Mr. Horan was requested, through the medium of the Press Association, to call upon the Prefect of Police urgently.

Instead of responding to this request, Mr. Horan left Paris clandestinely by motor car, crossed the Belgian frontier during the night, and the following day was in Brussels.

Oct. 11.—A delegation of British and American journalists appointed by the Committee of the Press Association was received at the Quai d'Orsay by M. Leger, in the name of M. Briand.

Later that day, an urgently-convened meeting of the Committee of the Association was held, at which it was decided to expel Mr. Horan from the Association for "unprofessional conduct."

Oct. 15.—It was revealed in the French Press, and confirmed by the Quai d'Orsay, that two persons had been inculpated as a result of statements made by Mr. Horan at the Prefecture on Oct. 8. These two persons were M. de Noblet, a young official of the Press Bureau of the Foreign Ministry; and M. Roger Deleplanque, a French journalist accredited to the Quai d'Orsay, and working for several French newspapers and also the Hearst service, from which he received a salary of £30 a month.

Oct. 17.—The French Cabinet heard M. Briand's report on the Horan Affair, and ordered the papers in the affair to be handed to the Ministry of Justice.

Later in the day the Quai d'Orsay issued a long statement on the whole incident, in which Mr. Horan's declarations to the police were summarised. It appeared from this summary that a sum of 10,000 francs (£80) had been promised by Horan to the persons who procured him the documents.

These are the public facts of the Horan case. What are the unpublished facts? First a sharp

distinction should be drawn between the two main elements in the affair—the situation between Mr. Horan and the French Government, and the situation between Mr. Horan and his colleagues. On the first, it should be plainly understood that the British and American journalists in Paris had no thought of censuring Mr. Horan for having obtained and published State papers. Although they realised that the French Government would insist on its sovereign right to deport as undesirable any foreigner who had been guilty in their eyes of an offence against the State, the Anglo-American Press Association would have begun and pursued a protest against the expulsion of Mr. Horan if the question had arisen in that simple and uncomplicated form. What the Committee of the Press Association intended to condemn, and in the strongest possible language, was the double misdemeanour of Mr. Horan in making a secret pact with the police inculcating his informants, and in giving his colleagues a deliberately false version of his statements to the police, and of the origins of the purloined documents.

It is clear from the action taken by the Committee of the Press Association on October 9, and from the demand made in their telegrams to MM. Poincaré and Briand for the publication of the signed statement made by Mr. Horan to the police on the previous day, that they had entire confidence in the story given them by Mr. Horan, and that they believed, *as he had told them*, that the publication of this statement would thoroughly vindicate him.

Mr. Horan's story to his colleagues was, briefly, that he had been called to the Quai d'Orsay after his paper had published the famous documents, had been asked how he obtained them, and had replied that he had been handed them by his employer, Mr. William Randolph Hearst, at the Hotel Crillon. He did not know, he declared, how Mr. Hearst had obtained them. He was then informed that he would have to leave France, and that his departure must not be delayed beyond October 9 (the date was later postponed by two days). Several days later he showed the Foreign Ministry officials a cablegram from Mr. Hearst taking full responsibility for procuring and publishing the documents, and was subsequently led to believe, he told us, that the expulsion would not be proceeded with. On Monday, Oct. 8, however, came his dramatic arrest (although the French authorities deny that it was in fact an arrest). He was taken to the Prefecture and interrogated by a commissary, M. Robin, and was not allowed to communicate with his lawyer or, at first, and until he had signed a statement, with his

colleagues. In reply to police questions, Mr. Horan told us, he admitted having attempted to procure the text of the Naval Pact, but without success, and insisted that it was Mr. Hearst who gave him the papers. He insisted to the committee of the Association that this was true. After several hours a *procès verbal* was drawn up by Mr. Horan in conjunction with M. Robin and another police official, in which the police promised to take no further action against Mr. Horan, and Mr. Horan on his part agreed to leave the country. If the authorities could be pressed to publish the text of this document, Mr. Horan declared, it would vindicate him and incriminate the police.

Now Mr. Horan's story to his colleagues, although it probably would not have survived cross-examination, happened to fit perfectly into a curious chain of partly true, partly fictitious incidents and motives which had been built up in Paris since the revelation of the Naval Pact. It was freely reported in Paris that a high official of the Quai D'orsay had his own perfectly honourable reasons for disapproving of the Naval Agreement, and had given or conveyed it to Mr. Hearst with a view either to exciting American opinion against it or to allaying American suspicions. It was also rumoured that this high official's enemies in administrative circles were endeavouring to reveal his alleged part in the publication. The theory of a sudden examination of Mr. Horan, who was evidently, in the absence of Mr. Hearst, the principal witness in the case, and of an attempt to induce him to reveal his supposed knowledge of Mr. Hearst's informant, followed by a police promise not to take further action and even to facilitate his return to France after a few weeks (this was another feature of Mr. Horan's narrative) was, therefore, not improbable to the foreign journalists in Paris, and was indeed generally accepted by the French Press at large. Further apparent confirmation of this theory of a high accomplice in the Quai d'Orsay was seen in Pertinax's further revelations of the Naval Pact in the *Echo de Paris* of October 7.

What happened, then, between October 9 and 11, the dates of the two public acts of the Committee of the Press Association, to change their attitude to Mr. Horan and their knowledge of the whole incident?

What happened was a complete and overwhelming confession by Mr. Horan of his duplicity, made to a colleague and member of the Committee of the Press Association, which thoroughly satisfied that person and other members of the Committee that the case of Mr. Horan had

to be dropped like a hot coal, and that Mr. Horan could not be allowed to remain a member of the Association.

Mr. Horan's confession, it may be added, was not voluntarily offered, but was elicited by this colleague's questions concerning the reasons for the police interrogation of third persons who had been inculpated in Mr. Horan's statement to the police.

In this confession Mr. Horan admitted that during the police interrogation at the Prefecture on October 8, he had admitted having himself procured the missing documents, having later persuaded Mr. Hearst to take responsibility for the act, in a cable which supported Mr. Horan's original story that he had received the documents from Mr. Hearst, having inculpated the persons who procured for him the documents, and having promised a reward up to 10,000 francs (£80) to these persons.

Mr. Horan also admitted that the *procès-verbal* signed by himself at the Prefecture was in fact a secret pact between himself and the French police, whereby his own revelations concerning the identity of his informants *should be kept secret from them and from the public*.

It was, in fact, Mr. Horan's own misleading references to this pact in his evidence before the committee of the Press Association, and the committee's demand that the fullest publicity should be given to it, that liberated the French authorities from their own engagement to Mr. Horan.

The feelings aroused by this unexpected confession among the members of the British-American delegation appointed by their colleagues to interview M. Poincaré and M. Briand on behalf of Mr. Horan may be imagined. The ground had been cut from under their feet by the act of the person whom they had been appointed to protect. Among the two British and three American members of this delegation there was no diversity of opinion as to the course to be pursued. They must immediately repudiate Mr. Horan, not for having published a State document, but for having betrayed his informants in the most underhand manner, and for having deceived his colleagues into a gesture of protection which his subsequent acts did not warrant.

When the journalists' delegation saw M. Leger at the Quai d'Orsay on October 11, therefore, they were already—and from purely journalistic sources—in possession of the full facts of the case as they concerned Mr. Horan, and M. Leger confined himself to confirming, with considerable delicacy, the facts of a situation which he saw were painfully realised by Mr. Horan's own colleagues.

The action taken by the Committee of the Anglo-American Press Association later in the day of October 11, in expelling Mr. Horan from the Association, was thus taken on information which had been in the possession of some of its members since the preceding day, and was entirely based on Mr. Horan's own confession to one member of that Committee. It was in no way influenced by the French authorities, and no information supplied by the authorities was necessary to confirm or to strengthen a purely professional verdict passed on an unprofessional action. The results of Mr. Horan's confession to the police may be left to the judicial authorities here, and it would be indiscreet to anticipate the action which may be taken against the Quai d'Orsay official and the French journalist involved in Mr. Horan's declarations.

* * *

There is one aspect of the whole affair, however, which may be touched upon. It is that of the whole system of diplomatic publicity, which has existed for ten years past in France. During the Peace Conference, and the many international conferences which succeeded it, British journalists on many occasions complained of the secrecy and exaggerated discretion of British Government representatives, when they knew that the same secrecy, although officially enjoined on all the Governments participating in a conference, was not observed by French officials. Time after time the inside story of a Supreme Council meeting, or of a secret Reparations Conference, has been "spilled" by Pertinax or other well-known French diplomatic correspondents, evidently on information supplied to them by French officials.

A particularly interesting instance of this kind of officially favoured "leakage" occurred on the eve of the Horan affair, and at a moment when Mr. Horan was already under notice to quit the country. On October 7, in the *Echo de Paris*, Pertinax published a summary of the Naval Agreement, and of the negotiations which preceded it, which had evidently been written by him with the official texts in hand. There was no campaign in France, however, for the prosecution of this celebrated and patriotic journalist. It is perfectly realised that on occasions when it suits the policy of the Quai d'Orsay as a Department, or the policy of some French diplomat as an individual, secret documents are shown to a few favoured French journalists, and even left in their hands.

The purely official outcry against Mr. Horan, therefore, may be discounted. The purely professional outcry against him has much more serious and more ethically justifiable grounds.

THE
LABOUR MAGAZINE

*Official Journal of the Trades Union Congress
 and the Labour Party*

Editorial Offices : TRANSPORT HOUSE (SOUTH
 BLOCK), SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W. 1.

Telephones : VICTORIA 8016-7-8

Telegrams : LABREPCOM, CHURTON, LONDON

SIXPENCE MONTHLY, by post 7d.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION 7s.

THE Ashton by-election was regarded by all three parties as being of unusual importance because, in effect, it would be the mind of Lancashire speaking with the voice of Ashton. The mind and the voice have given a verdict in the forthright decisive Lancashire style. Labour gained a remarkable success, having a majority of 2,406 over the Government candidate and of 2,693 over the Liberal candidate. The Liberals made strenuous, indeed desperate, efforts to achieve victory. The chief orator and the chief organiser of the so-called "Liberal Revival" campaign visited Ashton to pave the way to victory for their candidate. Never were the Liberals so sure of success. But neither Mr. Lloyd George nor Sir Herbert Samuel nor the notorious Liberal by-election "circus" succeeded in deluding the electors of Ashton. The Liberal remained at the bottom of the poll, and the proof of Liberal "revival" is still being vainly searched for by the Liberal Publication Department. The result was equally disastrous for the Government. The Tory majority of 1,520 at the General Election was changed into a Labour majority of 2,406, and the Tory poll was reduced by 1,810 votes, while the Labour poll was increased by 2,116 votes. Lancashire claims that what Lancashire says to-day the rest of the country will say to-morrow. Lancashire has spoken! Soon the nation will speak, and even opponents are predicting that its verdict will be decisive against both Toryism and Liberalism. Ashton has shown that neither the "Sale of Titles" Funds nor the opposition of the anti-Labour press combines

are sufficient to dam the growing popular support for Labour's constructive policies, or to destroy the growing popular confidence in Labour's ability to govern.

* * *

PARLIAMENT meets again in a few days' time and Mr. Baldwin enters on his fifth session—the last of the present Parliament and probably his last as Premier—with a dark cloud of unfulfilled pledges and broken promises hovering over his head, and with a black record behind him that stamps his administration as one of the most reactionary of recent times. Unemployment has risen. Wages have fallen. Working hours have been lengthened. Education, housing, health insurance, unemployment insurance and other social services have been attacked. New taxes have been imposed on working-class families. While the masses of the people have thus been suffering, however, the super-rich have had their taxation lightened, their profits have risen and the value of their Stock Exchange investments has appreciated. Alongside this record of domestic mismanagement, the Government have bungled or sabotaged every attempt that has been made to bring about international agreements for disarmament, they have actually increased this country's average yearly armaments bill, they have reinstituted the bad old system of Secret Diplomacy with all its attendant dangers, and they have degraded the name of Britain in the eyes of the nations of the world. No matter whether viewed from the standpoint of its policy towards the poor, its policy towards the rich, or its policy in international affairs, the Government stands condemned as a dismal failure.

* * *

THE Government's legislative programme for the coming session seems to be well in keeping with its past record. Insofar as it has already been made known, there is no measure for conferring any benefit on the workers. The one measure of that character that was to have been included—the Factory Bill—has been unceremoniously thrown overboard, at the behest of the "Big Business" interests who virtually dictate the policy of the Tory Party, and who are more concerned with their profits and dividends than with the lives

and limbs of their workers. Sir William Joynson-Hicks now naively explains that the Bill will be passed next year if the Government should be re-elected at the next General Election. But the value of his promise can be judged from the fact that he has promised the Bill "this year" or "next year" ever since his Government came into office, and as regularly as the promise has been made it has been broken. The promises have been quite definite. Here are two of them. The first King's Speech, after the last General Election, said that "Bills will be laid before you . . . to amend and consolidate the Factory and Workshops Act"; and in the House of Commons on March 26, 1926, Sir William Joynson-Hicks said, "That Bill will be one of the principal Government measures of next year, and we will do our utmost and ask the House to pass it into law. That is a categorical statement that I have been authorised to make in regard to this matter." Those promises were regarded by Sir William Joynson-Hicks and his Tory colleagues as mere scraps of paper, to be torn into pieces when they had served their purpose of temporarily appeasing the public clamour for this much needed reform. The present promise is no more substantial. Moreover, Sir William Joynson-Hicks knows that the present Government will not be re-elected next year. No doubt that is why he considered himself safe in making the promise. The feeling against the Bill among the "money-bags" of the Tory Party is so strong that if there had been a chance of the Tory Party's re-election, he would not have been allowed to make the promise.

* * *

IF "Jix" occasionally finds himself embarrassed by the echo of his past promises, however, he at least has the consolation of knowing that his leader is in the same position. Mr. Baldwin's Protectionist and Safeguarding utterances are becoming so confusing and contradictory that it is difficult to know, at times, what he really does stand for. Out of the mass of confusion and contradiction, however, two points seem to emerge quite clearly. They are two definite statements of policy, and the two of them completely contradict each other. Here they are. In 1923 Mr. Baldwin said that *the only remedy for the prevailing distress and*

unemployment was "a fundamental change in the fiscal system of the country" (i.e., the introduction of full-blooded Protection through the medium of a general tariff), and that "no partial measures, such as the extension of the Safeguarding of Industries Act, can meet the situation." In 1928 Mr. Baldwin says that *all he intends to do is to extend the Safeguarding of Industries Act* (although in his own words "no such extension can meet the situation"), and he adds that he is "*pledged, and shall continue to be pledged, not to introduce Protection*" (although he himself has said that to introduce Protection is the only remedy). Mr. Baldwin may himself manage to reconcile this double game with his much advertised code of "honesty" and "simplicity," but he will find, before long, that the electors are not so simple as to be deceived by it.

* * *

THE proceedings of the Labour Party Annual Conference at Birmingham came as a blow to Labour's enemies. They had prophesied splits and schisms and disagreements—the wish, on their part, being father to the thought—and they were utterly confounded when the thousand delegates, with a united determination, enthusiastically endorsed the General Election programme, and then set about the task of raising steam for the non-stop journey to power at the next election. The organs of the capitalist Press sat up and rubbed their eyes in amazement; and then the unwelcome truth dawned on them. "The two older political parties will have to tackle at the next General Election a much more formidable Labour Party than that of five years ago," said one of them. Lord Rothermere, in his Sunday Press, said "Conservatives and Liberals will stand in error if they rate their Labour opponents too lightly. It will not suffice to tell the country that the Socialists are still a gang of unprincipled revolutionaries. The electors will refuse to believe it." And the *Observer* added, "We think it very likely that the increase in the Socialist vote will surprise the other two parties and may stagger both of them. The strength of Labour beyond all question is growing more rapidly in the constituencies than that of either of its competitors." In the meantime, while the other parties are speculating about pacts

and party alliances and coalitions, Labour is forging ahead with its preparations for the elections, paving the way not for an alliance with this party or the other, but for an Independent Labour majority in the House of Commons, with a Labour Government not merely in office, but in power.

* * *

MR. CHURCHILL is either a very ignorant man or the best of all pretenders. He imagines that the newspapers which had been pressing for the publication of all the papers relating to the Anglo-French agreement are now "indignant to find there was nothing that anyone could possibly object to in all that had been done." He has already forgotten the almost unanimous condemnation of the Press of all parties, and the flat rejection of the agreement by the Government of the United States has apparently left no impression upon his capacious memory. His speech makes us despair more and more of the successful handling of foreign affairs by the present Government. They have estranged the public opinion of the United States and embittered their officials and politicians, to the consternation of every thoughtful British citizen; and they pretend to know nothing about it! It is quite true that the publication of the *White Paper* tells us nothing that we do not know. This is a sufficient commentary upon the British warning to the American Government against "premature publicity." Nor does it tell us what we do not know, but which those who read may justifiably suspect—the existence of an Anglo-French naval or military understanding which is detrimental to the interests at once of the United States and of Italy. A divergence of opinion upon the methods of naval limitation has developed into a discussion upon the relative magnitude of the great navies of the world. It began with the United States, Great Britain and Japan finding themselves in agreement upon the proposition that any limitation of naval armaments should apply to all classes of combatant vessels. Now that the British admirals have found that the American admirals want a cruiser programme which is unacceptable to them, they devise a formula which gives the French and the British all that they want, but which is more

inacceptable to the Americans than the proposal put forward by the British delegation at the Three Power Naval Conference. It is a formula which would prevent a disarmament conference from laying down any limits to the small cruisers which, as the American Government points out, "constitute the largest number of fighting ships now existing in the world." It effectually blocks any progress towards a general disarmament.

* * *

IT is also a formula which points to a change in naval strategy and must be held to reflect a diplomatic change of front. At Washington in 1921 both Great Britain and the United States were in favour of the abolition of the submarine as a fighting ship. The United States is still of the same opinion; but France and Great Britain are now of opinion that there should be no limit to the number of small submarines that naval powers may build. The Washington ratio, if applied to smaller ships, would have put France in a position of relative but natural inferiority. Great Britain and France are now of opinion that "an equal maximum tonnage for submarines and cruisers should be fixed for the great naval powers." Our programme of aerial armaments has been one of eventual equality with France. Now Mr. Churchill tells us that we are content with an air force which is only one half as strong as that of our nearest neighbour. Finally, if the work of the Preparatory Commission for a Disarmament Conference breaks down, as it must break down upon the Anglo-French basis, M. Briand hints that the two Governments are under an urgent obligation to act together, either to ensure success by other means or to adopt a common policy so as to deal with the difficulties which would inevitably arise. If this does not mean that we are going to arrange for pooling our navy with the French, in fact, if not in theory, what does it mean? And if these conversations, of which we now possess a partial record, do not signify that an agreement between Britain and France is more important than British-American friendship, what do they signify? If we are content that our nearest neighbour, France, should have an air force twice as strong as our own, why should we be ready to block the progress of disarmament

because the United States wants more 10,000 ton cruisers than we should like them to have?

* * *

FOR the moment, Japan and Italy are in the background. Japan agrees with anything that the others accept. Italy will agree with anything that permits her to have a navy and an army equal to that of France, a proposition which France contemptuously rejects. The Anglo-French agreement is equally directed against Italy. The upshot of this stupid palaver is being foreshadowed in the messages from Washington. The 15 cruisers which we do not want the United States to build are going to be proceeded with. The United States will be ready to discuss naval disarmament in 1931 as provided by the Washington Treaty. Until then it seems that there will be no disarmament and no international agreement not to increase armaments. This is the immediate consequence of the British Conservative Government's contribution to the cause of world disarmament, which they support in words but deny in action.

* * *

DURING the past month three of the most important posts in the national and international Labour movements have changed hands. Mr. Ben Tillett has succeeded Mr. Ben Turner as chairman of the Trades Union Congress General Council, Mr. Walter M. Citrine fills what has been for some months the virtually vacant position of President of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and Mr. Herbert Morrison takes over the chairmanship of the Labour Party from Mr. George Lansbury. These appointments, on which incidentally the movement may heartily congratulate itself, have more than a personal significance, despite the fact that they do undoubtedly connote, in each instance, a high tribute to personality. Regarded with a politic eye it affords clear evidence of the desire of the organised working-class to keep their affairs in the hands of men whose views on the tasks which they are called upon to perform will not be complicated by any previously contracted debt of allegiance elsewhere. These three leaders have distinguished themselves by their

undivided loyalty to the cause of the organised workers and—what is especially galling to their critics—by an ability to put together two and two, which is rather disconcerting to people who wish to impress everybody with the idea that the true result of such an addition is five. And at no time in the history of the movement has there been a greater need for men whose ability to look ahead is unhampered by any tendency to see the intermediate visions of things that have no real existence.

* * *

ON personal grounds, the three appointments will give no less satisfaction to the movement. Mr. Ben Tillett has been a popular figure in an almost heroic sense of the term for a whole cycle of Trade Union history. He is one of the founders, indeed, of modern Trade Unionism, and one of the most accomplished propagandists who ever mounted a rostrum or wielded a pen. When he began his career as a Trade Unionist the movement had lain fallow for nearly two decades—its main triumphs during this period seem to have been a few testimonials to its respectability. Ben Tillett was one of the leading spirits of a band which succeeded in a remarkably short space of time in changing all this; it is not too much to say that the history of the Movement during the last 40 years has had its course determined largely by this little band of pioneers against an aggressive generation of capitalists. And Mr. Tillett is still the same sturdy champion of the workers that he was 40 years ago; at the age of 69 his youthful enthusiasm is still as infectious as it was when he led an oppressed body of men to victory in the fight for the "dockers' tanner." He is indeed in spirit the contemporary of the younger generation of leaders represented by Mr. Herbert Morrison and Mr. Citrine, and on three fronts the forces of organised labour can rely on a leadership direct, forceful, and self-possessed. Mr. Morrison and Mr. Citrine are young men who understand that a progressive movement has something better to do than to chase its own tail; an inspection of their careers shows that in a comparatively short period of time they have achieved rank with veterans of the same stamp as Mr. Tillett himself.

In the "Eight-fifteen"

WHERE THE MARTIANS ERRED

By

T. S. DICKSON

"THERE'S a man you must get into your ranks," said Hardphace, Esquire, to the Man with the Briar Pipe the other morning as The Eight-Fifteen coughed out of the station at Propriety Suburb.

"Yes?" encouraged the Briar, looking up from his *Daily Herald*.

"This fellow who is able to propel his ethereal body to Mars at the rate of Lord knows how many thousands of miles per hour," explained Hardphace.

"Yes?" repeated the Briar, searching for the point.

"Well," obliged Hardphace, "he's able to get away from the hard, sane, practical matter-of-fact world into another realm—just the right sort of recruit for you Socialist chaps!"

"No doubt, no doubt," murmured the Briar. Then falling into line with the whimsical mood of Hardphace, he added solemnly: "You'd be surprised to know that every time that ex-Town Clerk of Shoreditch went to Mars I went with him."

"Good, good," chuckled Hardphace, merrily slapping his fat-stock knee. "Pity you didn't take all the other Socialists with you—and stay there."

"I'm against it," cut in the Man with the L.M.S. Badge in his cap. "What with 'buses, and aeroplanes, the railways are gettin' it in the neck already—and if folks develop the habit of scootin' through the air on a sort of magic-carpet, without even the carpet, then the Lord 'elp me and Jimmy Thomas."

"Seriously," resumed the Briar, with a heavy assumption of gravity, "I did go with him."

"Righto!" said Hardphace, willing to oblige. "We'll take it at that." At which Mr. Hesitant, one of the Old Liberal Brigade, laid down his *Daily News*, and let his eyes twinkle over his spectacles. And even the Young Man with the Purple Socks interrupted the manicuring of his nails to look interested.

"Met a most interesting fellow there," continued the Briar, "but he had funny ideas about the Earth. Somehow or another he had heard we were a wonderfully advanced and inventive people, and had the idea that the Earth was a

garden of roses. So alluring was the conception of the Earth, indeed, that a new sect had sprung up to preach that the Earth was the place all good Martians went to when they died."

"God 'elp the bad uns," grunted the Badge, as he stuffed tobacco into his pipe.

"They had the notion, it appears, that on earth everything that was just, useful, and humane was prized beyond pearls; and that everything that was unjust, useless, and cruel was abhorred and cast out."

"Bit of a humorist, that bloke, weren't he?" suggested the Badge.

"In honesty, of course, I had to tell the truth, sadly admitted the Briar. "I explained naturally that in order that the Earthians might live, and death and disease not destroy them, there were men and women who built houses as shelter from frosts and winds and rains; men and women who wove cloth and made garments to shield and beautify the bodies of the race; men and women who tilled the soil and brought forth fruits that were sustaining and delectable. I explained also, of course, that there were other men and women who didn't do any of these things. 'Are they not able?' the Martian asked. 'Oh yes,' I told him, 'but that they simply wouldn't.'"

"And those who produce all these things, will simply let those others die off, of course," he said. And when I told him that, on the contrary, those who did all the work handed over the best houses, the best raiment, the best food, the most beautiful ornaments to those who did not—and would not—produce anything at all, the Martian went rather white, staggered a little, but steadied himself up. 'Ah,' he said, as if he had seen a great light, 'those who do the work will be the gods, and they will allow the others to use without producing so that they may give worship and adoration to the gods that produce.'"

"When I told him that the exact opposite was the case—that those who produced everything were looked upon as an inferior race by those who produced nothing, but got the best of everything, he simply fell forward on his face. It was about an hour and a-half before he was sufficiently revived to listen once more."

"All very funny," interposed Hårdphace, who had been looking slightly annoyed, but drew himself up on remembering that he had introduced the imaginary visit to Mars. With a smile he decided to maintain the illusion. "Just like you Socialists—always making your own country as black as possible, even to Martians. I suppose you didn't tell him about the great genius of the race—the wonderful machines we had, how we could fly higher than the eagle, sail under the water, tunnel through mountains, that we could produce thousands of things quicker than we could use them."

"I did, indeed," nodded the Briar, "but it only gave him another shock. The Martian's eyes danced, of course, when I told him of the devices by which we had increased our ability to produce food, boots, clothing, and so on ten-fold, a hundred-fold, a thousand-fold. 'Why,' said the Martian, 'everybody will have lots and lots more of everything than they want.' Concern for the truth, however (and not a wicked desire to blacken my own country), compelled me to admit that, while some people had a great deal more than they needed, many other people had much less than they needed. 'Ah,' said the Martian, lapsing into his previous error, 'that will be the people who refuse to work.' When I told him that the opposite was the truth, he had another relapse, more serious this time. In fact, the doctor who had to be called threatened to give us in charge for disturbing Martians with wild and lying statements. But the ex-Town Clerk of Shoreditch corroborated every word I had said; and threatened Mars with a strong note from Sir Austen Chamberlain if a British subject were put under arrest. Further, he said he would write to the *Times* about it. Naturally, that put the Martians in their place."

"Wonder they didn't deport you as undesirables," snorted the Young Man with the Purple Socks, who, as a member of the Junior Imperialist League, did not like this jesting with the Empire.

"There was actually talk about it," returned the Briar, gravely, "but the Martian, who, it appeared, was a high personage, recovered in time to prevent it; and, in fact, insisted upon knowing more about Earth and the Earthians."

"You should have brought 'im back with you, seein' they think it's Heaven," suggested the Badge.

"We offered to, later, but he turned on us like a tiger—but I'll explain why when I come to it. Just as he recovered, a strong gust of wind sent us all staggering, and this turned the Martian's mind to matters meteorological. 'We have great storms here,' he explained. 'Crops are

destroyed, food stores are wrecked, our fuel heaps are swept into the rivers and out to sea, and this brings suffering and hunger to everybody.'"

"'To everybody?' the ex-Town Clerk of Shoreditch repeated.

"'Of course,' replied the Martian in amazement. 'When the general store is reduced there must be less for everybody.'

"At this stage," continued the Briar, "the ex-Town Clerk of Shoreditch was in the same danger of arrest as I had been, but I intervened on the ground that one good turn deserved another, and explained. I told our Martian friend that when frost burst the pipes, and flooded a home, the plumbers who attended to burst pipes, and the merchants who supplied new carpets, were very happy about it. When storms blew down buildings the builders rubbed their hands, as they would be called upon to erect new buildings. When influenza and other plagues assailed the community the chemists and dispensers who gave out the medicines and drugs were all the richer for it, and could scarcely be unhappy. 'Am I expected to believe,' asked the Martian, incredulously, 'that when disaster comes to your country it is to the advantage of some people in that country?' 'Certainly,' I replied, and, as he had become inured to shocks, he remained this time on his feet."

"'Look here,' said the Martian doctor, sternly, at this stage, 'this has gone far enough.' Then very deliberately, with the manner of a man from whom his enemy cannot possibly escape, he said: 'If there are people in your country who benefit by the destruction of food, why don't they destroy it themselves instead of waiting on gales and storms.'"

"'They do,' I said. And with that the doctor turned round three times, and slowly sagged to the ground like a burst balloon. We lost some time searching for another doctor, who threatened to open our veins and let us fade out, for, as he explained, one doctor less meant more work for him, and interfered with his experiments in sweet peas. After a long struggle, Doctor Number One revived, and, as he opened his eyes, he looked at me, and said: 'Say that again,' but Doctor Number Two shrivelled me with a look of defiance, ere he walked off to his sweet peas.

"But our Martian was insistent, so I did it gently. I told him how maize and cotton growers destroyed their crops so that others would give a higher price for what remained; how tea and fish were thrown into the sea so that the people would compete for what was left. It was clear that our Martian was growing angry, for he demanded, 'Why should anyone take fish

out of the sea at great labour and risk, and then throw it back again.' I could not tell him. He pursued his advantage. 'In your land,' he asked, 'do they riddle steam or boil soup in pots that have no bottom?' I said 'No.' He asked me why. Again, I could not tell him. 'But the one thing is as stupid and mad as the other,' he said. I agreed. 'Then why do they do the one and not the other?' he insisted. I could not tell him. The Martian whistled to a policeman, who had been appointed as a precaution only after our arrival, and said, 'Guard them.' Turning to us, he said 'Farewell.'

" 'Nice mess we've got into,' said the ex-Town Clerk of Shoreditch. 'I'll write to the *Times* about——'

" 'Silence,' said the Martian policeman.

"We waited a long time, but learned later that there had been a mass meeting of the Martians

and that the new religious sect that had been preaching how the Earth was the Heaven to which all good Martians would go when they died had been called upon to explain themselves. The leader had been able to show that they had arrived at the existence of a heaven and a hell, but said they had got the two places mixed up by getting on to the wrong wave length. The wireless engineer responsible for the error, he said, had been discharged, and the receiving set had now been accurately adjusted. This had established the fact that what they had mistakenly taken for heaven was really hell, and in future all wicked and stupid people would be sent there.

"And that," said the Man with the Briar, as he gripped his attache case and stepped out on Grubtown platform—"and that is why we were sent back to Earth."

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Austrian Socialists Close the Gates to Fascism

By

DR. OSKAR POLLAK

THE workers of Austria have another day to mark in red on their calendars. July 15 was red with flames and blood. October 7, the day of the Wiener-Neustadt demonstration, was red with banners and the glow of enthusiasm.

The force and discipline of the Austrian working class and its firm determination to defend itself have won a famous victory in the face of great difficulties. And not merely a moral victory. The "March on Vienna," announced in bombastic terms by the *Heimwehr* (Home Defence), the Austrian counterfeit of international Fascist reaction, has been checked. October 7 must have brought home clearly to all those who are irresponsibly dallying with the terrible danger of civil war that the power of the workers in Austria is no mere abstraction, but the living force of hundreds of thousands of hearts, heads, and fists. And they guard the road to Vienna.

For the time being, the forward march of the Fascists has been brought to a halt in the square in front of the Town Hall of Wiener-Neustadt. What were the forces that marched to this strange encounter of the classes in this little provincial town?

"Reaction" in Austria is divided into several groups. The Habsburg Monarchists, an absurdly small body, consist of a few dozen ex-officers and elderly ladies—pensioned relics of the old regime conspiring over their tea-cups. The *Völkisch-Hakenkreuzler* (Nationalist) Movement, which is supported by the German Nationalists, is also insignificant in numbers, and is split up by quarrels. It finds its chief support among the students of the Universities, but has no political power or influence on public life. The *Heimwehr* is definitely Austrian. It is a sort of provincial Fascism which sprang up in the Austrian Alps in the early post-war years. In those disturbed days, when Austria was still in the throes of an economic and political crisis and the agricultural section of the country was threatening to split off from

Vienna, peasant self-protection societies were formed here and there, the original purpose of which was home defence in the strict sense of the term—the protection of house and property. In the Tyrol, where the movement was strongest, contacts were established with the reactionary secret societies of Germany, especially those of Bavaria. Major Pabst, who instigated the murder of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg—he was in command at the Eden Hotel in Berlin when the murder took place and gave orders for it—and who organised the Kapp Putsch, fled from Germany when this attempt failed, and took refuge in the Tyrol under a false name. Through his connection with influential officials in the Christian-Socialist (Clerical) Party and in the Government, he was at once given Austrian citizenship, and was rapidly promoted to the position of chief of the general staff of the *Heimwehr*. In spite of the resistance of the Bavarian and Tyrolese groups, which objected to accepting the authority of Prussia, he finally succeeded in entangling the *Heimwehr* Movement in the network of German reactionary secret societies, and also in establishing relations with the counter-revolution in Hungary. From Germany the *Heimwehr* received considerable quantities of money and arms. In the Tyrol itself, under the eyes of the authorities and even with their knowledge, it carried out raids on Government arsenals on a large scale, and even succeeded in providing itself with artillery. When the Bavarian defence corps was disbanded by the intervention of the Entente, all its weapons were smuggled into the Tyrol. For a long time, however, the *Heimwehr* Movement was confined to the officers' club and the bourgeois beer-drinking parties of Innsbruck (the chief town in the Tyrol). The sudden extension of its activity was a result of July 15, 1927. At that time a propaganda campaign of shameless lying against the Social Democrats of Vienna was conducted amongst the peasant class throughout Austria. The *Heimwehr* was organised in most of the country districts, and its leaders harangued their public in

bombastic speeches. There was, however, no attempt at action, for, in spite of the events of July 15, the power of the Social Democratic Movement in Austria was still unbroken, but the *Heimwehr* was able to register one important step forward—it succeeded in getting a footing in the district of Upper Styria. This province, which is the chief industrial district of Austria, paid dearly for its opposition to the Trade Unions and the establishment of a “yellow” movement. By every species of terrorism, unfair methods and bribery, the workers were driven into the *Heimwehr*. Hundreds of poor fellows, through fear of losing their jobs and their homes, consented to don the *Heimwehr* hat with the cock’s feather, but continued to vote secretly for the Social Democratic Party, as was recently shown in the election for the Works Council at Eisenerz.

The *Heimwehr* Movement had reached this point when, a few weeks ago, its leaders announced that they had determined to “march on Vienna” and “put things to rights” there. Parliament in particular was to be brought to reason if the Social Democrats delayed the discussion of the Government proposal for abolishing the protection of tenants. These vociferous threats of violence against Parliament were more ridiculous than dangerous; the programme of a *Heimwehr* parade in Wiener-Neustadt was, however, a more serious matter. According to the *Heimwehr* authorities themselves it was intended to show that they had reached the gates of Vienna. Wiener-Neustadt is the centre of the great industrial district of Lower Austria, which stretches southwards from Vienna to the borders of Styria, and has a population which is three parts Social Democrat. The appearance of the *Heimwehr* in this district had a special significance; it was an attempt to spread the movement outside the frontiers of the Tyrol and Styria, and to extend it from the country districts into the industrial centres. It meant a claim to dominate all Austria.

The workers could not leave this challenge unanswered. “What!” said the workmen of Lower Austria, “You would introduce methods of terrorism into our industrial regions! We’ll show you what sort of place you’re coming to!” The workers’ organisations therefore arranged to hold on the same date, October 7, a workers’ day combined with a parade of the Republican *Schutzbund* (the Austrian Workers’ Defence Organisation). At

the same time, however, the Social Democratic Party declared its willingness to give up this parade if the *Heimwehr* would do the same. It even suggested to the Government that it should *forbid both demonstrations*. It further proposed that there should be a general prohibition of such parades for a certain period, and that negotiations should be begun between the parties for a “home disarmament.”

The answer of the Government, as proclaimed by the mouth of Chancellor Seipel, that iron-hearted prelate, was a round “No.” Dr. Seipel had pledged his word to the *Heimwehr* that the parade should take place, and he justified his action with the remark that it was quite a good thing that the *Heimwehr* should have an opportunity of showing the workers of the industrial district “that it exists.” These cynical words aptly expressed the whole irresponsible attitude of the Austrian Government, which chose to risk the danger of a bloody encounter, and to spend vast sums in concentrating the whole of the defence and police forces of Austria in Wiener-Neustadt, rather than forbid the *Heimwehr* to hold their parade. And yet the majority of the Austrian bourgeoisie is not Fascist in sympathy. With the Christian Socialist Party of Chancellor Seipel himself, now in power, a section of the peasant leaders has definitely moved away from the *Heimwehr* Movement, whose leaders, ex-officers, students and provincial advocates, threatened to usurp the power of the old political dignitaries in the villages and country towns. But just as the Italian bourgeoisie, with no desire for Fascism allowed it by reason of its tolerant attitude to grow and flourish, so the temper of the Austrian middle class to-day inclines it to form an alliance with the devil himself if only he will help it to crush the growing power of the workers.

So came October 7, planned by the reactionaries, and connived at by the Austrian Government. Precautions had been taken, districts had been marked off, all was calculated to give the impression abroad that the *Heimwehr* parade and the workers’ demonstration were two events of equal importance and equally legitimate. But it proved otherwise.

The *Heimwehr*, about 12,000 strong—one-third fewer than had been announced—were brought secretly to Wiener-Neustadt by night and detained outside. At daybreak they began their march through the town, but what did they find? Streets deserted, barbed-wire entanglements, soldiers and machine guns to

protect them from the attacks of the population, windows closed, and *red flags* fluttering from every house, from every flag-staff, from the very Town Hall itself. Through a forest of red flags flapping in their faces the *Heimwehr* marched with hanging heads. What was planned as a recruiting march, a triumphal procession of conquerors, turned out to be a melancholy trek through a lifeless, silent, and hostile town. It passed without incident—a ghostly procession that lasted from midnight till noon, and then vanished.

And then came the workers. The soldiers disappeared, the barricades were taken down, the windows opened, the crowds cheered. On to the public square of the town streamed the working folk. They took possession of it, and held their meeting there amidst widespread joy and enthusiasm. In spite of the atmosphere of fear which the bourgeois Press had done its best to diffuse, no one, not even the women, had hesitated to turn out. On they came, a gaily dressed throng, demonstrating to themselves and to their opponents their force and their self-confidence. And then followed the parade of the Republican *Schutzbund*; it lasted for two hours, column after column of steady disciplined troops, proud of their strength, invincible. For a second time the public square was filled as the orderly forces streamed over it in disciplined pride and defiance. Seven thousand men had come from the Vienna *Schutzbund*, half as many again from the industrial district of Lower Austria. The departure of the Viennese contingent the evening before—there were more volunteers than the leaders would accept—the farewell scenes at the station with the women and children, the bridges and platforms black with waving crowds—were like a memory of the war. And then the return with bands playing, banners waving, through the cheering crowds of people, mad with joy! It was a night of victory for “red” Vienna, and for the whole working class of Austria.

This bloodless victory was won by the courage, spirit of sacrifice, and discipline of the workers themselves, who stood fast by the Social Democratic Party. It was due to the power of self-defence of the Austrian proletariat, justified by the fact that it is a weapon which makes victory possible without the necessity for bloody conflict. This victory will greatly strengthen the self-confidence of the Austrian working class. It has shown the Fascists of all lands that the road to Vienna is closed to the forces of reaction.

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Four Years of Tory Misrule

ON the eve of the present Government's fifth and final session, and with the General Election not more than six or seven months ahead, the results of the past four years of Tory rule make an interesting review.

From the point of view of the Super-Tax Class that supports the Tory Party, those years have been four good ones. The opulent members of that class have received huge remissions in taxation, and about £100,000,000 has been directly placed in their pockets from this source alone. Further huge subsidies, amounting to millions of pounds a year, are now to be granted to many of them under the Rating Relief Scheme that comes into operation during the present year. In addition, their profits have risen, and their Stock Exchange investments have leaped in value.

From the point of view of the workers, on the other hand, the four years since the Baldwin Government came into office have been disastrous.

Hundreds of thousands of them have lost their jobs, and several thousands have been deprived of their Unemployment Benefit and driven to the Poor Law to obtain support for themselves and their families.

Big wage cuts have been imposed.

The machinery of the State has been set into motion to compel nearly a million miners to work an extra hour a day—incidentally for lower wages than they were receiving before.

Health Insurance Funds, the Road Fund, and the Unemployment Insurance Fund have been raided so that the Chancellor of the Exchequer might have money with which to relieve the taxation of the rich.

New indirect taxes have been imposed upon many articles in daily use in the homes of the toiling millions.

The education of the workers' children has been attacked, and attempts have been made to retard the progressive developments that were initiated when the Labour Government was in office.

Reactionary legislation has been placed on the Statute Book to hamper the workers in their industrial and political organisation.

Social services have been interfered with.

Milk supplies for mothers and babies in the slums have been cut down in the name of "Economy."

The subsidy in aid of working-class houses has been reduced, the work of building houses

has been slowed down in consequence, and thousands of building trade workers have been thrown out of employment at a time when hundreds of thousands of families are asking for homes.

Much of the good work that was done by the Labour Government in 1924 for the pacification of the world has been undone by the misguided and muddled diplomacy of the present Government.

Obstacles have been placed in the way of international agreements for disarmament.

The average yearly expenditure on armaments by Great Britain has been increased.

Affronts have been offered to the League of Nations.

Secret Diplomacy has been re-introduced, and considerable confusion and ill-will has been caused in consequence among the nations of the world.

Tax Remissions for the Rich.—To confer huge tax remissions upon the rich was the first act of financial policy that the Baldwin Government put into operation. In Super-Tax remissions alone the very rich have benefited to the extent of £10,000,000 a year, in addition to the large share which accrued to them of the £32,000,000 a year Income Tax remissions during the same period. Why Mr. Churchill should have thought that the Super-Tax payers needed his assistance it is difficult to understand, because after all their taxes have been paid, they have an average income left of about £80 a week.

State Subsidies to Employers.—During the present year many wealthy property owners will begin to draw the big State Subsidies which are to be paid to them under the Rating Relief Scheme which the Government placed upon the Statute Book last session. Generally speaking, the subsidy which they will receive will be equivalent to 75 per cent. of their rate bill. In all, the subsidies are to cost the National Exchequer £26,000,000 a year, and a very great deal of this will go to prosperous concerns that are making huge profits and distributing huge dividends. The Imperial Tobacco Company, for instance, which made £9,250,000 profit last year, will be one of the beneficiaries.

Profits have gone up.—When it is remembered how the workers have had to consent to wage reductions and longer hours, and how all kinds of "economies" have been put into operation at their expense during the past four years, it is interesting to see how the profits of industrial

enterprises have risen. This tendency is illustrated by the analysis which the *Economist*, the well-known weekly financial journal, conducts regularly of the profits of a number of representative industrial concerns. During 1924, the return on the ordinary capital of these concerns was 10.3 per cent. For the three completed calendar years of Tory rule (1925-1926-1927), the average went up to 10.9 per cent. Moreover, in its analysis for the latest quarter (September, 1928), the journal says that there is "an appreciable increase in profits." It adds that "An upward movement in net profits has been recorded in each of the past five quarters," and that "the average rate of dividend on ordinary capital was higher in the past quarter than in the corresponding period of any year since 1920."

Shareholdings have increased in Value.—Side by side with these increases in profits has been a large appreciation in the value of the stocks and shares held by the investing classes. The statistics in this connection are regularly compiled by the *Bankers' Magazine*, a journal which cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be accused of possessing Labour sympathies. Yet it states that 365 selected Stock Exchange securities, which a few days before the Labour Government went out of office (October 20th, 1924) were valued at £6,446,106,000, had risen by the end of June this year (after nearly four years of Tory rule), to £6,968,491,000, an increase in value of £522,385,000.

Reductions in Wages.—The wage statistics compiled by the Government and published in the *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, show that while the Super-Tax payers and profit-taking and investing classes have been doing very very well since Mr. Baldwin's Government came into office, the wage-earners' experiences have been in the opposite direction. For instance, whereas in 1924, when the Labour Government was in office, wages underwent an increase of £553,900 weekly, they have gone down, during 1925-1926-1927, and the first eight months of 1928, by £489,495 weekly. The Government cannot deny this £489,495 a week reduction, because the statistics have been compiled by their own officials in Whitehall, but they are fond of trying to explain it away by remarking that during the period there has been a fall in the cost of living. But if employers' profits can go up while the cost of living is going down, why should workers' wages have to go down?

Longer Working Hours.—The manner in which the Government, in 1926, passed the Coal Mines Act at the behest of the coalowners, and lengthened by an hour a day the working hours

of the miners, in spite of the fact that the Government's own Coal Commission had reported against such a course, is remembered so well that it needs only to be mentioned. But it is necessary to mention also that as a result of the bigger output of coal that has been obtained in the longer working day, 200,000 more miners have been thrown out of employment. The Government were warned at the time that this would happen; the Coal Commission warned them and the Labour Party warned them; but they were so deeply committed to their support of the mineowners that they refused to heed the warning and persisted in the course which has had such disastrous results for the miners and the nation. The British miners' hours are now longer than those of the miners in any country in Europe, with the exception of Upper Silesia; there are 1,112 fewer coal mines working than there were when the present Government came into office; and whilst the miners' output has risen from 17.74cwts. to 20.82cwts. per manshift between the December quarter of 1924, and the December quarter of 1927, their wages have decreased during the same period from 10s. 7d. per manshift to 9s. 7½d.

More Unemployment.—There is no count in the indictment against the Government more damning than that relating to unemployment. During the last election, Mr. Baldwin and his companions were most profuse in promising what they would do if only the electors would return them to office. "The Unionist Party," said Mr. Baldwin in his election address, "would be unfaithful to its principles and to its duty if it did not treat the task of grappling with the unemployment of our people as a primary obligation." Further, the *Unionist Record*, an official Tory publication issued under the Registered No. 2,415, from Tory headquarters, said: "The Unionist Party has a positive remedy for unemployment . . . Constant work at good wages will be secured for all who desire and seek it."

The official unemployment figures that have since been published show how the Tories were deceiving the unemployed when they made those promises and held out those inducements. Unemployment has gone up by leaps and bounds, and even in the last twelve months the number of registered unemployed has increased by more than 250,000. At October 3rd last year, the official total of registered unemployed was 1,075,875. On October 1st this year, it had risen to 1,336,400. These are the official figures that are compiled and issued by the Ministry of Labour.

Unemployment Benefit cut down.—Under the instructions of the Tory Government, many thousands of unemployed people have been deprived of their Unemployment Benefit, and thousands more have had their rates of benefit considerably reduced.

In 1925, the "waiting period" was increased from three to six days, and several classes of recipients were deprived of the extended benefit that they had hitherto been entitled to draw.

In 1926, the Economy Act was passed, reducing the Exchequer grant to the Unemployment Insurance Fund by £5,000,000 a year.

In 1927, an amending Act to the Unemployment Insurance Act was passed, which will have the effect of depriving at least 30,000 people of benefit, and which also reduces the rate of benefit for young women from 15s. to between 8s. and 12s. a week, and the rate of benefit for young men from 18s. to between 10s. and 14s. a week.

Relief Work nearly abolished.—Another bad turn has been done by the Government to the unemployed in regard to relief work. During the year that the Labour Government was in office, grant-aided schemes were approved to the value of £24,250,000, so that the unemployed could be set to work on schemes of various kinds for the development of the national resources. Within a few months of entering office the Tory Government began to whittle down this useful work, and now they have reduced it almost to vanishing point. The latest report of the Unemployment Grants Committee, for the year ended 30th June, 1928, states that the total value of all the works approved for grant by the committee during the year in question was only £1,032,000. The report adds that: "New schemes approved for grant, again decreased sensibly (*sic*), amounting in value to £319,000, *i.e.*, less than 50 per cent. of the value of those approved in the previous year, and but 2 per cent. of the value of those approved in the year before."

Road Fund Raided.—By raiding the Road Fund to the extent of £19,000,000, so that the money might be used for relieving the taxation of Super-Tax payers instead of for providing new roads for the nation, the Government did a further bad turn to the unemployed, many thousands of whom could have been set to work on useful and urgently necessary employment if the fund had been wisely and properly used.

Health Insurance Funds Raided.—By another of the provisions of the infamous Economy Act, the National Health Insurance Funds were

raided by £3,000,000 yearly, and the Approved Societies have already begun to suffer in consequence. The following quotation from the Presidential Address delivered at the Annual Conference of the N.U.R. Approved Society is typical of the complaints that have been made by many other societies. The President said: "The Economy Act, whereby the State Grant is reduced from two-ninths to one-seventh, is bound to have a disastrous effect upon the funds of Approved Societies. In 1925, an amount of no less than £8,000,000 was released for investment as against only £200,000 in 1927. So far as our society is concerned, owing to the raid of Mr. Churchill, we shall suffer an annual loss of about £14,600. Approved Societies cannot, therefore, look forward with optimism to the next valuation."

Attacks on Education.—Repeated attacks have been made by the Government on the education of the workers' children.

Under Circular No. 1,371, issued in November, 1925, the Government threatened to reduce the State Grant to Local Education Authorities; to increase the Local Rates unless Education Committees economised by cutting down scholarships and other educational facilities; and to exclude all children under five years of age from school.

Under Memorandum No. 44, issued in December, 1925, the Government threatened to force Local Authorities to cut down expenditure on education; to forbid the introduction of improved educational facilities; and to abolish many of the evening classes which give technical and commercial instruction to young people over fourteen years of age.

Owing to the widespread indignation that followed Labour's exposure of these reactionary proposals, the Government were compelled to withdraw them.

Under the Economy Act of 1926, however, the Government has given the President of the Board of Education unlimited power to cut down educational grants to Local Authorities as and when he pleases, and Circular 1,388, which he sent out directly after the passing of the Act, definitely limits, and in many cases reduces, educational expenditure by Local Authorities.

"Economy" at Babies' Expense.—Through the Ministry of Health the Government recently cut down the grants towards the provision of milk for babies and nursing and expectant mothers. Local Maternity and Child Welfare Committees will have to curtail their activities in consequence, and an example of the degree of curtailment which will be necessary is provided by the case of the borough of Shoreditch, which

will have to cut down its milk expenditure by £1,500 a year.

"Economy" in Housing also.—The subsidy in aid of working-class houses has also been cut down by the Government, and the immediate result of the Ministry of Health's misguided action has been to slacken considerably the rate of building. The number of houses completed in June of this year was only 9,404, as compared with 16,414 in the corresponding month of last year before the reduction of the subsidy. At the same time a big increase of unemployment has been brought about in the building trade, the number of registered workless having increased from 52,112 on 30th June last year to 77,869 on the corresponding date of this year.

More Money for Armaments.—While it has been busily engaged in cutting down expenditure on many of the useful social services, the Government has not wielded the pruning knife with the same effect on the armament services. The average actual expenditure on the armed services in its four Budgets has been £117,035,000, an increase of more than £2,250,000 a year, or £9,000,000 over the four years. At the same time the Government has put obstacles in the

way of practically all the international proposals that have been brought forward for disarmament agreements since it came into office.

New Taxes.—Many new or additional taxes have been imposed, several of them bearing with special hardship on working-class homes. The articles taxed include tobacco, matches, petrol, cinema films, cutlery, silk and artificial silk, gloves, buttons, gas-mantles, motor-cars, enamelled hollow-ware, wrapping paper, lace, crockery, clocks, and watches.

Anti-Trade Union Legislation.—At the behest of the big business corporations who are the virtual dictators of the Tory Party's policy, the Government has placed its Trade Unions and Trade Disputes' Act on the Statute Book, restricting the activities of the unions, and placing obstacles in the way of the collection of the Labour Party's funds.

Incidentally, there are some things that the Government has not done. It has not ratified the Washington 48-Hour Week Convention; it has not reduced the Food Taxes, and it has not kept its promise to bring the Factory Laws up to date. Altogether, its record is not a very proud one to set before the electors.

C.E.L.

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The Cabinet and the War

LORD MORLEY'S MEMORANDUM ON RESIGNATION

By

W. W. HENDERSON

LORD MORLEY'S *Memorandum on Resignation** adds yet another important document to the large and ever-growing library dealing with the dark days of August, 1914; and the policies that ended in the outbreak of the World War. To the historian must be left the task of endeavouring to piece together the true story of the events and policies which produced the great conflict and of apportioning in a just measure the responsibility for the devastating catastrophe that befell Europe. Lord Morley's Memorandum does not deal with the question of war guilt. It describes a series of Cabinet meetings from July 25 to August 3, which led to the decision being taken in favour of British intervention against the Central Powers. The document is not only interesting for its vivid and dramatic description of those last fateful Cabinet meetings at the end of July and the beginning of August, but is important because of its historical value.

Lord Morley contends that up to the morning of August 3, the question of the neutrality of Belgium was secondary to the question of our neutrality in the struggle between Germany and France; and to our liability to France under the Entente. Early in the discussions Sir Edward Grey declared against a policy of neutrality, and for this had the support of the Prime Minister.

"On or about July 24 to 27, Grey took a very important line in the Cabinet." He informed the Cabinet of the contents of the British Ambassador's telegram of July 24 from St. Petersburg; describing Sazonoff's hopes that England would not fail to proclaim her solidarity with France and Russia; his warnings to us that the general European question was involved and England could not afford to efface herself from the problems now at issue; that she would sooner or later be dragged into war if it did break out; and, as Buchanan thought, even if England declined to join, France and Russia were determined to make a strong stand. Then the British Foreign Secretary made a memorable pronouncement. "The time had come," he said, "when the Cabinet was bound

to make up its mind plainly whether we were to take an active part with the two other Powers of the Entente, or to stand aside in the general European question, and preserve an absolute neutrality. We could not long defer decision. Things were moving rapidly. We could no longer wait on accident and postpone. *If the Cabinet was for neutrality, he did not think that he was the man to carry out such a policy.*"

Although Sir Edward Grey here declared so definitely against a policy of neutrality, it was not until later, we are told by Lord Morley, that the Cabinet "were pressed by the Prime Minister and Grey to examine the neutrality of Belgium and our obligations under the Treaty of 1839. But it was thrown back day after day as less urgent than France." Moreover, it was not till July 31, that Sir Edward Grey sent to the British Ambassadors at Paris and at Berlin the identical telegram asking the French and German Governments whether they were prepared to engage to respect the neutrality of Belgium so long as no other Power violated it.

At the Cabinet held on the morning of Sunday, August 2, the main question was the language to be held by Sir Edward Grey to the French Ambassador in the afternoon. "The situation now was this: Grey admitted that we were not bound by the same obligation of honour to France as bound France to Russia. He professed to stand by what he had told Cambon in his letter of 1912, that we were left perfectly free to decide whether we would assist France by armed force. We were not committed, he always said, to action in a contingency that had not yet arisen and might never arise. *No immediate aggressive action was entailed upon us, unless there was action against France in the Channel or the North Sea.* So much then for the point of honour arising on the French Entente." [On the following day, news was received that Germany would be prepared, if we would pledge ourselves to neutrality, to agree that its fleet would not attack the North Coast of France. Sir Edward Grey replied that "this was far too narrow an engagement for us."] After a very fair discussion, Grey was authorised to give an assurance to Cambon that "if the German Fleet comes into the Channel or through

* *Memorandum on Resignation, August, 1914.* By John Vincent Morley. (Macmillan and Company. 3s. 6d. net.)

the North Sea to undertake hostile operations against French coasts or shipping, the British fleet will give all the protection in its power. This assurance, of course, subject to the policy of His Majesty's Government receiving the support of Parliament, and must not be taken as binding His Majesty's Government to take any action *until the above contingency of action by the German fleet takes place.*" There were two lines of argument for this warning to Germany : (1) *We owed it to France, in view of the Entente, and also of her value to us in the Mediterranean ;* (2) We could not acquiesce in Franco-German naval conflict in the narrow seas, on our doorstep so to say. This authorisation was not unanimous."

Belgium took its place in that day's discussion, but "even now only a secondary place," though this latter assertion is hardly borne out by the fact that the "Belgian Neutrality" telegrams to France and Germany had been despatched three days earlier. The Foreign Secretary was authorised to "warn the German Ambassador that, unless Germany was prepared to give us a reply in the sense of the reply we had from France, it would be hard to restrain English feeling on any violation of Belgian neutrality by either combatant." The German reply of July 31, had been far from reassuring on this point, and despite the conversation on August 1, between Sir Edward Grey and the German Ambassador, there is no convincing reason for assuming even to-day that Germany could have been influenced to leave Belgium unmolested. Germany's war plans, as the whole world knows, were based upon a rapid advance through Belgium and Luxemburg. This violation made all the difference to British public opinion, and equally it must have made all the difference to many members of the Cabinet. On no other grounds can a satisfactory explanation be found for the Cabinet's almost unanimous decision after days of confusion and doubts.

Morley tells us that "Harcourt assured me before the morning discussion began, that he believed he could count on ten or eleven men against Grey's view that we had both moral obligations of honour and substantial obligations of policy in taking sides with France. After the morning Cabinet, Lord Beauchamp, Simon, Lloyd George, Harcourt, Samuel, Pease, M'Kinnon Wood, and Morley lunched together. The general voice was loud that, "We should not have passed Grey's proposed language to Cambon. They all pressed the point that the Cabinet was being rather artfully drawn on step by step to war for the benefit of France and Russia. If I, or anybody else, could only have brought home to them that the compound

and mixed argument of French liability and Belgian liability must end in expeditionary force, and active part in vast and long-continued European war, the Cabinet would undoubtedly have perished that very evening, Lloyd George and Simon heading the schism Lloyd George and Simon were energetically decided at the end, as they had been at the beginning, to resist at all costs the bellicose inferences from the Entente."

That evening Sir Edward Grey reported his conversation with the French Ambassador ; Mr. Burns resigned, but Morley, who "feared he, too, must go," agreed to "sleep on it." The following morning, Morley sent his letter of resignation to Mr. Asquith. After a meeting of the Privy Council, he went to his last Cabinet. "Saw Lloyd George, and told him that I had sent in my resignation. He seemed astonished. 'But if you go it will put us who don't in a great hole.' I made the obvious reply to this truly singular remark." But surely Lord Morley must have realised that Lloyd George and others had already been profoundly affected by the German ultimatum to Belgium, presented at 7-30 the evening before. At the moment this conversation took place German troops were already marching across Belgian territory, and it was this wanton invasion of a small country, whose inviolability had been guaranteed by the Great Powers, that convinced the peoples of Europe how precarious was peace and how unreal was their security in face of the menace of Germany's powerful military machine, controlled and directed, as it was, by an arrogant and irresponsible spirit. It was not for the decision he took in 1914 that Mr. Lloyd George deserves to be condemned, as he is condemned by Lord Morley. Where history will condemn, and rightly condemn, him will be for the conspicuous part he played in rivetting upon a war-wearied Europe the ignoble Treaty of Versailles, by which many of the splendid and inspiring ideals for which the people had fought in the Great War for Democracy were basely and cynically betrayed.

"The significance of the French Entente," writes Lord Morley, "had been rather disingenuously played with, before both the Cabinet and Parliament. An Entente was evidently something even more dangerous for us than an alliance. An alliance has definite covenants. An Entente is vague, rests on point of honour, to be construed by accident and convenience. The Prime Minister and Grey had both of them assured the House of Commons that we had no engagements unknown to the country. Yet here we were confronted by

engagements that were vast indeed, because indefinite and undefinable. The same two Ministers and others had deliberately and frequently, in reply to anxious protests from Harcourt and myself, minimised the significance of the systematic conferences constantly going on between the military and naval officers of the two countries. Then the famous letter to Cambon of November, 1912, which we had extorted from Grey (that we were left perfectly free to decide whether we were to assist France by armed force)—what a singularly thin and deceptive document it was turning out! It seems clear that Lord Morley was convinced that apart altogether from the question of Belgium, this country was to be involved in war as the inevitable result of its commitments to France. But if he were right in this view, surely it would not have been with a practically united Cabinet nor with a practically unanimous public opinion.

There were divisions of opinion, hesitation, indecisions, and uncertainties before the Cabinet opinion crystallised into the majority decision in favour of intervention, with Morley and Burns resigning rather than support it, and it is, perhaps, inevitable that there should be a conflict of view

as to what constituted the real reason that led to intervention. Lord Morley and Mr. Burns insist that it was primarily our engagement to France, and it is true that Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey declared themselves against the policy of neutrality when the violation of Belgian neutrality could properly be described, to use Sir Edward Grey's own words in another connection, as being "a contingency that had not yet arisen." But Mr. Lloyd George insists that the invasion of Belgium was the supreme fact. What appears to be perfectly clear is that the Anglo-French Entente exercised an important, indeed, a decisive influence upon the minds of some members of the Cabinet, and that their minds were firmly made up long before the violation of Belgium became an accomplished fact. It is by this fact that the dangers of our pre-war policy are underlined; and it is the "obligation of honour" which the Entente involved that provides the serious warning against a repetition of entangling arrangements "that are vast indeed because they are indefinite and undefinable," and that do, in fact, deprive a Government of absolute freedom of decision when a perilous situation has arisen.

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Book Reviews

The Municipal Year Book, 1928. (Published by the *Municipal Journal*, Sardinia House, Sardinia Street, London, W.C. 2. 15s.)

It is fitting that the best Local Government Year Book should be published by the best Local Government journal. Considerable changes have been made in the present issue, including a greatly-improved index and a new table of contents, and new sub-sections on roads, and refuse and street cleansing costs; while the book as a whole has been thoroughly revised, and in some cases re-arranged. The new editor has made a good beginning; and if he would somewhat expand the contents table, and provide an index not interspersed with advertisements, our appreciation would be even still greater.

For, of course, the "Municipal Year Book" is the standby of everyone who would know the facts of local government. Here are the finances, town by town, of gas, electricity, water, tramway, 'buses, markets and slaughter-houses, baths, refuse collection and cleansing, roads, and so on. Here are particulars of the local rates and assessable value and population. 1927 legislation affecting local authorities is summarised, as is the general law of the various municipal enterprises. Education and housing, Scottish and Irish local government, London government, Government Departments—these have sections to themselves; and in addition to all this each local council is briefly described, and the names of the councillors and chief officers given.

G. McK.

The Book of English Law. By E. Jenks. (Murray. 12s.)

What other jurist could have attempted the task Prof. Jenks has so admirably performed? With his profound knowledge of legal history, his encyclopædic grasp of English Law in all its details, and his gift for clear and readable condensation, he was certainly the ideal author for such a book. One doubts, however, whether the "educated layman" will easily master such a volume; so full of good things are its 440 pages that one wishes to read a very little at a time and then think over it and digest it. It is really a miracle of compression, and, one of its most striking merits, it is no barbarous "summary" or "handbook," but a very thoughtful and luminous exposition of fundamental principles, an original contribution to its subject.

All the numerous people who want to know more than a smattering of English law, and to

get it in small compass and in non-technical language, can now satisfy their desire with this book written by one of the world's most eminent legal scholars.

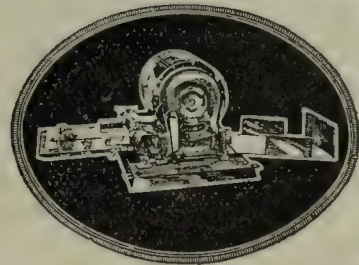
To that existing excellent series the world's classics the Oxford University Press has now added *The English Constitution*, the famous classic, by Walter Bagehot.

Descriptive of the English constitution as it stood in the years 1865 and 1866, substantially and in the spirit, the volume well describes the working of our system of government, describing the changes and modifications which have taken place since that time.

The value of the volume is increased by the introduction of Lord Balfour, who is warm in his praises of Bagehot, and who points out that at the time the book was written "the only great nation which had experience of free institutions outside Great Britain was America."

We congratulate the Oxford University Press on its enterprise in having so attractively produced this valuable volume at the price of 2s.

H. M.



POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND ENTERPRISE

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The New Industrial Revolution

THE title of Mr. Meakin's book*, which has already aroused widespread interest and earned the unqualified praise of students of industrial conditions, is good enough to adopt as the title of this article. The term "Rationalisation" which is commonly applied to the modern development that constitutes his theme, is not very popular nor does it strike the imagination. There is a lot in a name, and perhaps it is only by using some such picturesque phrase, as that which he chooses for his title, that we can get people to realise the rapidity and vastness of the changes now proceeding in the economic life of the world.

After reading of the amazing progress made in five years by German industry, one is left with a feeling of something like despair at the blindness and apathy of the mass of British employers. For the fascinating story that Mr. Meakin has to tell could be paralleled in part, at any rate, by accounts of the progress made during recent years in the United States, France, and even Belgium and Italy.

Nowhere has the process been pushed forward so energetically and on such a wide front as in Germany, for nowhere has there been quite such necessity for it. Germany can truly say that the industrial revolution carried through since 1923, and so admirably described in this book, saved the nation from utter ruin and collapse, and placed it on a level which five years ago would have seemed impossible of achievement.

How has this been done? Mr. Meakin tells us with a wealth of statistical and other facts obtained by much first-hand study of German industry. In coal, steel, power, chemicals, engineering, textiles, the story is the same. Here were united far-sighted organisers, brilliant technicians, first-rate scientists, all determined to re-create German industry on the most modern lines so that it could, even under the crushing burdens of the defeat and the Versailles Treaty, compete effectively against any other nation. They have done it, as the trade statistics bear witness. By the amalgamation of smaller undertakings, the formation of cartels, the ruthless scrapping of out-of-date plant, the enthusiastic application of research to every branch of industry, and the invention of ingenious

new ways of saving labour and eliminating waste, they have accomplished miracles. Now it is easy to attribute to the German leaders of industry more foresight and more perfect planning than they necessarily displayed, and possibly Mr. Meakin sees them and their accomplishments in a somewhat romantic light. There is a good deal of excuse for him, however, especially when one has to contemplate in this country the mental inertia, the stupidity, the nineteenth century outlook of coalowners, cotton spinners, and many other industrial interests.

It is quite true that the Germans were literally forced to adopt the expedients that have proved so successful, and that careful planning was by no means universal, nor was it as far-sighted as might appear after the event. The story of Stinnes is sufficient evidence that there was a good deal of hasty construction and of muddled thought, at any rate in the earlier period of rationalisation.

Nevertheless, that there has been co-ordinated thought and action on the part of Governments, industrialists, and Trade Unionists, to raise Germany's industrial efficiency to the highest possible level, cannot be doubted.

Mr. Meakin is especially concerned with the part played in this process by German Labour, and by the effects of rationalisation upon Labour. Here he shows sound instinct, for, to judge by present tendencies, not merely are the workers' organisations abandoning their former hostility to the changes implied in the term rationalisation, but it looks as though the Labour Movement will have to force the pace in the adoption of such measures in this country. Except for an alert minority, employers here are about as hopeless as they could be.

That the workers will not lend their aid to the rationalising process except on stringent conditions is clear enough. They must be protected from unemployment and they must share fairly in the resultant gains. That a new and insoluble kind of unemployment will be the consequence of the "new industrial revolution" there seems no warrant for believing. The problem of so-called "technological unemployment," which is worrying many Trade Unionists in U.S.A., is fundamentally the same problem that confronted the world at the time of the former "industrial revolution" in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

This difficulty of finding sufficient markets for the vastly expanded production to keep the

* "The New Industrial Revolution." By Walter Meakin. (Gollancz. 9s.)

former number of workers employed on a higher level of income was solved easily a century ago, and while conditions are now very different there is no reason to suppose that by a proper distribution of the product among the producers it cannot be adjusted with complete success.

As far as Germany is concerned, Mr. Meakin shows that the workers are far better off than they were at the beginning of the period of intensive rationalisation. They would have improved their position in any case, it is true, but no impartial observer can deny that without these great developments in organisation and technology they would have been far worse off than they are to-day. Average earnings per shift for all workers in the coal industry, for instance, were 5s. 5½d. in January, 1924 (practically the same as in 1913), and 8s. 2½d. in July, 1927. Similarly in the steel industry the minimum rate was 7¼d. per hour in 1924, and 10d. in 1927. It is not so much the rates themselves that are significant, of course, for the terrible state in which Germany was left by the war and the Versailles Treaty must be remembered, as the advance in the three years of intensive reorganisation. A similar rise in standards took place in the other basic industries, and along with this there has been, apart from seasonal and other temporary fluctuations, a decline in unemployment.

Turning to Great Britain, Mr. Meakin discusses the prospects in a not very optimistic spirit. His discussion of the German Trade Unionist policy in favour of rationalisation, and of the attitude of the British unions, is full of interest and his conclusions are on the whole very sound. Indeed, the conversations between the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and Lord Melchett's group of employers are instanced as showing the wisdom of British Labour in making up its mind to meet the new developments boldly and with the determination to co-operate in pressing them forward, so that the workers may help to shape their form and share fully in their results.

It will be clear that this book, the most complete account yet given of the recent economic progress in Germany, deserves the careful study of all Labour students, and one hopes it will have a very wide circulation among business people and politicians, for it deals with the most vital question confronting British industry at present. The price is too high for individual workers, but the book should be placed in every public library and in the book-box of every adult education class.

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Industrial Developments

Wage Movements in September

In the industries for which statistics are regularly compiled by the Ministry of Labour the changes in rates of wages reported to have come into operation during September resulted in a reduction of £1,900 in the weekly full-time wages of over 20,000 workpeople, and in an increase of about £2,850 in those of 39,000 workpeople, according to figures quoted in the "Ministry of Labour Gazette."

During the nine completed months of 1928, the changes reported to the Ministry in the industries for which statistics are compiled have resulted in net increases of £20,150 in the weekly full-time wages of 201,000 workpeople, and in net reductions of £169,450 in those of 1,696,000 workpeople. In the corresponding period of 1927 there were net increases of £31,200 in the weekly full-time wages of 289,000 workpeople and net reductions of £364,100 in those of 1,715,000 workpeople.

* * *

Statistics of Trade Disputes

The number of trade disputes involving stoppages of work, reported to the Ministry of Labour as beginning in September, was 20. In addition, eleven disputes which began before September were still in progress at the beginning of the month. The number of workpeople involved in all disputes in September (including workpeople thrown out of work at the establishments where the disputes occurred, but not themselves parties to the disputes) was about 10,800, and the aggregate duration of all disputes in September was about 56,000 working days. These figures compare with totals of 5,400 workpeople involved and 23,000 working days lost in the previous month, and with 15,200 workpeople involved and 84,000 days lost in September, 1927.

The aggregate duration of all disputes in progress in the nine completed months of 1928 was about 1,254,000 working days, and the total number of workpeople involved in these disputes was about 110,000. The figures for the corresponding period of 1927 were 1,041,000 days and 92,000 workpeople respectively.

* * *

State Manual Workers

Wages and conditions of the lower-paid manual workers in Government establishments were considered at a conference held on October 10 under the auspices of the Trades Union Congress General Council and attended by representatives of the unions concerned in organising these workers. The conference discussed the question of securing a minimum rate of wages, pensions, an annual holiday with pay, and standard hours of labour.

It is reported that considerable progress was made in the formulation of a policy and that the conference is to meet again shortly.

* * *

Agricultural Workers' Hours

Carnarvonshire and Anglesey Agricultural Wages Board have decided to reduce the weekly hours for agricultural workers in the winter months from 60 to 58.

Growth of Trade Unionism

A large motor works in Scotland have withdrawn a ban which they had imposed on Trade Unionism, and have left their workers free to join Trade Unions if they so desire. Several hundred workers are involved, and the unions concerned have been asked to undertake the task of organising them.

Some meetings have already been held, and it is hoped to establish branches of the unions at an early date.

* * *

Wages in the Shipyards

Owing to the fact that joiners have been excluded from the increase of wages recently conceded in the shipbuilding industry, the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers has decided to take a ballot vote of the members to decide what action shall be taken in connection with this question.

* * *

Trades Council and Communism

It is reported that the Edinburgh Trades Council has adopted a recommendation from its executive that all members of the Communist Party and delegates supporting Communist candidates be expelled from the Council.

* * *

T.U.C. and Unemployment Insurance

The social insurance department of the Trades Union Congress is collecting information for the Trade Unions as to the operation of the provisions of the Unemployment Insurance Act of 1927 in respect of the transitional period. It is strongly held that the period is not long enough, and when the data are complete it is proposed that a deputation shall wait on the Government to press for amendment.

The provision referred to deals with the change in the conditions entitling an insured person to benefit. In certain circumstances benefit is payable under the old and less stringent conditions up to April 19 of next year, or the end of a benefit year beginning before that date,

* * *

Railway Wage Claim

The Industrial Court has under consideration a claim by the four railway companies for a reduction of 6s. a week in the wages of staffs employed in railway generating stations and sub-stations. The claim was opposed by the Electrical Trades Union and the National Union of Railwaymen.

When the matter was discussed at a joint meeting the companies suggested the alternative that the men should voluntarily agree to a 2½ per cent. reduction which was in operation for over 98 per cent. of railway employees. Both proposals were rejected by the Executive of the Electrical Trades Union. While the National Union of Railwaymen had agreed to 2½ per cent. reduction for its members generally, it joined with the Electrical Trades Union in opposing a 6s. cut.

International Trade Union Notes and Labour Abroad

(Specially contributed to the LABOUR MAGAZINE by the International Federation of Trade Unions.)

I.F.T.U. Membership Rising

The year 1926 was not a good one for the International Trade Union Movement. In that year the membership of the I.F.T.U. fell from 13,366,387 to 12,839,174, a loss of 527,213, or 3.9 per cent., the chief causes of which were the decline in membership in Great Britain, Germany, and Denmark. Some anxiety was felt, therefore, as to prospects in 1927. In Great Britain the hostility of the Government to the unions was still making its influence felt, and it seemed impossible to make any forecast as to the course of unemployment in Germany, which was the chief cause of the decline in the membership of that country.

The provisional figures which are now to hand show, however, that this anxiety has only partially been justified. The British membership has, it is true, fallen from 4,163,994 to 3,874,842 during the year 1927 (a loss of 289,152 or 6.9 per cent.), but we have to set against this the splendid increase in the German Trade Union Movement, whose membership has risen from 3,933,931 to 4,415,689 (a gain of 481,758 or 12.2 per cent.).

Membership of the I.F.T.U. in 1927 has risen by about a quarter of a million. Most of the other countries have, like Germany, increased their membership. Only in Great Britain, Belgium, and Spain has there been a decline.

* * *

Hopeful Prospects

1927 was, therefore, by no means an unfavourable year, and it seems probable that the upward movement will continue through 1928. Since January 1, 1928, three new national centres have joined the I.F.T.U. (Esthonia, Greece, and South-West Africa), although of these Greece is the only one which is numerically important. The affiliation of Esthonia and South-West Africa is, however, to be welcomed, because the accession of these centres means the extension of the influence of the I.F.T.U. in the Baltic countries and Africa respectively. Furthermore, besides the new accessions, four centres can point to further increases in membership during the first half-year of 1928—Germany, Holland, Latvia, and Sweden.

Everything points, therefore, to the probability that the decline which began in 1921 will have been brought to a halt at the beginning of 1927, and that the I.F.T.U. will once more be able to look forward with confidence to the future.

* * *

Progress of the German Movement

A comparison of the membership of the German Trade Union centre at the end of 1927 and in June, 1928, will give a good idea of the great increase in membership which is now going forward.

In round numbers, the memberships of the following unions show increases during this period, the respective figures being: Building Workers' Federation, 402,000 and 443,000; Railwaymen, 233,000 and 244,000; Factory Workers, 423,000 and 467,000; Municipal and State Workers, 228,000 and 244,000; Metal Workers, 815,000 and 881,000; Transport Workers' Federation, 351,000 and 366,000; and Woodworkers, 293,000 and 307,000.

Working Hours Inquiry

It will be remembered that the I.F.T.U. has invited the national centres to institute an inquiry into actual working hours, during the first week in October, in certain trades, (the building trades, the printing trades, the chemical industry, the wood-working industry, the metal industry, the boot and shoe and leather trades, the textile industry and mining). The replies show that the work is going on very satisfactorily. The national centres of Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Hungary, Latvia, Palestine, Poland, Spain, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia, have promised co-operation, and are taking comprehensive preparatory measures. Germany informs the I.F.T.U. that she has sent the questionnaire to 1400 trade councils, and Belgium, at a conference of representatives of the unions and trade councils concerned, has promised to take steps to carry out the inquiry as speedily as possible.

Only one of the centres, the Bulgarian, informs us that to its regret it cannot take part in the inquiry, because there are no trade unions of importance in many of the trades which the inquiry is to cover.

* * *

The Swedish Labour Act

The Swedish official Committee for Social Matters (Socialstyrelsen) has made an inquiry into the effect of the Labour Act, and has found that only about half a million workers come under its scope, although there are over a million workers in Sweden. The exceptions are land-workers, seamen, forestry and lumber workers, workers in State enterprises, workers in the employ of small businesses with less than four workers, etc. Of the 716,000 workers who come under the inquiry, only 524,600 are covered by the Act. It should, however, be noted in this connection that working hours for the bulk of the workers who are outside the Act are regulated by collective agreements, or other agreements, in accordance with the provisions of the law.

The number of workers who worked in excess of the weekly working hours laid down by the Act was in 1927, 49,000, or 9 per cent., while the number of those who worked more overtime than that permissible under the Act was 7,200, or 1.3 per cent.

* * *

Miscellaneous

A Commission appointed by the French Trade Union Movement to study the question of the conditions of the Trade Unions of Algeria has pronounced in favour of the nomination of an Algerian representative on the National Council of the French Trade Union Centre. The Commission is of opinion that the nomination of this permanent delegate of the C.G.T. will be the only way of strengthening the links between the Trade Unions of Algeria and those of France.

In view of the definitive establishment of the National Economic Council, the French National Centre has decided to set up a Research Committee for Economic Questions. The Committee is to consist of comrades whose knowledge qualifies them to give valuable aid in the study of economic problems.

International Labour Office Notes

Governing Body at Warsaw

At the invitation of the Polish Government, the Governing Body of the International Labour Office of the League of Nations met in Warsaw in October. It will be recalled that at about the same time last year a meeting was held in Berlin at the invitation of the German Government.

The British representatives present at Warsaw were Mr. Humbert Wolfe, Ministry of Labour (Government), Mr. J. B. Forbes Watson, National Confederation of Employers' Organisations (Employers), and Mr. E. L. Poulton, National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives (Workers).

* * *

Conference in 1929

The Governing Body fixed May 30 as the opening date of the general session of the International Labour Conference next year, when a final decision will be taken on the question of the prevention of industrial accidents, and preliminary discussions will be held on "forced labour," and the hours of work of salaried employees. A special maritime session of the Conference will open on October 10, which will discuss regulation of hours of work on board ship, the protection of seamen in case of sickness—including treatment of seamen injured on board ship—and promotion of seamen's welfare in ports.

The Governing Body decided that this session should also discuss the establishment of an international standard of professional competency for mercantile marine officers.

* * *

Textile Inquiry

A large part of the Governing Body's time was taken up with the discussion of measures to give effect to the resolutions adopted by the last session of the conference. As regards the request for an inquiry into the conditions of work in the textile industry in the different countries, it was decided to appoint a committee to make proposals as to the scope of such an inquiry. Some members of the employers' group doubted whether such an inquiry was opportune and stated that certain employers' organisations would be unable to give their assistance. M. Jouhaux, French workers' representative, protested against this attitude.

* * *

Official Languages

Another Conference resolution asked the Governing Body to study the question of the official languages of the International Labour Organisation (there are two at present, English and French), both from the technical and financial points of view. It was decided to set up a special committee of twelve members, four from each group, to consider the problem and make a report to the Conference.

* * *

Industrial Relations

In execution of other resolutions adopted by the Conference, it was decided to continue the study of industrial relations and of the causes of decreased production. As regards industrial relations, a special effort is to be made to define the methods of developing the spirit of collaboration between employers and workers, while in the investigation of the causes of decreased production special attention is to be given to the means of preventing waste in industry.

The Director in the East

To satisfy a desire repeatedly expressed at Sessions of the Conference by Far-Eastern delegates, and as a mark of the universal nature of the Organisation, the Governing Body unanimously approved a proposal that the Director of the Office, M. Albert Thomas, should visit the Far East and so establish direct contact with these distant people for the first time.

Mr. Kasama, Japanese Government delegate, expressed his Government's pleasure at this decision and assured the Director of the warmest welcome.

* * *

"I.L.O." and Salaried Employees

Representatives of important organisations of salaried employees met at the office in Geneva on October 18 to advise on problems particularly affecting this class of worker.

The question of hours of work, which, as already mentioned, will be discussed at the next Conference, was studied, together with such problems as holidays with pay, apprenticeship, and the different systems of payment of commercial travellers.

* * *

Intellectual Workers' Committee

The Advisory Committee on Intellectual Workers met for the first time on October 22 at Geneva.

The agenda covered a varied field of activities and included termination of employment of journalists in the event of a change occurring in the policy of their newspaper; stipulation concerning the acceptance of other employment in the case of engineers and technical staff leaving an establishment; finding of employment for theatrical artistes, and inventions by employees. A report was prepared for the committee on unemployment among intellectual workers.

* * *

Ratification Progress

Further ratifications of Conventions adopted by the Conference have brought the total to 332, making 84 fresh ratifications in 1928, as against 33 in 1927 and 30 in 1926.

Austria and Japan have recently ratified the Convention dealing with the provision of compensation for workers who contract industrial diseases, and the Convention dealing with the equality of treatment of alien workers in respect of accident compensation, both adopted in 1925. Japan has also ratified the Convention regarding the simplification of inspection of emigrants on board ship, adopted in 1926. This brings the total of Japanese ratifications to nine, as against thirteen by Great Britain, twelve by France and Italy, eleven by India, and nine by Germany.

* * *

World Mining Conditions

In a summary of the work of the committee dealing with the conditions of work in the coalfield published in the October issue of the *LABOUR MAGAZINE* it was stated through a printer's error that the committee was attended by Mr. Lee of the Miners' Federation.

The description should have been: "Mr. Lee of the Mining Association and Mr. Richardson of the Miners' Federation."

Co-operative Activities

Trade Unions and C.W.S.

Perhaps it would be good for the workers if some Trade Unions were as quick in pouncing on private employers as they are on the C.W.S. It was recently announced in the Press that a resolution was to come before the Salford Trades Council calling attention to the "increasing" contracts being made by the C.W.S. with non-union firms in the clothing trades.

If this be true it is the place of a Trade Union to bring it forward, and it can always be sure that the capitalist Press will "boom" it. But inquiries at the C.W.S. headquarters in Manchester showed that nobody was aware of contracts being made with non-union firms. In fact every employee of the C.W.S. is compelled to be a member of a Trade Union, no matter what his position, and one of the standing orders of the society is to the effect that buyers must on no consideration deal with non-union houses.

Few firms, if any, go so far as this in the interests of Trade Unionism. The Salford Trades Council's resolution, however, put forward by the Furnishing Trades Union was postponed in order that further inquiries into the charge could be made, and it was to be brought up again.

* * *

Trading Figures

Latest figures of the C.W.S. show that the trade for the 26 weeks ended July 7 represented an average weekly turnover of £1,661,915, compared to £1,522,172 in the corresponding period of 1927, an increase of 9½ per cent. The total six months' trade was £43,209,788. The weekly average of the value of supplies from C.W.S. factories to retail societies was £540,243, compared to £516,895, an increase of 4½ per cent. £496,520 was paid to society members on the amount of purchases made. The bank turnover for the half-year amounted to £347,807,649. The bank now carries 8,583 Trade Union current accounts and 872 deposit accounts; 691 current and 173 deposit accounts of clubs (many of them Labour clubs); 5,045 current and 2,120 deposit accounts of mutual organisations; and 8,617 current and 25,105 deposit accounts of individuals, besides the banking business of 984 co-operative societies, leaving 30 societies still hanging on to private banks.

* * *

New Co-operative Journal

The "People's Weekly" is the newest weekly publication in the Co-operative Movement. The first number appeared on August 6. It has been issued by the National Co-operative Publishing Society Limited, the owners of the "Co-operative News" and other publications, monthly and fortnightly, but would seem to be intended to take a broader view of things in general with references to co-operation here and there. It is got up in the style of a weekly periodical. The Fabians get a good show in it, also H. G. Wells, and everyday problems are touched upon with a co-operative hand. Aristotle is featured, and popular football has a place.

If the new journal is to be circulated through the ordinary co-operative channels—the grocery store—its difficulties of success will be increased. The editor has

chosen a good title, and this, with attractive features, should commend the journal to a large number of co-operators.

* * *

A Co-operative Leader

During October co-operators have been making a great deal of the birth centenary of J. T. W. Mitchell, who was born on October 18, 1828. Mitchell began his co-operative life with the early workers of the Rochdale Pioneers and subsequently became an outstanding advocate of consumers' co-operation, perhaps to some extent against workmen's societies promoting co-operative production; in any case, the economic interest of the consumer was his main plank.

Some one has said that he was the discoverer of the consumers' idea, but as this was not unknown before his day, he may be regarded as the most pronounced Victorian advocate of it. He became a member of the C.W.S. Board in 1869 and its president in 1874. The main part of his life's work was accomplished as president of the society which he held till his death in 1895. In 1874, when he took over the chair, the annual sales of the society amounted to £1,153,132, and to-day are nearly £90,000,000.

There was no special function to mark the centenary, only a few laudatory articles in the Co-operative Press.

* * *

Retirement

Mr. Robert MacIntosh, the chief accountant of the Scottish C.W.S., is retiring, after having been with the society since 1870. One of the best known and most trusted of co-operators in Scotland, Mr. MacIntosh has been the safety valve of the movement beyond the Tweed, and regret that he must now give up will be expressed in every Scottish co-operative home.

* * *

More Propaganda

Preparations are being made for the Third Annual Propaganda Co-operative Campaign to be held from February 9 to 23 next year. Every co-operative society in the kingdom is expected to join the effort. Last February a number of Labour speakers took part in the demonstrations organised by societies and groups of societies, and no doubt there will be a request for a similar combination of forces in connection with the forthcoming national event.

Co-operators are now brought face to face with world problems in a way which was practically unknown to the movement a few years ago. On October 4 and 5 a special economic conference of international organisations was held at Prague with the object of furthering the work of the World Economic Conference held at Geneva last year under the auspices of the League of Nations. The International Co-operative Alliance was represented at the Prague meeting by leading co-operators of France and Czechoslovakia, whilst Mr. A. Varley attended on behalf of the English C.W.S. The International Co-operative Banking Committee was represented by Mr. Gaston Levy, of Paris. Co-operators now have to make a closer study of international problems, owing to the development of the movement in all directions.

The Labour Library

(These notices do not preclude a fuller review in the pages of the LABOUR MAGAZINE or its allied publications.)

Economic Problems, New and Old. Allyn A. Young. (Allen and Unwin. 10s.)

London's new Professor of Economics won his world reputation on the sheer quality of his thought rather than on a multitude of hastily written books. He has, indeed, written little, but what there is must delight everyone who appreciates powerful reasoning and lucid expression. This collection of fourteen papers on diverse economic topics is an extremely good indication of these qualities. Whether he writes of law, as in the illuminating paper on anti-trust legislation, or of technical questions of statistics, as in his review of Irving Fisher's great work on "Index Numbers," or of history, as in his paper on "Jevons," he is equally at home, equally penetrating, and equally readable.

We must count ourselves fortunate in having Professor Young among us. His is no revolutionary mind, but he has a critical intelligence and a logical power that cannot fail to leave a deep impression on English economic thought.

The Payment of Wages. G. D. H. Cole. (Allen and Unwin. 6s.)

One always thought this one of Mr. Cole's best works, though it never had the circulation of some of his more popular, and more controversial, books. It is a welcome sign, therefore, when we see a new and revised edition. It differs from the original chiefly in its useful introductory chapter sketching the developments of recent years.

The remainder of the text has been revised as much, perhaps, as was possible, but many of the data sadly need revision, for nowhere more than in this field are up-to-date statistics so woefully lacking. In his suggestions on Trade Union policy Mr. Cole is still speaking from the study rather than from the workshop, but he is surely right in urging the importance, for the unions, of getting all the knowledge possible about management, of employing salaried experts—in short, of creating the conditions which must necessarily be the preliminary to any kind of "control."

Certainly every thoughtful Trade Unionist needs to read and think about this book.

Standing Room Only? By Edward Alsworth Ross. (Chapman and Hall Limited. 16s.)

This is an interesting study of the question of world population and international migration. The author takes the view that having regard to the fact that within about 40 years the advanced societies have succeeded in bringing about a considerable decrease in the death rate, unless the birth rate is considerably decreased, overpopulation of the earth will be the result before the close of the present century, and that this will lead to a general lowering of the standard of life and the degeneration of the human race generally.

The book is very well written, and contains some vivid descriptions of conditions in India, China, and Japan. The second part of the book is devoted to a spirited defence of the measures adopted by the various "white" countries—America, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada—with regard to immigration, and is well worth careful consideration by all interested in international matters.

Every Man's Own Lawyer. 58th Edition, 1928. (Crosby Lockwood and Son. 17s. 6d.)

"We are all supposed to know the Law, and nobody does." If I were setting up a local Labour Party reference library this would be one of the two legal manuals chosen as likely to give best value for the money. The other would be Stone's Justices' Manual.

It is superfluous at this time of day to enlarge on the merits of *Every Man's*. It is extensive, clear, and accurate. It embodies the latest legislation, in so far as it directly affects the man in the street. It deals with everything from personal rights, debts, and property to commercial law and local government. It is one of those occasional miracles of comprehensiveness, the thought of whose compilation is merely appalling.

Das werktätige Indien. By Karl Schrader and F. J. Furtwängler. (Published by the Verlagsgesellschaft of the German Federation of Trade Unions, 6, Inselstrasse, Berlin, S. 14. Price, 10 marks.)

This useful volume, issued on behalf of the German Textile Workers' Federation, deals with the present and past situation of the workers of India, and describes their Trade Union movement, wages, and conditions of labour. It is fully illustrated, with the necessary statistical information.

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THE LABOUR MAGAZINE

Incorporating The British Trades Union Review and the Labour Party Bulletin

VOL. VII

DECEMBER, 1928

No 8

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DAVENTRY BROADCASTING STATION: *Above*, EXTERIOR: *Below*, GENERAL
VIEW OF TRANSMITTER

A New Attack on State Enterprise

THE BEAM WIRELESS AND CABLE SERVICES

By

WALTER BAKER, M.P.

WHILE loudly proclaiming their confidence in private enterprise, past Liberal and Tory Governments have been forced by the pressure of public opinion and the gross failure of private capitalism to take over and maintain in the hands of the State certain essential services, such as posts, telegraphs, and telephones. But the general success of these Government services has not prevented our opponents from carrying on their propaganda against the whole principle of nationalisation, and we have witnessed the spectacle of a Tory Assistant Postmaster-General making public attacks on the efficiency of the Department of which he is second in command.

Now, in connection with the Government Cable and Beam wireless services, we are faced with a new and extraordinary position. Cable and wireless interests and their Tory political friends demanded the transfer of the Beam services to private hands, not on the ground of their inefficiency but because they were too efficient! Under Post Office control Beam Wireless has given cheaper and better service than its private rivals—the cable companies—and because of its success it must be taken out of the hands of those who made it successful. The believers in competition and “no State interference” went to the State demanding that they should be saved from State competition, and the Tory Government betrayed its position as guardian of the interests of the Nation by yielding to this outrageous demand.

The Labour Party is firmly opposed to the transfer. We believe the State ownership and control, not only of the cables and wireless installations themselves, but also of the manufacturing end of the services, would be more efficient, more profitable, and more progressive than a private monopoly.

The Labour Government in 1924 decided to utilise the newly perfected Beam system, and had four Government stations erected for communication with Canada, South Africa, India and Australia; the stations to be operated by the Post Office. These four Beam services were opened between October, 1926, and September, 1927, and have been remarkably successful. The wireless rates on the Canadian service remained the same as the cable rates,

but on the other routes the competition of the Beam services compelled the cable companies to lower their charges, as the following table shows:—

	Australia.	S. Africa.	India.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Cable rates, Jan., 1927..	2 6	2 0	1 8
Present cable rates	2 0	1 8	1 5
Beam wireless rates....	1 8	1 4	1 1

These are the “full-rate” charges. For other traffic the Beam charges are similarly less.

To meet the new situation arising out of the success of the Post Office Beam system the Eastern and Associated Cable Companies and the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company agreed to form a merger, but made it a condition that the Government should transfer the Beam installations to them.

The details of the proposed merger and the conditions attaching to it were laid before the Imperial Wireless and Cable Conference which was appointed

“to examine the situation which has arisen as a result of the competition of the Beam wireless with the cable services, to report thereon, and to make recommendations with a view to a common policy being adopted by the various Governments concerned.”

On July 16, 1928, the Conference recommended that the Pacific Cables, the West Indian Cable and Wireless System, and the Imperial Atlantic Cables be sold and the Post Office Beam Services leased for 25 years to the private cable and wireless interests.

It is obvious enough that the merger between the cable companies and the Marconi Company, depending as it did on the acquisition of the Government cables and the Post Office Beam Services, was a deliberate and only too successful attempt to force the Government to hand over national properties. It appears, however, not as an isolated incident, but as the final stroke of a campaign.

Over a considerable period certain groups of newspapers have carried on an unceasing propaganda of distortions and half truths against the work of the Post Office, plausibility being given to their arguments by the appointment by the Government of such Committees as the Hardman-Lever Committee which in 1927

reported on the Inland Telegraph Service and charges. Composed entirely of business men; having for Chairman a director of the *Daily Mail Trust*; conducted without the staff being represented or allowed to defend themselves against irresponsible condemnation, it was inevitable that the Committee should seize the opportunity of making a sweeping attack on the staff, on Civil Service conditions, and on State management in general.

After the ground had been so prepared the Imperial Wireless and Cable Conference deliberated on the question of the Government Cables and Beam Wireless. Every one of the eleven witnesses examined by the Conference represented one or other of the interests, and although the Conference discussed five possible solutions of the problem before it, the possibility of developing the Imperial services under the ownership by the Home and Dominion Governments was not even considered. Here again the result was a foregone conclusion.

The Government has introduced legislation to give effect to the recommendations of the Conference, and already the private wireless interests are demanding further protection, this time against the independent development by the Post Office of its very promising wireless telephone services.

The cable companies have received enormous subsidies from the Government. A sum of £32,400 a year for 20 years was paid by the Government to the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company to promote communications with Australia; £55,000 a year for 20 years was paid to the Eastern and South African Telegraph Company to promote the building of East African cables, because dependence on private profit would not give the development needed for future commercial requirements and national security; from 1885 the African Direct Telegraph Company received annual subsidies of £19,000 for 20 years towards cables down West Coast of Africa; and for 20 years from 1893 the Eastern and South African Company already referred to received £28,000 towards cables between Zanzibar and Mauritius.

In the absence of effective competition in the past they have been able to build up huge reserves, amounting to more than £11,000,000. They have accepted State subsidies and abused their position of semi-monopoly at the expense of the public. Yet at the first threat of competition they demand to be protected against the Post Office Beam services. At the same time the Beam services show a large surplus, with promise of much greater profits in the future.

Compare this successful State management with the record of the Marconi Company. In 1927 the Marconi Company was reconstructed, assets to the amount of £6,000,000 being written off. *The Times* of March 16, 1927, in an editorial, characterised the record of the company as one of "reckless mismanagement."

We are often told that nationalisation is necessarily inefficient. In this case the successful State Administration has to hand over the Beam Services to a merger composed of the cable companies, which were unable to compete, and the Marconi Company, which has a record of "reckless mismanagement."

Those newspapers which carried on a campaign in favour of the transfer of these State properties to private hands have made much of the alleged need to protect national interests in communications against foreign competition. Yet the cable companies are reported to have gone to the Conference with a threat to abandon the cables and allow them to go derelict or sell them to American interests unless the Government would agree to protect the companies in some way against Beam competition.

The war taught us the danger of entrusting national interests to enterprises whose aim is private profit. The records of the censorship showed that very serious leakages of information took place during the early part of the war on wireless and cables belonging to private companies, and the war was undoubtedly prolonged because of such leakages.

The Marconi Company in 1924 was in a world combination of wireless interests, a fact which, as Sir Ronald Donald said at the time, made State ownership "desirable, if not inevitable." Sir Robert Donald is now a defender of the policy of handing over these State properties to the merger, but the foreign interests of the merger companies are no less than those of Marconi's in 1924.

The Marconi Company, jointly with its American "rival" the Radio Corporation, until recently owned the company which controls the Canadian Marconi Company, and it works jointly with the Radio Corporation in Columbia, Peru, and Bolivia. The Marconi Company has shareholdings not only in its Colonial subsidiaries but also in companies operating in South America, Portugal, Austria, Switzerland, and other countries.

The MacKay Companies of America have large shareholdings in the Eastern Telegraph Company, which is in the English merger. The Globe Telegraph and Trust Company, which is the financial centre of the English Cable group, has large sums invested in the American Telegraph and Cable Company, in

the MacKay Companies, in the Western Union Telegraph Company of America, and in the American Telegraph and Telephone Company.

The interest of the private companies in the handing over of State properties is solely a financial interest. To them it was a question of securing a valuable property as cheaply as possible, partly for its own profit-earning capacity, and partly in order to put an end to damaging competition.

Not unnaturally the prospect of obtaining the Post Office Beam service enormously enhanced the values of Cable and Wireless shares. The shares of the Cable Group had been falling at the end of 1927 and the beginning of 1928.

The highest point reached by Eastern Telegraph ordinary shares in 1927 was 183. At the end of December they stood at 140, and they opened the new year at 136.

		Price of Eastern ordinary shares.
Announcement of proposed Merger of Cable and Wire- less companies	March 14	141
Announcement that they were taking over Post Office Beam and Cable services..	March 15	160
	March 16	200

The capital gain on the shares of the Cable Group amounted to £6 million during those three days, March 14, 15, and 16.

These shares have now risen to 256.

Marconi's fell as low as 13s. during 1927, and were 39s. 6d. during the early part of 1928.

On March 13 they stood at 60s. 3d. On March 15 they had jumped to 70s. The rise in value was estimated at over £2,500,000 within a week. The present price is 78s. 6d.

It is not surprising that the possibility of making huge profits through advance information of important developments in the financial world should lead also to deliberate and sometimes grossly dishonest manipulations to force up the price of shares. The standards of finance are admittedly far less rigid than those exacted and observed in the Government service, and the wireless interests associated with the merger which is to take over the Beam and Cable services have a by no means happy record.

In this brief statement it is not possible to follow the financial manœuvres of the interested persons, but it is clear beyond doubt that behind the scenes of the proposed transfer is a group of very powerful financial interests. It is our view that the handing over of State properties is doubly condemned when the interests which are to benefit are associated with speculative share manœuvres of a character so difficult to defend.

There is every reason to fear that under private control wireless development will be checked and the advantage of cheaper wireless communication will largely be lost to the public and the commercial community, to whom cheap communication is vital. The merger and the transfer of the Post Office Beam services have been conceived with the object of saving the cables from wireless competition. This can be done only by maintaining charges at rates higher than is justified by the actual cost of beam transmission. As the report of the Imperial Wireless and Cable Conference points out "the present beam rates on the Australian, South African, and Indian services—assuming the existing traffic to be maintained or the increase to be continued—yield a very high profit, and these rates could be substantially reduced and still give a handsome return on the capital invested in the Beam undertakings."

The recommendations of the Imperial Conference do, it is true, include the setting up of an Advisory Committee, but while the Committee's assent is required for an increase in rates, the only provision for further reductions is that 50 per cent. of the revenue in excess of a standard net revenue shall be devoted to "reductions of rates or such other purpose as the Advisory Council may approve."

It was the aim of the Post Office to fix rates for the Beam Service in such a way as to "attract the largest possible volume of traffic with due regard for economic consideration." The aim of the private company will not be an undivided one of this kind. Its policy will represent a compromise between the two major groups—cables and wireless—complicated by the demands of influential sectional interests such as the newspapers. Such a policy cannot be expected to satisfy the needs of the commercial users as a whole, or of the general public.

This proposed transfer of successful State enterprises to private hands raises issues of prime importance to the people of this country.

It is plainly undesirable that national properties of any kind should become the subject of the financial speculations of private interests, and it is a serious reflection on the competence, the foresight and the public spirit of Tory Governments that their reversals of policy should have permitted this and at the same time hampered the development of an adequate and co-ordinated wireless and cable system. Lastly, the public is entitled to demand that essential services such as communications should be vested for all time in the Nation and developed consistently and solely for the benefit of all.

Towards a National Central Library

THE PLIGHT OF A PROMISING INFANT

By

R. B. SUTHERS

THE accounts of the Central Library for Students for the year 1927-8 show a debit balance of £14 19s. 7d.

During the same year the Chancellor of the Exchequer has been distributing public money with a lavish hand, £10,000,000 or £11,000,000 going to relieve the rates of firms whose prosperity is in some cases almost shameful. Yet, being short of money, Mr. Churchill was unable to include in his last Budget the modest sum of £5,000 as a contribution to the funds of the Central Library for Students. The brewers are to have £400,000 a year; the thirsty for books get nothing. Hence the debit balance.

The most important recommendation of the Public Libraries Committee, appointed by Mr. C. P. Trevelyan during the tenure of the Labour Government, was the establishment of a national library service, the crown and centre of which should be a Central Library. The committee regarded this as the most indispensable feature of the scheme. Without a Central Library the efficient organisation of the public library service would be impossible.

The proposal of a Central Library was not a new idea, for there had been in existence since 1916 an institution which had been called into being by the pressing needs of a section of book readers and students, and had demonstrated by practical experience and continuous growth how widespread was the demand for a National Central Library. This was the Central Library for Students. The germ of this institution was originated by the Workers' Educational Association, in conjunction with Toynbee Hall in 1914. The object then was to provide books for the use of members of University Tutorial and W.E.A. classes. The Library developed rapidly, and soon discovered other spheres of usefulness. In 1916, in response to a request made by the Central Joint Advisory Committee for Tutorial Classes, the Carnegie Trust agreed to make a grant for the establishment of an independent Central Library. Since that date the Central Library for Students has gone from strength to strength, and its value to the public library service has been universally acknowledged. Yet, for the first time in its

career, there is a debit balance. Who ought to blush for this?

In the first year of its independent existence the Library had collected a stock of 3,000 volumes, which were issued to 77 adult classes and 93 individual students. To-day, the stock of books has increased to 37,561. Last year the issues numbered 52,711. Of these 36,805 were distributed through the agency of 465 libraries; 11,175 to adult classes direct, 3,019 to adult classes through local libraries, and 1,712 to individual readers.

The work of the Central Library for Students consists mainly in (1) the supply of books to readers through the agency of the public and other libraries; (2) the supply of books to adult classes. How rapidly the former has grown is shown vividly by a comparison of the number of urban and county libraries using the institution at intervals of four years. In 1916-17, the number of urban libraries borrowing books was nil; in 1919-20, 27; in 1923-4, 198; in 1927-8, 324. The figures for the county libraries are nil, nil, 22, 55. Ten years ago the urban libraries borrowed no more than 77 volumes. Last year they borrowed 15,492. The county libraries, which only got into their stride after the Act of 1919, borrowed in 1920-21, 732 volumes. Last year they borrowed 18,385 volumes. Thus it is clear that without the service provided by the Central Library for Students, readers all over the country would have been unable to enjoy the use of thousands of books. The Executive Committee point out in their report that three of the largest and wealthiest libraries in the country made use of their resources last year, "clear evidence, if such were needed, that no library can be self-supporting."

It is encouraging to note that all the county libraries use the Central Library, and that 324 out of about 400 urban libraries are borrowers. Forty of the county libraries and 216 of the urban libraries contributed voluntarily to the funds. Last year 59 of the urban libraries increased their subscriptions, amongst them being Birkenhead, from £2 2s. to £5 5s.; Brighton, from £5 to £10; Chorley, from 10s. 6d. to £2 2s.; Croydon,

from £5 5s. to £10 10s.; Colne, from £1 1s. to £2 2s.; Deptford, from £2 2s. to £5 5s.; Rochdale, from £2 2s. to £3 3s.; Woolwich, from £5 5s. to £10 10s. Amongst the county increases were Shropshire, from £2 2s. to £10; Lancashire, from £10 to £15, and Derby, from £10 to £25, gratifying tributes to the value of the Central Library for Students. There were 21 new urban library subscribers, and four new county library subscribers. Amongst the first are Stoke, with a £5 subscription, and West Ham with £4 4s. Montgomery contributes £2 2s., and Surrey £10.

Of the total income of the Library last year, amounting to £6,895, the urban libraries contributed £480, and the county libraries, £380. Some of the larger urban libraries, the report says, contribute generously in comparison with the use they make of the institution. The bulk of the income came from the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, £3,000; United Services Fund, £500; Cassel Trust, £500; Thomas Wall Trust, £100. The adult class organisations provided over £100, and private subscribers, £200. Two items on the other side swallow up most of the receipts; salaries and wages, £2,689, and books purchased, £2,900. The increasing development of the Library's work of supplying local libraries with books required, either direct, or by search in Outlier Libraries, adds cumulatively to the administrative expenditure. Thus, in the current year, unless its income increases miraculously, the Central Library will have only £1,170 to spend on new books and binding, against £2,930 last year. Pending the mental aeration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the executive committee therefore asks library committees to do their utmost to enable them to keep up the standard attained.

Turning now to the second main division of the work of the Central Library for Students, the provision of books for adult education classes, the report records that there is again a satisfactory decrease in the direct issue of books. This reduction is due to the fact that the local libraries are now taking greater interest in this problem. A few years ago nearly all the books required by the W.E.A. classes and other non-university classes, were provided by the Central Library. Obviously, this is a burden on its resources which it could not fully meet, and one which ought to be borne at any rate in part by local institutions.

In this development, the county libraries are showing the way to the urban libraries.

One county education authority issues through the county library all the books required by the classes in its area. In another county, the library two years ago issued to classes only 86 volumes. As the result of a conference of tutors and secretaries arrangements were made under which last year 1,923 volumes were issued, and the Central Library was called upon for only a few books. The relief thus given to the Central Library enables it to devote its funds to the provision of the more rare and expensive books required by students.

The cost of supplying books to classes last year was £1,748, or more than a quarter of the total expenditure of the Library. Towards this sum the class organisations contributed £102. The expenditure is rather more than it was in the first year of the Library when this work was almost its sole concern. In the earlier years it was recognised by sympathisers that the students would not be able to provide all the funds necessary, and private subscriptions reached from £300 to £600. Recently, however, they have fallen off considerably, and an urgent appeal is made for further help. It is interesting to note that since the foundation of the Library, 123,000 volumes have been issued to classes. This is more than one-third of the total number of volumes issued.

In the report of the Public Libraries Committee, great stress was laid on the need for co-operation in utilising the stores of books and periodicals belonging to the multitude of special libraries of various types, and the committee suggested that this might be accomplished best by making the Central Library a bureau of exchange for all libraries. The Carnegie Trust has fostered this idea by making grants to Outlier Libraries which undertake to make their stocks available for members of the general public who borrow them through the Central Library. The number of Outlier Libraries now co-operating with the Central Library is 49, which have a combined stock of nearly a million and a-half of volumes. Such a vast reservoir of books (some of them scarce) and periodicals has never before been at the service of the student outside the walls of the British Museum, and the possibilities are as yet only partly embraced. Last year the Central Library asked its Outlier co-operators for the loan of 1,814 volumes, while 22 of the Outlier Libraries borrowed 280 volumes from the Central. If the cash were available, there is no doubt all the special libraries would

eventually be drawn into the scheme, and the whole of the libraries of the country would be linked up in one gigantic service.

Individual readers are of course catered for direct by the Central Library, but their demands are referred where possible to the local libraries. It is the aim of the Central Library to discourage the use of its resources by individuals, and to encourage them to apply first to their own urban or county service. In this way local libraries are stimulated to improve their services and the Central is saved from wasting its funds in the purchase of duplicate volumes. Five years ago, the number of issues to individual readers was 14,471. Last year it was only 1,712. There are, however, still a number of readers who do not take the trouble to test the powers of their local libraries before applying to the Central, and these are asked to mend their ways in the general interest.

With such a brave record of work done, it must be disheartening for the Executive Committee of the Central Library of Students to have to face a new year with a debit balance. It ought not to be. Twenty-five years ago, Mr. H. G. Wells said: "The

question of book distribution is as vitally important to the intellectual health of a modern people as are open windows in cases of phthisis. No nation can live under modern conditions unless its whole population is mentally aerated with books."

The Public Libraries Committee recommended the transfer of the Central Library for Students to the control of the trustees of the British Museum and, pending this development, that an interim grant of £5,000 per annum be made in order to establish the Library as a national institution. It was optimistically expected that this grant would be provided for in the last Budget, so favourably had the proposal been received in all quarters. Unfortunately, Mr. Winston Churchill's mentality about that time was being aerated, not by books, but by bookies, and the matter has since been delayed or shelved by referring it to the Royal Commission on Museums.

In the meantime, there is a debit balance of £14 19s. 7d., and the Central Library for Students wants subscriptions. Let all help who can.

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Tendencies in Industry To-day*

By

WALTER M. CITRINE

General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress General Council

FIFTY years ago, nobody would have bothered to concern themselves as to what the attitude of organised labour might be. There has been a noticeable change since then. To-day most people recognise that the views of labour cannot be left out of account. Enlightened employers will tell you that the prosperity of industry depends upon the efficiency, the skill, and the willing co-operation of the workers, just as much as it depends upon the ability of directors or managers. Not only is that recognised, but it is now being more generally understood that it is worth while to try to make use of the brains and constructive abilities of everyone engaged in industry, whether they be salaried officials or manual workers.

I am aware, of course, that there are employers who are very doubtful about the possibility of securing the co-operation of the workers. Some perhaps may even doubt the value of co-operation. They think they are entitled to run their businesses in their own way, and that so long as they observe the recognised rates of wages and conditions, it is no concern of the workers as to how industry is conducted. But what is the purpose of industry? In the modern State industry cannot be regarded as a matter which concerns only those who are its administrators. We have long passed the time when the owners themselves were actually responsible for the day to day management of their businesses. There are, of course, exceptions. But with the growth of the huge business undertakings which we see rising on every side of us, directors and managers are now becoming to a much greater extent separated from the ownership of business, and are approximating to the position of salaried officials. And with this change there is coming the realisation that those engaged in industry have duties and responsibilities as well as rights. The shareholding public, however little direct control they may exert over the undertakings in which their money is invested, should also recognise that they have

responsibilities no less real than have those whom they employ. A much bigger motive than that of private gain must surely be accepted as the purpose of industry. If each of us, shareholders, managers, and workers is only to be concerned with getting as much as we can out of industry for ourselves, then I can see no hope of progress. If, on the other hand, the growing idea is accepted by all that public service is the purpose of industry, we shall have a real motive for all sections to give of their best.

Yet there are still employers who regard the businesses with which they are associated as the fruit of their own enterprise. They resent too readily what they imagine to be an invasion of their personal rights. Why should they take up this attitude? They cannot expect to be immune from criticism. Their responsibilities to the community are too great for that. In the past they have not hesitated to criticise their workers and to blame them for inefficiency, or for not putting their backs into their work; and they cannot grumble if the workers and the community at large show an increasing inclination to examine more carefully the way in which modern industry is conducted. It is too often forgotten that the workers have a stake in industry quite as great as have the employers or the shareholders. As Bob Smillie, the miners' leader, used to say: "The employers have invested their money in industry, but the workers have invested their lives in it." That is no exaggeration; a worker who has been specially trained to follow a certain occupation finds it no easy job suddenly to transfer to another industry, perhaps in some distant town. A spell of bad trade may throw him upon the streets with no means of knowing whence his next week's wages are to come. We have all seen how the closing down of collieries has plunged whole communities into heartbreaking despair. South Wales is not the only part of the country, nor is mining the only industry of which that statement is all too unfortunately true.

The workers cannot be indifferent to industrial tendencies, because their livelihood

* Address by Mr. W. M. Citrine broadcast from B.B.C. on November 16, 1928.

depends to an enormous extent upon the economic conditions of industry. Take the question of wages. The whole standard of life of the worker and his family, the food they eat, the clothes they wear, the house they live in depends upon the amount of his wages. How then can he be expected quietly to accept the position of a sort of poor relation, who ought to be satisfied that industry is controlled by his superiors?

It is not difficult to show instances of where employers, when faced with a demand for increased wages, have said: "We are not against paying decent wages, but the economic conditions of the industry make it impossible for us to do so." And they have been able to produce facts in support of their contention. But let us look at the corollary this contention carries with it. No one would deny that the question as to whether an industry is prosperous or not depends largely upon the degree to which it is efficient, and the extent to which it is rationally and effectively organised. So we arrive at this position: if the employers tell the workers that it is impossible to pay them more because of the state of industry, they cannot legitimately resent the workers expressing their opinion as to how the management and organisation of industry could be improved.

The common sense of the economic situation surely demands not only that the right of the worker to have a voice in management and organisation should be admitted, but that as a matter of good business common sense he should be given the opportunity of contributing towards the establishment of industrial prosperity.

Those employers who are far-sighted enough to advocate co-operation with the workers are fully alive to what it means. It means industrial enfranchisement; it means that the worker, through his Trade Union, shall be admitted to the consideration of those problems and practical aspects of industrial organisation, which have a direct bearing upon his status and well-being. I said through his Trade Union advisedly. A Trade Union is an organisation of individual workers. Its principal job is to strive all the time to improve the conditions of its members. A hundred years of experience has taught most employers that effective organisation on the side of the workers is an essential preliminary to proper industrial organisation. The Trade Unions are here; they cannot be ignored. Through the Trades Union Congress, which recently met at Swansea, they have expressed

unmistakably their willingness to discuss with the employers, not as inferiors, nor as dictators, but on equal terms, the problems which press so heavily upon all our important industries to-day.

I hope that the attitude of the Trade Unions will not be misunderstood. They do not come aggressively demanding consultation with management. But assuredly they do not come imploring as supplicants. Their attitude is determined by a sincere desire to get to grips with the serious problems which confront British industry. Their problem is how in this period of vast change they can contribute to the general efficiency and prosperity of industry, whilst at the same time adequately safeguarding the interests of the workers.

In the early days of the factory system the workers seeing themselves displaced and thrown out of employment by the new machines, went round smashing the machines. The Luddites, as they were called, thought that the way to get rid of their misery was to destroy the machine.

Modern Trade Unionism does not propose to deal with its problems in that way. Opposition to scientific methods of production is an obsolete and futile way of attempting to protect the workers' standards. The tendency in modern industry towards the formation of large-scale combinations, the elimination of waste, whether of raw material, power, or human personnel, and the greatest use of mechanical power, are not without their acute problems for labour. But the Trade Union Movement is prepared to face those problems and propound its ideas as to how they can be solved. We should not overrate the difficulties which lie in the way, but neither should we under-estimate them. The least discerning of us cannot disguise from himself the far-reaching changes which are taking place all around us. I ventured to say at the Swansea Trades Union Congress that even now we may be in the throes of an industrial revolution as drastic in its effects upon our national life as was the industrial revolution which began in the latter part of the 18th century.

Some people are apt to look too complacently upon the situation, and console themselves with the thought that gramophones, artificial silk, electricity, motor engineering, and other of the new industries are thriving. So they are, but the industries which have always been looked upon as the life's blood of the country—coal, iron, and steel, heavy engineering, shipbuilding, cotton and woollen

textiles—have all been suffering in these eight years of awful trade depression. Certain of our more discerning industrialists see in the present period a transition stage. For myself I believe that the tendency is unquestionably in the direction of a wider diffusion of the ownership of industry, together with something more nearly approaching public control. I doubt whether it is possible to draw any strict analogy between democratic control in the political sense and the organisation and management of industry. But I am confident that the problems which accompany the concentration of industry into fewer units of enormous size must be solved along the lines of greater safeguards for the public, against abuse of power by monopoly, and stronger safeguards for the workers in an extended measure of control over the conditions under which they work.

Human relations are not static, nor are human institutions. They do not stand still. The system which we call capitalism has changed in its form in the last 100 years tremendously, and has adapted itself with remarkable flexibility to changing conditions. That it will change even more in the next few generations cannot be doubted.

The representatives of the Trades Union Congress and the employers in what has been popularly known as the Mond-Turner Conferences have set themselves to face what is recognised to be the greatest problem confronting the country at the present time; the restoration of industrial prosperity, and with it the progressive improvement in the standard of living of the population.

It is important that this last point should be clearly understood. Unless the purchasing power of the workers' wages is increased progressively, as the productive power of industry increases, unless his working hours and his general conditions of employment are steadily improved, it means that social inequality, industrial instability, and injustice must increase. The benefits of higher producing power should be reflected in higher wages, which means greater purchasing power for the mass of the people, and a greater demand for commodities.

The very comprehensiveness of the Mond-Turner discussions has aroused public interest to a remarkable degree. I have no doubt that the discussions have at the same time aroused hostility among sections of employers

and Trade Unionists. To the one they represent a dangerous encroachment on the employers' preserves. To the other they represent a "selling of the pass" and "a bolstering up of capitalism" by the Trade Union representatives. To those employers I would say, "think over your responsibilities; the alternative to co-operation is conflict. If you reject the opportunity of utilising the brains and constructive ability of your workers, and of entering into frank and unreserved recognition of their Trade Unions, you are provoking and prolonging conflict." That type of employer has his counterpart in the Trade Unionist who contends it is not the task of our movement to concern itself with the fortunes of industry. Its sole business they say, is to strengthen its power as a fighting force, and to struggle with the employer all along the line for improvement. Paradoxically enough, they believe that no substantial improvement is possible so long as capitalism remains. To them I would say, "the Trade Union Movement has to deal with its problems here and now. It cannot postpone its attempts to effect improvement until the advent of a new social order."

Remember that bad as things are to-day for many thousands of our fellows, they are incontestably better than were the conditions of 50 or 100 years ago. Competent economists have estimated that *real* wages, that is to say, wages as measured by what they will buy, were four times greater at the end of the last century than they were at the beginning. That was not accomplished without effort. We must not sink into a morass of pessimism, but must constantly strive for improvement.

The Trade Union Movement has refused to take the revolutionary path of forcibly overthrowing the system. As throughout its history it has progressively raised the standard of life of the worker, so in the new conditions which face it to-day it will avail itself of every opportunity to ensure that the claims of the workers for adequate remuneration, security of employment, and a voice in administration will be fairly met. It is entering into no "pacts" or "alliances" which will fetter the freedom of the workers, but it is determined not to bury its head in the sand, and, subject to proper safeguards, it is ready to contribute its quota to the efficient and commonsense organisation and administration of industry.

The Sack of London

THE FINANCIERS FORCE THE PACE

By

J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

WHEN, after the Battle of Waterloo, General Blucher was welcomed to London, the wonder with which he regarded its enormous wealth drew from him; so it is said, the exclamatory comment: "What a city to sack!" True or not, and however apposite at the time that it was uttered, that remark returns to our minds when we note the impudent manœuvres whereby the vested interests, who have arrogated to themselves the title of "the City," are going about their business of securing the transfer of London's trams to the Traffic Trust.

Faced with the prospect, at no distant date, of a coincident establishment at either end of Westminster Bridge of a Socialist administration, with the Labour Party in a position to take over into the ownership of the L.C.C. and associated public authorities, the suburban and the central railway and road transport services, it is no cause for surprise that those who have the means, now that there is yet time, will the end of the great enterprise which is the London County Council Tramways.

Sooner or later the appalling congestion of traffic will compel the replacement of so-called private enterprise, and the already restricted competition of road carriers by a central control and a unified administration of all these public utilities. On that all parties are agreed. The consensus of opinion is that the people of London cannot wait much longer.

Conservative and capitalist, convinced that the Labour Party is coming into office and into power, have decided to make not only a virtue of necessity, but to assure, by early action, that virtue shall not remain its own reward. Conscious of the growing discontent of the men and women in the suburbs to the north, the east, and the south-east, with the utter inadequacy of railway accommodation, which flared up in the Ilford by-election, the Tories are doubtless desirous of being able to offer next year the electoral bait of an improvement in the travelling facilities in those areas into which, as yet, the Underground has not extended its electric train services.

According to an official of the Railway Companies' Association the railways, other

than those belonging already to the Underground group, "are coming into the pool." This is to be formed for a fixed period of 42 years. The Tories on the London County Council Special Committee on Traffic claim that their discussions of the matter have been based on the principles of the report of the London and Home Counties Traffic Advisory Committee set up under the London Traffic Act passed in 1924 by the Labour Government.

"Based on" is well put. The principles of that document, signed, amongst others, by Ben Smith and John Cliffe, of the Transport and General Workers' Union, committed to the principle of a co-ordination of the traffic undertakings. They did not commit to more than the establishment of a common fund and to co-ordinated control. The new step, so far as can be judged at this stage, goes the full length of transferring, in fact, if not in name, the L.C.C. Tramways to a new holding company, completely dominated by the Underground and the other great railway companies.

So soon as ever the four railway companies obtained from Parliament sanction to embark upon the road transport business, in a Press interview a spokesman of the Railway Companies' Association implied that they would seek, by taking interests in existing undertakings, to avoid still further adding to the press of traffic upon the roads. This intimation that the four railway companies are coming into the pool along with the Underground, itself already collaborating in the ownership and operation of the London and Suburban Traction Company Limited, with the British Electric Traction Company Limited, which controls through the British Automobile Traction Company Limited over a score of road transport companies all over the Kingdom, points to a state of harmony having been arrived at between the steam railways, the electric railways, and the 'bus companies.

The first fruits of this process of rationalisation we now observe in their common assault on the finest publicly-owned tramway undertaking in the country. The same system of rationalisation of road and rail transport, tried out in the London area, might very soon be applied in such regions as Middle Scotland,

South Lancashire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, the Potteries, and Birmingham, and the Black Country.

The mills of Toryism, like the mills of God, grind slowly, and, it might be added, cumbrously, but they grind surely and exceedingly fine.

The identical ideas that found embodiment in the Electricity (Supply) Act, 1926, are governing the minds now evolving the measures providing for the transfer of trams to the Traffic Trust. Municipal ownership has had its day, and served its purpose so far as capitalism and Conservatism are concerned. The experimental stages are at an end, and electricity supply and electrification of transport now require areas of application neither as wide as the nation nor as narrow as the borough.

Tied into one another as the railway and road transport systems may be, connected one with another in "the grid" of high-tension cables, as the electricity supply areas are to be, common stock holdings in legally distinct corporations set up and regulated by nominees of the Government appointed for long periods from the ranks of the interests will give to the latter the opportunity slowly, but surely, to strangle such municipally-owned undertakings as may be permitted to survive within the new fabric of State-aided capitalism.

The preparatory work put in by the financiers in anticipation of the acceptance by the Government of their ideas as to what form should embody the substance of their supremacy, complicated as it has been, is of so great, because so sinister, significance that all earnest in constructive endeavour to establish Socialism must be asked to give it some attention.

These specialists, who handle for the governing class the whole business of their immense international investments, seeing to it that, however, stupid or indifferent their clients are, they shall not see their assets squandered or their values dissipated, have not only become acutely aware of the revolutionary influences on industrial processes and property forms of the new technique of post-war production, but been at immense pains to neutralise its negative and to avail themselves of its positive effects.

To the British capitalist class, with its economic power resting so directly on the century old technique of coal furnace, water boiler, and steam engine, no menace ideological has had the terrors of this impact of a new

technique such as that which electricity carries everywhere along with it. Since it could not be turned back permanently, it must be countered until it could be controlled.

The instrument of government must be wrenched from the hands of those industrial capitalists of a new world who were transforming their war factories into electrical engineering works, what time they looked to Lloyd George to put at their disposal the finances of a country to be made fit for heroes to inhabit. Then, credit must be cut off from those who had in their possession the new machinery of production so that they would need to yield it to those who had alone authority over money.

That process has been effected by the private and the public servitors of the ruling class, i.e., by the high financiers and the Conservative statesmen during the eight years elapsing since the banks commenced, in 1920, the deliberate deflation of credit.

Prior to this, the great basic industries were organised under the direction of those elements in the realm of "big business," who had been borrowers rather than lenders of money. Since the revival of enterprise in company promotion, trade expansion and industrial initiative, the control has been exercised pre-eminently by investment trusts, insurance companies, and what are loosely termed "the banks."

Most people imagine that these are the "big five"—Barclays, Lloyds, Midland, National Provincial, and Westminster. These, however, are at most intermediaries, with a foot in both camps, doing business with the industrialists, but less and less on their behalf, and more and more on behalf of the merchant and investment banks who, in their turn, become ever more international and impersonal in their composition and control.

Nowhere is this type of undertaking more evident than in the finance of electricity and of electricity in its application to transport.

The very technique of electricity generation and distribution as these have become more perfect has rendered such a dependence on enormous and extremely fluid finance absolutely unavoidable. The materials used in generation and distribution derive from a chain of industrial processes carried on often in several continents. The current sent out from the generators and transformers serves not one tool in one man's grasp, one factory driven from a single engine-house, but the whole complex mechanism of civilisation in whole countries.

The tool gave us the one-man business and the family firm. The machine, steam driven, gave us the company competing with its rivals in the commercial chaos of industrial capitalism. The processes and appliances of the electric age swamp the company in corporations and complexes of corporations that reach down into every type of productive enterprise up to tap every channel of credit.

The Underground Electric Railways of London Limited and the British Electric Traction Company Limited, the two holding companies which, along with the Metropolitan Railway Company, control the privately owned and operated electric railways, tramways, and bus services of the London and suburban area, are particularly notable illustrations of this new concentration of capital called into being by the electricity and electric transport technique.

The first named has on its board directors of these among "the big banks"—Lloyds, Martins, the Midland, the Westminster, and the Bank of London and South America, and of these among "the business banks"—Baring Brothers, Barnato Brothers, Robert Benson and Company, Helbert Wagg and Company, and Kuhn Loeb and Company (New York). It shares, in addition, directors with the North British and Mercantile and eight other great insurance companies, with the Finance Corporation of Great Britain and America Limited and, at least, fifteen other investment trusts. There are on its board, also, directors of the International Sleeping Car Share Trust Limited, United Railways of Havana, Great Western Railway Company, Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and of four South American and two Mexican railway companies. Vickers Armstrong Limited and Sir W. G. Armstrong Whitworth and Company Limited are represented, and Imperial Chemical Industries Limited twice over.

Both the Underground and the British Electric Traction Companies have affiliations through the North Metropolitan Electric Supply Company Limited, and the latter, through Edmundson's, with Samuel Insull's concern, the Greater London and Counties Trust Limited.

The British Electric Traction Company Limited has in its stock list and represented on its board a bewildering galaxy of all that is most influential in investment trust finance in London.

The International Sleeping Car Share Trust Limited, which virtually controls the Compagnie Internationale des Wagons Lits,

that makes up the great express trains which traverse Europe in every direction, has for deputy chairman Lord Ashfield; for another director, the new chairman of the Prudential Assurance Company; for a third, a director of the Banca Commerciale Italiana, mainstay of Mussolini and Sir E. Wyldbore-Smith, of the super-trust in Brussels, known as La Société Financière de Transports et d'Enterprises Industrielles.

To this last named I am indebted for "a close up" of its world-wide ganglia of electricity finance corporations whose financial and industrial tentacles I must not try to trace lest I drive my readers mad.

It must suffice to quote from the *Financial Times* (20 October, 1928) a comment upon its latest incorporation:—

"Among the founders are the Banque de Bruxelles, the Banque Jose Allard, the Acieries Burbach, Lazard Brothers (London), the Midland Bank, Messrs. N. M. Rothschild and Sons (London), British Shareholders Trust, Mr. F. D. Docker, Mr. E. R. Peacock (of Baring Brothers, London), the Electric and Railway Finance Corporation (London), and Vickers, besides powerful banking and industrial companies in the United States, Spain, Germany, France, Italy, Holland, Hungary, and Czecho-Slovakia.

"According to the Brussels Press, the new company is the outcome of negotiations which were initiated by the late Mr. A. Loewenstein. The creation of an international and inter-Continental electrical trust, aiming at a monopoly of the electrical and allied industries, was one of his schemes."

Mr. F. D. Docker founded the Federation of British Industries. Lazard Brothers have "brought off" the "Beam" Wireless and Cable Merger.

Mr. A. Loewenstein was financed by S. Japhet and Company Limited, which is the up-to-date incorporation of Sir Basil Zaharoff and the Cassel millions. The man who married the only daughter of Sir Ernest Cassel is known to us all as Lieut.-Colonel Right Hon. Wilfrid Ashley, Minister of Transport.

The Minister of Transport will presumably sponsor the legislation for transferring the L.C.C. trams to a company controlled by the Traffic Trust.

The Financial Trust of Transport and Industrial Enterprises seems to see the light at a significant and, indeed, auspicious moment.

The Workers' Part in the Campaign against Rheumatism

By

WINIFREDE T. THOMPSON

DURING the months of October and November of this year two bodies, one national and one international, have been formally constituted, both of which may, if the workers seize the opportunities opened to them, be of very great importance and benefit to the workers—particularly to the organised workers—all over the world. Each of them has been functioning in a tentative and provisional manner for three years, and already has worked out its plan of campaign on rather revolutionary lines. The national body is the Association for Combating Rheumatism in Great Britain, and the international body is the International League Against Rheumatism, which consists essentially of the appointed representatives of national associations or committees in the various countries, including the U.S.A., Germany, Russia, France, the Scandinavian countries, Austria, etc. This organised campaign is the child of an international society of medical men, mostly physicians at watering places, "The International Society of Medical Hydrology," and was organised, in the first place, by a sub-committee of its Council on British and Dutch initiative. It is significant of the widened horizons of purely professional bodies that such a medical society should have originated a movement of so great social importance, but it is still more interesting that it should, from the very first, have realised the absolute necessity of working in close co-operation with all the bodies interested in social legislation and insurance. Thus the British committee has always included, in addition to representatives of the Ministry of Health and the L.C.C., representatives of approved societies. Germany's National Association for Combating Rheumatism also includes representatives of the various sickness and disablement insurance authorities and organisations, Russia's committee representation of the Commissariat for Public Health, and all the other European committees are in more or less close touch with the Ministries of Health or of Social Welfare in their respective countries. The time has,

however, now come when the support of the organised workers' movement as a whole for the campaign is of vital importance.

But first a word about the actual objective. Rheumatism is, in one sense, something everybody understands, and in another something that nobody understands. The Rheumatism Committees prefer to use a term which is at once wider and less general, and to talk about the *rheumatic diseases* (or, as suggested by the German representative, Dr. Zimmer, diseases of the organs of movement), including in this grouping everything from gout to sciatica, with the exception of tubercular disease of the joints. This is the grouping adopted by the British Ministry of Health in its 1924 report on "The Incidence of Rheumatic Diseases,"* which has done so much to arouse interest here and abroad, and it has the advantage of including a number of complaints not always distinguishable in their early stages, and all needing much more careful diagnosis and treatment than they now receive. This group of diseases is of extraordinarily wide incidence. Natives in the almost untouched villages on the banks of the Amazon were found crippled with it, but it is more frequent and severe in the colder, damper countries such as Holland, Germany, and, worst of all, in Great Britain, where it is the disease which causes the greatest total amount of suffering and disability.† It takes its toll of all ages and all classes. For this group of diseases contains varieties of the most widely differing causation from over-eating or drinking to starvation and exposure.

All that the doctor can as yet explain to the layman about the nature of the rheumatic diseases is that they are the result of a hitch or breakdown of the chemistry of the bodily functions, causing a condition of inflammation, more or less localised, and of varying character or intensity, sometimes acute and transitory (as in rheumatic fever, though that may leave serious heart trouble behind it), more often chronic and of long duration. Some of

* No. 23 of the Ministry of Health Reports. Price 2s. 6d.

† It has double the incidence of tuberculosis in East Prussia.

the factors producing these inflammatory states can, however, be pointed out, and they have been summed up by Dr. van Bremen. the Dutch Secretary of the International League, and others as under : (a) constitutional causes such as defective circulation and inherited weakness ; (b) external and preventible causes such as (1) unsuitable nourishment ; (2) chronic inflammatory troubles in other parts of the body than the muscles or joints affected with rheumatism, including dental troubles, swollen tonsils, appendicitis, and other digestive disorders, disturbances of the sexual organs, whether by infectious disease or other causes (particularly at the change of life in women) ; (3) exposure to damp or chill, including work under extremes of temperature ; (4) strain and bad posture ; (5) shock. It should be noted that not only are many of these external factors preventible, but the kinds of rheumatic affection to which they give rise are mostly curable by the removal of the cause and subsequent treatment.

Although the rheumatic diseases are so widespread in their incidence, although they cause so great a burden of suffering and are the cause of so very large an amount of expenditure in disablement allowances, or of loss to or drain on family incomes,* yet it is a group that has so far received little public attention, and extraordinarily little is done for its relief. Various factors have contributed to cause this neglect : in its chronic forms it generally comes on gradually ; it is not, like tuberculosis or venereal disease, a cause of danger to the rest of the community ; it is the disease which the patients are most apt to try and cure themselves by means of patent remedies ; it is supposed by far too many people to be inevitable and incurable.

The real fact of the matter is that rheumatism, if treated in time and intelligently, is one of the diseases for which the most can be done. There is no dramatic race against time, and there is need for great patience and perseverance. Further, nature has provided its own remedies, in particular the warm springs of mineral water so widely spread about the inhabited world. Where patients can be treated at an early stage of the disease by drinking and bathing in these waters, good results almost always accrue. But there are not nearly enough opportunities for the treatment of insured workers or other less well-to-do patients, and where such opportunities do exist, as in the Devonshire

Hospital at Buxton, the Royal Mineral Water Hospital at Bath, the Royal Bath Hospital at Harrogate, in England, and such institutions as the Landesbad at Aachen in Germany and other hospitals abroad, far too many of the patients are sent for treatment when the disease is so far advanced that only alleviation is possible, or else sent without preliminary treatment in the way of removal of the external causes of rheumatic trouble, such as bad teeth or infected tonsils. The same is true of the clinics for physical treatment in industrial centres, where water treatment is also applied as a substitute for Spa treatment.

The campaign against rheumatism has two main aspects. The doctors and pathologists have to investigate and experiment in order to search out the so far unknown causes of the disease, and to discover the best methods of applying the methods of treatment now known and the best new methods still unknown. But it is for the public, and particularly for the representatives of any sections of it that are specially interested, to see that the non-medical part of the campaign is carried on, and to co-operate with the doctors on the large common field of medical and social effort. In particular the workers' Trade Unions, whether in their general organisation and through their political activities, or more narrowly in their approved society sections, have a great part to play, both in the spheres of prevention and of treatment.

The *prevention* of rheumatic disease consists in the removal of all factors known to be causative. Part of this prevention is a matter of *factory legislation* and the setting up of international standards through the International Federation of Trade Unions (or the separate trade secretariats) and the International Labour Office, so as to prevent any unnecessary exposure either to damp or chill, through the provision of proper ventilation and dressing accommodation, the provision of rubber footgear, etc. Part of it is *housing reform*. Part of it is *study of working strains*. The strain on a machine is worked out with the utmost accuracy, and the workers ought to set their minds to devise (with the best expert assistance possible) means of estimating and avoiding undue strain. Such matters as the height and relative position of parts of a lathe or loom, the amount and balancing of weights carried, the avoidance or twisted or one-sided positions, etc., are all matters on which the workers are able to give valuable information. Such a study has been

* Sir Walter Kinnaird at the Bath Conference estimated the total loss in Great Britain at £17,000,000.

carried out in Germany in regard to the employment of pregnant women, and it can be carried much further. Another important point, on which much stress has been laid by Professor Krebs, of Germany, is the *prevention* of *entry* into industries or trades in which the worker is exposed to factors predisposing to rheumatic disorders (such as some branches of the metal industries) of lads or girls who are constitutionally of the "pre-rheumatic" (to borrow a word from the tuberculosis campaign) type—chilly subjects with poor circulation, children from rheumatic families, etc.—or of children with a history of rheumatic fever or chronic rheumatic troubles before the age of school leaving. The German proposal is for the existing Vocational Guidance offices to take this responsibility, armed with the school and school-leaving medical records, and in co-operation with the doctors working with the insurance organisations, some of which in Germany are confined to single firms or industries.

The workers' organisations also have to take their part in the entire overhauling of the present provision of treatment. Not only must it be greatly increased, but it must be radically improved. At present very little is done for rheumatism compared with tuberculosis, although the incidence is greater and the sum spent in disablement benefits far greater.* Some means must be found of bringing the benefits of Spa treatment within the reach of a far greater proportion of insured workers, and physical treatment centres of other kinds and in other localities must also be provided. While these larger demands involve State action, whether (as suggested in the discussion held in London by the International Society of Medical Hydrology on October 10) by actual nationalisation of the springs or by other methods, preparation for them and plans for their organisation, possibly also financial contributions out of general funds, are matters for Trade Union activity. This is a matter not merely for the approved society sections.

But in the meantime there is much that the approved societies can do to use better the means of treatment already available, and the

chief thing is to institute at once an attempt at the provision of *early treatment*. Members can be encouraged to seek medical advice rather than cutting coupons out of the newspapers. The Health Insurance Commissioners can be urged to press for more exact medical reports of members on benefit. All this will prepare the way for the *regular system of diagnosis* and treatment that must be instituted. It must in the near future be possible for the panel practitioner who finds a patient suffering from incipient chronic rheumatic trouble to pass him on to a consultation centre, where specialist examination takes place, and where he is ordered whatever treatment—town clinic treatment* by waters, electricity, curative gymnastics, etc., or Spa treatment, or surgical intervention, or a combination of these—may be found necessary. All this sounds terribly expensive, and approved society secretaries pull long faces. But what must be remembered is this: an early case may need three or four weeks' treatment, perhaps repeated once or twice after an interval; a neglected case may need nine months or more in hospital; an established case may require disablement benefit for life, and a possibly long life. Again, an early case is not a hospital case for in-patient treatment. Hostels for Spa patients need be little more expensive than holiday homes. One German Trade Union home at Bad Elster, in Germany, can charge just under 4s. per day per head. It would pay the approved societies to run their own hostels, provided they could make arrangements with the Spa for treatment and medical advice—say, out of the high season—and put their members back on to the working list again.

It is not every day that the medical profession asks for the workers' co-operation as intimately as is done in this rheumatism campaign. On the extent of that co-operation, nationally and internationally, the success of the campaign against rheumatism depends in a very real way. In Great Britain the workers have more say in the running of Health Insurance than in many others, and it is for them to make the running for their continental comrades.

* Sir Walter Kinnaird's estimate was a total of £5,000,000 of sickness and disablement benefit. In London in one year 370,000 insurance patients were under medical care for rheumatic disorders.

* Plans for the Red Cross London clinic are already far advanced, and support will be needed.

The Strategy of the Communist International

By

EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD

IN the last issue of the *LABOUR MAGAZINE* the possibilities and probabilities underlying the programme and methods of the Communist International were examined in the light of objective conditions, and of the historical data of the last decade.

Hardly less important than the main question of the objective factors of struggle, is the subsidiary question of strategy and tactics.

The advancing army of Labour and Trade Union democracy is continually subjected to attacks from the rear. Political enemies seek to enter our ranks in the guise of friends, so as to more effectively disrupt our ranks. Those who would effectively deal with these political opponents must first of all understand the strategy and tactics underlying their system, especially if, as in the present case, those tactics present any inherently new departure from currently accepted standards.

The tactics and strategy of the Communist International, indeed, do present an extremely wide divergence from anything currently and commonly accepted as political standards in this country.

Even, if objectively, the Communist programme was capable of realisation, it is a question as to whether or no it would not be hopelessly handicapped by the system of strategy and tactics with which it is saddled by its Muscovite chiefs.

Since the original Machiavelli propounded the art of Government in the pages of "The Prince," there has been no such large scale subtle advocacy of what may be commonly referred to as "dirty underhand methods," as is to be found in the programmes and practises of the adherents of the Communist International.

We have met glaring examples of these tactics in practice, the classical example being the famous "United Front" tactic, of which more anon, but the fundamental political philosophy underlying these tactics has never been fully comprehended or understood by its victims.

The unifying, underlying thread which ran through the methods and tactics advocated in "The Prince" was that the end justifies the means, and that artfulness, deceit, subterfuge, and intrigue, if sufficiently cleverly executed,

are altogether more effective political tactics than honesty and straightforwardness.

Exactly the same principle, or lack of principle, underlies the strategy and tactics of the Communist International. The need of this body to make its strategy and tactics thoroughly understood by its million or more adherents, compels them to publish the fullest directions and details on this head through the medium of their programme. If we turn to Section VI. of the new programme, "The Strategy and Tactics of the Communist International: the Road to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," we can learn enough to grasp the key to much that is puzzling. The following extract from this section lays down the main principles to be followed in determining tactics:—

"In determining its *tactical* line, the Party (i.e., Communist Party) must take into account the concrete internal and external situation, the relation of class forces, the degree of strength of capitalism, the degree of preparation of the proletariat, the attitude of the intermediary classes, etc. The Party formulates its slogans and determines its methods of work in accordance with circumstances. In the growing revolutionary situation the Party must advance TRANSITIONAL SLOGANS AND PARTIAL DEMANDS (my caps) as determined by the concrete circumstances, but it must subordinate these demands and slogans to its revolutionary aim of SEIZING POWER AND OVERTHROWING BOURGEOIS CAPITALIST SOCIETY. Isolation from the every day needs and the everyday struggles of the working class, and restricting the activities of the Party to these everyday needs and struggles are alike impermissible. The task of the Party is—starting out from these needs—to lead the working class into the revolutionary struggle for power."

The above extract from their programme should be learnt by heart by everybody who would understand the Communists. Whatever they do, say, or advocate, everything is subordinated to the real genuine aim of "*seizing power and overthrowing Bourgeois Capitalist Society.*"

All slogans and demands trimmed in accordance with circumstances, all slogans and demands, however innocuous they may seem in themselves, are really part and parcel of

the scheme for the "revolutionary aim of seizing power and overthrowing capitalist bourgeois society." You start with the everyday needs and struggles of the workers and use them "to lead the working class into the revolutionary struggle for power." The next time the Glasgow Committee of the Communist Power declares for taxation of land values as part of its programme, or the Party Headquarters declares for a "Hands Off China" campaign, it is well to remember that these transitional slogans and partial demands are not put forward because they are sound in principle or have any inherent good of themselves, but just because they are momentarily suitable for following the devious path the Communist strategicians desire the workers to tread—the path that ends in the inevitable bloodbath as the aim and goal of all their efforts.

The student who ponders over the above phrase, must be appalled at the moral cynicism underlying it. Suitably paraphrased it may read, "Topical Catchwords and Seasonable Bait for the Henry Dubbs." . . . Fish with a Mayfly in May, but with a Lugworm in September. . . . Shout for a transitional slogan, and while you are shouting, you will find the direction of the hunt changes, and you are left gaping while your comrades are off in some other direction lustily bawling the next transitional slogan on the list. Strive for a partial demand, not from any inherent rightness in the partial demand, but as a dodge for attracting the masses in the slack times.

The programme then proceeds to outline the tactics to be pursued "when the revolutionary tide is flowing," such as setting up Soviets, Soldiers' Councils, etc., and continues:—

"In fulfilling these tasks and *taking up new and more acute slogans*, the Party must be guided by the fundamental rule of the political tactics of Leninism, which calls for the ability to lead the masses to the revolutionary positions in such a manner that the masses *may be convinced of their own experience of the correctness of the Party's line.*" The people who thought out the publicity campaign for "Poor Little Belgium" in the late world war had nothing on these "strategicians" at all.

The programme then clearly proceeds: "When the revolutionary tide is not flowing, the Communist Party, in accordance with the everyday needs of the toilers, **MUST ADVANCE PARTIAL SLOGANS AND DEMANDS**, develop them, and link them up with the fundamental tasks of the Communist International. **REFUSAL TO ADVANCE PARTIAL DEMANDS, AND TRANSITIONAL SLOGANS IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE TACTICAL PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNISM**, for

this dooms the Party to inactivity and cuts it off from the masses. In this connection the tactics of the UNITED FRONT represent an important part of the tactics of the Communist Party throughout the pre-revolutionary period."

This gives it plainly in black and white exactly what the Communists are doing in Britain to-day. The revolutionary tide is not flowing, so they are busy with the transitional slogan and the partial demand, not because they care a hoot for the transitional slogans, or a bean for the success or otherwise of the partial demand, but so that the "Party shall not be doomed to inactivity and cut off from the masses."

This is the irresponsible principle on which the Minority Movement makes its programmes, on which the various industrial sections of the Minority Movement base their demands. Not because the Communists care a fig whether the engineers get a £1 advance or not, but as good Mayfly bait for fishing in May to attract the masses with something succulent, something to keep their attention while they lead them up the garden to where the machine guns will ultimately go phut-phut-phut, the said masses being convinced by their very pleasant walk up the garden of the "correctness" of their position while being slaughtered by the said machine guns.

The Communist leaders in Britain write and talk a lot about their local programmes for Britain.

It is well in advance to always treat all such programmes with the contempt they deserve. All such programmes, such as that of the Minority Movement and its industrial sections, are looked upon by the Communists themselves merely as transitional slogans and transitional demands, artfully designed to entice the artless worker down the path the Communists desire him to tread. Mr. J. T. Walton Newbold, writing in *Forward* under date October 6, 1928, deals with this point with great clarity and economy of words. "But they (i.e., the Communists) know better than themselves to honestly avow their strategy. It is behind the screen of manœuvre, consisting of the Purcells, Hicks, Cooks, Maxtons, and others of the Left, that they work forward. The Left is to lead the workers into battle—and into defeat—to a tune that starts with a chorus of approval of their honesty, and trails off into a torrent of execration at their cowardice."

So important do the E.C.C.I. consider their clever Machiavellism of this business of duplicity, masquerading as partial demands and transitional slogans, that the programme crosses the t's and dots the i's of this aspect of

the matter by closely detailing the partial demands and transitional slogans that should be attended to.

The E.C.C.I. programme proceeds: "These partial demands and transitional slogans include—in the sphere of the labour problem in the narrow sense of the word, the economic struggle (resistance to the offensive of trustified capital; wages; the working day; compulsory arbitration courts; unemployment growing into problems of the general political struggle; big industrial conflicts; right to strike; the rights of the Trade Unions).

Then follow questions of an immediate political character (taxes; high cost of living; Fascism; persecution of revolutionary parties; white terror, the policy of the Government in power, etc.)

Finally, these problems must be linked up with problems of world politics: attitude towards the U.S.S.R., Chinese Revolution; fight for the unity of the International Trade Union Movement (*sic*); resistance to imperialism; combating the danger of war and systematic preparation for combating imperialist war, etc."

We see here quite clearly, then, that to the Communists the tasks and problems which are to us definite steps to the evolution of Socialism are merely items of temporary strategy that have to be completely subordinated to the ultimate aim of provoking heavy Civil War between the workers and the capitalists. Their attitude to these matters is judged wholly and solely by what kudos and prestige they can draw from them that will aid them in staging the great blood-bath. Rejecting, entirely without logical reason, any possibility of a bloodless evolution to a decent condition of society, they misuse all problems of advance as negligible pawns in a great political game, of which the be-all and end-all is the heavy Civil War. Problems of wages, unemployment, Fascism, working hours, are lumped together amongst transitional slogans and partial demands, to be utilised for the purpose of wresting political advantage from rivals. The way this is done with all such questions is probably best illustrated by taking the "United Front" as a specimen of their tactics and examining their system in its light.

Possibly the classical example of a transitional slogan we have yet had is that of the "United Front." It is such an astute move of Machiavellian adroitness that it deserves further notice. What it pretends to be is an appeal for Communist workers and Socialist and Labour Party workers to form a United Front for attacking the common enemy—

Capitalism. The phrase is, of course, borrowed from ordinary warfare. For example, the British and French and Belgians formed a "United Front" against the German attacks with unity of command and unity of collective effort. It presupposes common loyalty to a common aim. It presupposes the temporary sinking of mutual differences in a common effort. The fundamental idea of a United Front rules out internecine treachery among the allies of the United Front. The Ulster Civil War faction—Carson, Galloper Smith and the rest, made a common front with their erstwhile enemies, the Asquith Liberal Cabinet, against the Germans. That did not mean that either the Ulsterites or the Asquithians gave up their right to their point of view. It merely meant that they agreed to hold over their differences until such time as their more pressing common enemy had been dealt with.

This United Front that the Communists propose, never had, and never will have the slightest real resemblance to the United Fronts mentioned above. It pretends to be a united front to attack the common enemy, Capitalism. Actually the Communists never had the slightest hopes that any effective advance against Capitalism was to be made by such methods. They neither wanted an advance or hoped for an advance. All they wanted to do was to gull the mass of the workers into believing they wanted these things and that they were obtainable by making a "United Front."

Instead of that, their "United Front" was conceived and directed, first, last, and all the time, not against Capitalism, but as a tactic designed to give them a position where they could discredit and supplant the leaders of all workers not under the Communist Party banner.

It was as if the French had formed a United Front with Great Britain and Belgium, not for the sake of beating Germany, but for the sake of supplanting British and Belgian generals and officers and getting British and Belgian soldiers to fight under French officers for France.

The real enemy of these "United Front" fakirs was not Capitalism at all. The real enemy against whom the tactic was directed were the leaders of the Labour Party and Trade Unions, in order to discredit them and attract their membership. The tactic was conceived with that aim, and that aim solely in mind. Its efficaciousness is judged wholly and solely by the degree, not in which advance is made against Capitalism, but by the degree in which the tactic is effective in dishing Labour

and Trade Union leaders. The Communists advertised to the workers at large that substantial advances were to be anticipated from forming a United Front. All the time they knew perfectly well that no advances whatever would accrue, nor had they any intention whatever that such advances should be gained. The actual gaining of such advances would have upset their plan of campaign entirely. The whole plan was that they should pretend to have a United Front, pretend to meet to discuss plans for common action, and then turn round and say in effect, "Look, these leaders won't agree to a general strike at once; they are traitors to their class; it is their fault the United Front has not succeeded!"

This United Front tactic is just a weapon in what they term "their historic task of discrediting the leadership of the Reformist Trade Unions and Labour Parties." For that purpose the weapon was conceived, and in that spirit it has always been put into practice.

Now this variety of conspirators may employ this dodge once with honest and straightforward and unsuspecting rivals, but they cannot employ it twice. Crooks, big and little, can always make a haul the first time, because honest men do not suspect them to be crooks. Jimmy Whitehead can steal the jam from the pantry once—he will not steal it twice—for the second time the pantry door is locked.

He gained the jam it is true, but lost something far greater, his own character for honest and straightforward dealing, so that the second time, if some doughnuts are missing, everybody raises a shout at once: "Hi, Jimmy Whitehead, you been and had those doughnuts?"

The Communists are in exactly like position to the small boy caught stealing jam. Not that they repent of their underhandedness. On the other hand, they glory in it and write long theses on the tremendous importance of what they term "transitional slogans and partial demands" as part of the essential strategy of stealing the jam. Topical catchwords and seasonable bait for the Henry Dubbs as part of the essential strategy of fooling the workers.

I am old-fashioned enough to believe that honesty is the best policy, that character and reputation is infinitely more important than temporary advantage, that it is silly and infantile and stupid to steal jam, and do dirty underhanded tricks because you get the reputation of a jam stealer, and of a sly, twisty, undependable fellow.

The verdict of history is by no means to the effect that those who depend on subterfuge and trickery are the ones to gain their aims. In big mass political issues the reverse is probably the case. The Slave Abolitionists in America, who carried on a campaign for 30 years before gaining their political objective, employed vastly cleaner and more honest methods than those advocated by the Communists. The Sinn Feiners in their successful campaign to supplant the Irish Nationalists as leaders of the Irish nation, kept their hands decently clean while they were about their job. To resurrect Machiavellism as an essential part of the strategy and tactics of Communism is to hopelessly smirch the ideal of Communist society.

Society in general deals with crooks by taking their finger prints and casting them out. The Communists, by the adoption of crook methods, are inviting a like fate. They may howl because their number is taken and they are expelled from the organisations of decent workers. Let them howl in the wilderness until they repent their ways.

The only sound method of dealing with the campaign of Communist intrigue and trickery, is by a policy of expulsion. The National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks, by passing their recent resolution that no branch officer or official of the society may be a Communist Party member or Minority Movement member, has shown the way to purge the ranks of the workers' organisations of political Machiavellis.

And, indeed, there is no other way. Tolerance, good nature, just and open-handed dealing are wasted on those with whom underhandedness, trickery, and double-dealing is part and parcel of their declared political creed.

The Moscow Communists have made many mistakes in their time, and may make more yet, but probably the most serious mistake they made was to endeavour to graft a sixteenth century conception of tactics and strategy on to the traditional British psychology for honest and straight dealing. Much water has flowed under bridges since Machiavelli's day, and in the meantime we have learned that principle pays better than expediency, and that character pays better than trickery. The Communist programme is an impossible dream from purely objective considerations. It is doubly damned by advocating a strategical and tactical system that repels every moral and upright man and woman.

In the "Eight-fifteen"

ON WORDS THAT ARE SMOOTHER THAN BUTTER

By

T. S. DICKSON

"OLE man Baldwin *has* some brass on his face, he has!"

Up from behind the morning newspapers popped half-a-dozen heads—said heads being the topmost sections of passengers travelling from Propriety Suburb to Grubtown by the Eight-Fifteen a.m., L. M. S.

Six pairs of eyes turned to the Man with the L. M. S. Badge in his Cap, he being the person who had submitted the estimate of the metalliferous content of the countenance of Mr. Stanley Baldwin, Prime Minister, by the Grace of God, and the stupidity of the electors.

"I beg your pardon, sir," came frigid and frosty from Mr. Hardphace, a Tory who loves his country no end, provided that financial matters are not irrelevantly introduced. After all, business is business!

"I said" repeated the Badge, flinging down the gage of battle "that Ole Man Baldwin *has* some brass on his face—and then some. Seen his speech at the Tory conference in Scotland?" he demanded.

"I have," answered Hardphace with heavy emphasis; "and just what was needed, too, at Glasgow—that nest of Socialist scorpions." He snorted viciously. "What puzzles me is that Glasgow can send so many Socialists to the House of Commons in face of such speeches by Mr. Baldwin."

"And what puzzles me," retorted the Man with the Badge, in imitative monotone "is that the waters of the Clyde didn't rise up and drown 'im."

"Sir!" protested Hardphace.

"Same to you—with knobs on," said the Badge, irreverently.

"That speech"—came the even voice of the Man with the Briar, as he laid aside his *Daily Herald*—"was a bit cool, to put it very politely."

"A most conciliatory and sympathetic speech," defended Hardphace.

"When he speaketh fair, believe him not," quoted the Briar.

"Proverbs?" interposed Mr. Hesitant, an old-time Liberal, with a portrait of Gladstone over his mantel-shelf at home and a distrust of Lloyd George in his heart.

The Briar nodded. "Baldwin always makes me think of the war-god, Mars, with a dove

resting on his fore-finger—a contradiction whose speeches declare one thing and whose actions declare the opposite."

"Drop the metaphors and talk plain English," demanded Hardphace.

"Call 'im a blinkin' twister," counselled the Man with the Badge, always ready to oblige in a matter of that sort.

The Man with the Briar raised a pacifying hand. "Just consider the facts. Here is a man who tells his Glasgow audience that we are in the midst of an industrial revolution, that such a revolution means incalculable hardship, and that in such circumstances 'The heavy end of the stick always falls on those who are least able to bear it.' Then Baldwin added, 'They deserve our sympathy.'"

"They most certainly do," echoed Hardphace.

"Sympathy!" growled the Badge, "'ow would you like a plate of *sympathy* for your breakfast if ye was hungry? Like to see you takin' a few yards of sympathy to the tailor and askin' 'im to make a suit of it. Sympathy! It don't cost nothin'—and that's why Baldwin is so ready at givin' it."

"But what else can the man do?" protested the Young Man with the Purple Socks.

"That is precisely the point," said the Briar. "What else can he do?"

"Can't do less than he's done, anyhow," rumbled the Man with the Badge, still simmering in anger.

"Well, let us look at it calmly," advised the Briar. "Mr. Baldwin referred to the revolution that took place in industry over a century ago. We had for example, the power loom hurled like a bomb among the hand loom weavers. It burst, and scattered the weavers into poverty, hunger, and distress, while at the other end of the scale, a few men amassed great fortunes. Apparently, if we are to accept Mr. Baldwin's view, a century of experience has taught us nothing—our social sense is as dead as ever—every advance of science, organisation, and the power of production is to bring a recurrence of devastating poverty that swept the weaving communities. Those least able to bear it, he says, are to bear the heavy end of the stick, and all that he has to offer is—sympathy! A pathetic exhibition!" exclaimed

the Briar, scornfully. "If that is all the common people can expect from inventive genius and industrial organisation, there ought to be a society for the Strangling of Genius at Birth."

"Don't be absurd," sneered Hardphace.

"Pardon me," returned the Briar quietly "I am not in the least absurd. If inventive genius brings hardship, and *must* bring hardship, then it is our social duty to see that no genius is permitted. Mr. Baldwin apparently believes that it must bring hardship, but I don't. It is not the genius that is wrong; it is the capitalist method of using that genius. And you, and Baldwin, and the Tory Party believe that that wrong method of using it must go on. Therefore, all you can offer those who suffer from your method is—sympathy!"

It was obvious that Hardphace was becoming fogged, and at last he said desperately, "But what else can be done?"

"Use every new device, invention, and increased productive power to extend the leisure and the purchasing power of the mass of the people, instead of making these a machine for adding enormously to the wealth of a few and throwing thousands of men on the scrap-heap."

"That is merely your opinion," countered Hardphace: "And of one thing I'm certain, the workers will have more faith in Mr. Baldwin's honest desire to help them than in your Socialist nostrums. If things are not as good for the workers as they might be, then they know that it is because Mr. Baldwin—or anybody else—is powerless in the grip of hard economic fact. If he could help, he would. The workers know *that*, at any rate."

"As to whether Baldwin is powerless or not, let that pass. But if he is, if poverty and suffering must come in consequence of those economic forces, it gives him all the greater opportunity to prove that his sympathy is real, and not just so much oratorical froth. What has he done to assist those upon whom, according to his own admission, the heaviest end of the stick always falls? He has deliberately added to the weight of the stick."

"Monstrous!" fumed Hardphace.

"Absolutely true" said the Briar doggedly.

"I'm afraid so" echoed Mr. Hesitant, the Liberal.

"You know" continued the Briar (producing the body for the view of Hardphace), "that there are at least a hundred and thirty thousand more men and women unemployed now than there were when the Labour Government left office? There's ample scope for practical sympathy if you like? What has Baldwin's Government done, with his knowledge and support? Deliberately reduced the allowances of people who are already living on the verge of

starvation! In the poverty stricken areas, Borough Councils supply needy mothers with meals and milk! His Minister of Health has cut down the Government grants made for that purpose, and Councils have had to reduce the assistance so given."

"Suffer little children to come unto me—so long as they don't ask to be fed," interjected the Badge.

"Stop your blasphemy" came the shocked voice of Hardphace.

"Blasphemy by deed is worse than blasphemy by word," admonished the Briar. "But let us get on. At the same time as Baldwin was thus showing his 'sympathy' for the poor and the unemployed, what was he doing for those who have 'the light end of the stick' in times of industrial 'revolution'? Reducing the income tax by over thirty million pounds a year and giving a gift of ten to twelve millions a year to men who are so rich that they have to pay super-tax—men whose average income works out at £80 per week. What is the use of Stanley Baldwin pretending sympathy for those who get the heavy end of the stick, when he undeniably adds weight to that stick, and uses the power of his Government to give gifts to those who get the light end of the stick?"

"That's all very plausible," stammered Hardphace with suppressed rage, "but these reductions in super-tax and income tax are necessary for the provision of capital, and work out for the good of the workers in the long run."

Meantime, the Briar smiled cynically. "It is always so. When Baldwin added another hour to the miners' working day, it was for the benefit of the miners! When he passed his Act to cripple the political power of the workers, he pretended it was to liberate the workers from a tyranny! He prates about the great housing prowess of the Tory Government, and cuts down the subsidy assistance without which local authorities cannot carry on! He mouths phrases of goodwill and sympathy, and his entire record is a denial of his sincerity."

"He will be honoured and remembered when your Socialist leaders are forgotten," shouted Hardphace.

"And his epitaph will be a combination of the 55th Psalm and the Fifth Chapter of Amos," said the Man with the Briar:—

"THE WORDS OF HIS MOUTH WERE SMOOTHER THAN BUTTER . . . AND HE TURNED ASIDE THE POOR IN THE GATE FROM THEIR RIGHT."

"Grubtow—n!" sang out the voice of a deep-chested porter as the Eight-Fifteen slowed down.

"Thank Heaven!" growled Hardphace, as he made a vicious dive for his hat.

THE

LABOUR MAGAZINE

*Official Journal of the Trades Union Congress
and the Labour Party*

Editorial Offices : TRANSPORT HOUSE (SOUTH
BLOCK), SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W. 1.

Telephones : VICTORIA 3016-7-8

Telegrams : LABREPCOM, CHURTON, LONDON

SIXPENCE MONTHLY, by post 7d.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION 7s.

BY the German initiative at Geneva in September, the evacuation of the Rhineland has been brought into the foreground of the practical politics of Western Europe. If the French reception of Herr Stresemann's speech of November 19 reflects the policy of the Quai d'Orsay, the prospects of an acceptable settlement are remote. Failing a settlement, we shall be plunged into a crisis of the first magnitude, which will test the policy of Locarno in its very foundations. Politically and legally, Germany is on very strong ground. Her present claim for immediate evacuation might have been put forward with real justification after the conclusion of the Locarno Treaties. But they were satisfied with the evacuation of the first zone, which in itself was an admission that Germany had given proofs of her goodwill and satisfactory guarantees to ensure the fulfilment of her obligations. The new German Parliament is the expression of the swing to the democratic and pacific left in German politics. The Cabinet considers that the moment is propitious to claim the immediate evacuation of the entire occupied territory. This claim, says Herr Stresemann, is not dependent upon the solution of other problems nor upon any other conditions. Germany could not consider assuming, in return for evacuation, political obligations extending beyond the Treaty period of occupation (1935), nor purchasing it with compensations of a financial nature. This is also the standpoint of international Socialism. If Germany had not fulfilled her disarmament obligations, the first zone would not have been evacuated. If

German membership of the League and the conclusion of the Treaties of Locarno are not evidence of general good faith and do not give the French a sense of security, what would be accepted as security? The Allies specifically stated in 1919 that the period of occupation would not last until the reparations clauses were completely executed. This goes without saying. Reparation payments may extend over a period of 30 years. The Treaty period of occupation is fifteen years. In any event, the German payments are effectively controlled by the Dawes plan and the London Agreement, which contain guarantees for the execution of Germany's reparation obligations and the penalties which may be imposed in the event of default. All this is self-evident to British statesmen, although it may be veiled by diplomatic reticence out of regard for French goodwill.

* * *

THESE truisms constitute, to the political leader writer of *Le Temps*, a most radical statement of the German claims. Their public re-statement at the present moment is held to be a manœuvre in internal politics, which is equivalent to taking the offensive in foreign policy. We ought not, says this writer, to close our eyes to the fact that they have produced *abroad* an extremely unfavourable, even disturbing, impression. It would be better, he says, to renounce any final settlement of the Reparations and Rhineland problems in the present circumstances than to admit Herr Stresemann's claims as a basis of discussion. He interprets the speech as an attempt to exploit the possible differences between France and England and to make use of the British declarations in favour of the evacuation of the Rhineland, which, in the opinion of the *Le Temps* leader writer, are somewhat imprudent. This retort reveals the sensitiveness of French opinion to the validity of the German demand, even in international law. If these differences of opinion are not settled quickly by a political solution, they will have to be settled by process of law. Germany may bring the question before the Council of the League, which may obtain an advisory opinion of the Permanent Court of International Justice on the legality of the occupation. There is no doubt in Germany and Britain what the opinion would be. But a political solution, if

it comes quickly, is to be preferred. The occupation cannot be defended on moral or political grounds. British troops will not remain in the Rhineland until 1935. The occupation is a diminishing asset to the French Government. They may seek to bargain now. They will have nothing whatever to bargain with in 1935. If the Germans put their standpoint firmly and without ambiguity now, it will give them the right to negotiate on a basis of dignity, and not "on their knees."

* * *

WHILE it is of vital importance to keep before the minds of everybody the fact that there are, and have been for a long time, between 1,250,000 and 1,500,000 unemployed workpeople, it is not justifiable to argue from this fact that British industry as a whole is at a standstill. On the contrary, it can be proved that it provides work for an increasing number of people year by year. An analysis of the state of employment in the insurable industries issued by the Ministry of Labour shows that there are more people employed in this country to-day than ever before, and that though unemployment remains an outstanding and terribly depressing factor in the industrial system, it must not be taken as an indication that industry has ceased to expand. The Ministry's statistics show that during the last five years there has been an increase of over 1,000,000 in the number of workpeople employed in a large number of industries, and a decrease of over 600,000 in others. We do not wish to infer from this that all is well in the world of industry. The outlook for industry is very serious, and will remain so while the basic industries continue to decline.

* * *

ONE of the industries most severely hit by decline in trade is, as everybody knows, the coal mining industry. It is impossible to lay too much stress on the gravity of the position of this industry. It is one of our staple trades, and, next to agriculture, has been our largest single industry. Much is being done by voluntary action to relieve the terrible suffering which is so widespread in the mining areas, and we would not wish to under-rate the value of this work. But this can give only temporary relief, and the need for re-

organisation of the industry becomes more urgent and more difficult as the time passes. The same applies to others of our basic industries: the general engineering trades, the iron and steel trades and shipbuilding and ship-repairing industries are all suffering from the slump. It is here with these industries that the real problem lies. The outlook for them is not hopeless, but it is foolish to ignore the fact that their decline must diminish very considerably the effects of the expansion in other industries. Even here, however, the Ministry of Labour figures show that the decline is not in all cases continuous. Nevertheless, the position of these basic industries is such that whilst their depression continues the country cannot be said to enjoy economic health, or is barely convalescent after the terrible affliction of the last seven years.

* * *

SOCIAL Insurance is becoming a question of great importance to the workers, and the Social Insurance Committee of the General Council has been considering the best method of awakening the interest of the movement in this question. A number of Acts of Parliament have been passed at various times, and are administered without regard to one another, with the result that we find all kinds of anomalies existing, and what is really the same problem is dealt with in different ways by the different Acts. The General Council is now of opinion that the time has come when a comprehensive social code, covering all the contingencies of the workers' life should be put into operation in this country. It is well-known, too, that there are powerful outside influences always at work endeavouring to secure complete control of social insurance schemes and manipulate them to their own advantage, and to the disadvantage of the Trade Unions and the workers as a whole. The General Council is urging that steps should be taken to ensure that every Trade Unionist is a member of his Trade Union Approved Society, that every Trade Union Approved Society should be affiliated to and actively associated with the work of the National Association of Trade Union Approved Societies, and that all Trade Unions, whether administering State Unemployment Benefit or

not, should be affiliated to the National Joint Standing Advisory Committee on Unemployment Insurance.

* * *

IN order to ensure that the workers shall have the fullest possible information about these developments, the Standing Advisory Committee on Social Insurance has arranged a series of conferences to be held in various parts of the country. It is hoped that as a result of these conferences the workers will give keen attention to this all-important question of social legislation which has more to do with the regulation of their lives than anything else. The conference for the London area has already been held with most satisfactory results, and others have been arranged at Exeter, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Cardiff and Glasgow. There can be little doubt that the discussion at these conferences will be of great assistance to the General Council in arriving at a common policy on this question which will be acceptable to the unions as a whole. Social insurance admits the principle of communal responsibility for the individual, and, therefore, its development should be on the lines of more and not less communal responsibility, apart from any question of mere profit-making. What the Trade Unions have to do is to combat the idea that private enterprise has the right to make profit out of the community, for while that idea prevails it is useless to expect any real protection for the workers.

* * *

THE last session of the present Parliament has opened, and the Government has begun as though it means to make it as reactionary as its four predecessors. The King's Speech was practically barren of any important measure of social reform, and the Factory Bill—to which the Government was pledged by repeated declarations—was omitted. The greater part of the Session is to be devoted to the notorious De-Rating Scheme, with a few reactionary proposals like the handing over of the State wireless and cable communications to private enterprise and the threatened reduction of the housing subsidy thrown in by way of makeweight. The Cable and Wireless affair is one of the biggest scandals that Parliament has been asked to sanction for many years, for

both the economic and strategic welfare of the nation are being sacrificed in order that a "good turn" may be done to a group of financiers and speculators in the City. Granting that the present position in regard to the question of Imperial Communications is not satisfactory, the course that any Government worth its salt would have taken would be to group the cable systems around the State Beam Wireless system as one large service under Government control, thus preserving to the community both the safety of Imperial Communications and also the economic gain that is likely to accrue, whilst also guaranteeing that there will be no exploitation of the cable and wireless user. The threatened further reduction of the housing subsidy is just what would be expected from a Government like the present, for the last reduction which it effected had the immediate effect of reducing by more than one-half the number of working-class houses erected and of increasing by more than one-half the number of builders out of employment. The policy will strike most thinking people as a very queer one indeed for solving the urgent problem of housing the people. The de-rating scheme is dealt with fully on another page, but it only remains to be said that every single argument with which the Government are trying to justify the scheme has already been shattered by Labour's spokesmen in the House of Commons.

* * *

WHILST the Liberals and Tories are talking and thinking about pacts and alliances and coalitions for the next election, Labour has fixed its eyes on one objective, and one objective only—the securing of an independent Parliamentary majority which will enable it to carry out its programme for the social amelioration of the people. The National Executive of the Labour Party have decided that candidates shall be run in every constituency where the local organisation expresses a desire that this shall be done, and it is anticipated that nearly 600 candidates will be in the field when nomination day arrives next May or June. Already much greater progress has been made in fixing up candidates than in any previous election preparations. Progress is being made, too, in connection with organisation and publicity, and whatever happens

to the other parties, Labour will not be caught napping when the day arrives. Whilst the other parties are shivering with fear at the prospects of defeat and annihilation which await them, the results of the by-elections and the enthusiastic reports from our people in the country fill us with hope. In all there have been 53 by-elections since the last general election, and whilst at the general election only eight of these constituencies returned Labour M.P.s, the number that returned Labour representatives in the by-elections was 17. In these constituencies, therefore, Labour has more than doubled its representation. The same story of progress is told by the results of the municipal elections that have taken place during the last four years. In that period Labour has won no less than 635 seats from its opponents, despite the fact that in many cases the Liberals and Tories have combined in an attempt to keep out Labour. Lord Rothermere has already prophesied that "a Socialist majority in the next House of Commons is a certainty," and Mr. Garvin, of the *Observer*, has warned the other parties that "Socialism is rising fast," that the "Tory Party will lose more seats than its managers suppose," and that "the increase in the Socialist vote at the next election will surprise the other two parties, and may stagger both of them."

* * *

INCIDENTALLY, the rather surprising admission by the *Daily Mail* that the advent of a Labour Government at the next election would be a good thing for the country is worth placing on record. In its leading article on October 21 in the Continental edition the *Daily Mail* said: "In certain respects distinct benefit might accrue to the country from the arrival in power of a Labour Government. . . . The Labour Party is the only one with no past to live down as regards the farming community. . . . Another direction in which the country might with confidence expect a Labour Government to render service to Britain is in the domain of foreign politics. During the past 18 months a succession of grave diplomatic blunders on the part of the present Government has threatened to compromise our friendship with America. Last year the Geneva Naval Conference, by an incredible piece of bungling,

was allowed to fail for want of intelligent preparation. This summer has seen a lamentable display of shuffling and concealment in the matter of the Anglo-French naval compromise." If the *Daily Mail* has made as much progress as this since the last election, how far along the road towards Labour must millions of electors have travelled?

* * *

ON the question of Safeguarding, the Tories seem to be getting deeper and deeper into the mire. Under pressure from the Diehards of his Party, Mr. Baldwin has been compelled to reverse his previous decision whereby the iron and steel industries were excluded from applying for safeguarding, and he has promised that in the event of his being returned at the next election the cases of iron and steel will be duly considered. So much for that. But Mr. Baldwin had previously said that the safeguarding of iron and steel would interfere with his promise not to use safeguarding for the purpose of introducing a general tariff, and as he has also renewed this latter promise his present position is about as contradictory as can be imagined. Furthermore, while with the voice of Mr. Baldwin the Cabinet is assuring the Free Trade electors that safeguarding will not be allowed to develop into general protection, another voice (that of Mr. Amery) is attempting to placate the Die-hard Protectionists with the promise that "There will be no limit either to the character or the number of industries that will be able to secure safeguarding." And the Tory Chief Whip, Commander Eyres Monsell, is telling them that "as the country would not have Protection all at once they would have to take it a bit at a time, which was being done by safeguarding industries." Finally, a further voice from the Cabinet, that of Colonel Guinness, the Minister of Agriculture, is admitting that Protection would send up prices to the consumer, and that, as a matter of fact, the only reason why the British farmers wanted protection for their industry was so that they could raise their prices. Rarely has the Government made so humiliating an exhibition of itself as it did when Labour indicted it on the inconsistency and futility of its fiscal policy during the course of the debate on the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne.

A Diary of Parliament

November 6

Parliament reassembled. Mr. Wedgwood Benn (Aberdeen, N.) and Mr. A. Bellamy (Ashton-under-Lyne), new Labour members, took their seats. King's Speech said De-rating Scheme would be main measure of the Session. Factory Bill, which had been repeatedly promised for four years, was omitted.

November 8

Mr. Clynes moved following Labour Amendment to the Address: "But regret that, although Your Majesty's advisers have had four years of office with a commanding majority in Parliament, general election pledges remain unfulfilled, the country is burdened with the problem of unemployment in a more acute form; in many mining areas appalling conditions prevail, the proposals outlined in the Gracious Speech are utterly inadequate to meet the existing industrial situation, and ignore the need for improving the conditions of labour, and in particular, regret that the oft repeated pledge with respect to factory legislation is unredeemed, and that it is the declared intention of your Majesty's advisers not to honour it during this Parliament."

Debate on this Amendment continued until November 12, when it was rejected.

November 13

On Liberal Amendment to the Address on the Anglo-French pact, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald criticised the Government's foreign policy, which, he said, was damaging our credit in Europe.

November 14

Mr. Snowden moved the following Labour amendment to the Address: "But call attention to the omission from the Gracious Speech of any reference to the recently announced policy of the Government party urging that the earliest possible steps should be taken to safeguard additional industries, and especially the iron and steel industry, and to the Prime Minister's declaration that no partial measures, such as the extension of the Safeguarding of Industries Act, can meet the situation, and respectfully submit that the most effective way to deal with the competition of countries where Labour conditions are low is by international action to raise those conditions."

The Government announced that iron and steel would be allowed to present its case for safeguarding. Labour Amendment rejected.

November 15

Unemployment Insurance Bill.—Owing to the huge increase in unemployment under Tory rule, the debt on the Unemployment Insurance Fund had increased by £25,000,000 since the present Government came into office, and the Bill provided for the extension of the £30,000,000 borrowing limit by a further £10,000,000.

November 20

In reply to a question, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health said that during the first

two and a-quarter years' operation of the Contributory Pensions Scheme, the total contributions paid in by the State, by employers and by the workpeople, amounted to £51,219,000, whilst the total pensions paid out (including administrative charges) amounted to £18,626,000. The contributions paid in by the workers alone during that period amounted to £21,589,000.

On the Western Highlands and Islands (Transport Services) Bill, which stipulated that the crews of the steamers in those Scottish districts need only consist of 75 per cent. of British subjects, Labour Members moved an amendment requiring the whole 100 per cent. to be British. Every Tory M.P. in the House voted against the Labour amendment, and it was defeated.

November 21

Imperial Telegraphs Bill introduced by Government, to sell the State-owned cables to a private combine—part of the scheme under which they are also leasing the State Beam Wireless Service to the combine for a period of 25 years.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald moved the following amendment for the rejection of the Bill: "This House declines to assent to the Second Reading of a Bill which sacrifices public utility to private gain by disposing of valuable State undertakings to private interests, and is of opinion that the introduction by the Government of such a measure in the last days of a dying Parliament violates sound constitutional practice."

The Labour amendment was rejected and the Bill was read a second time.

November 26

Local Government Bill introduced by the Minister of Health. Labour moved the following amendment for its rejection: "This House declines to assent to the Second Reading of a Bill which, whilst amending the law relating to poor relief, perpetuates the evils of the Poor Law system and extends the vicious practice of unrepresentative persons being nominated to membership of elected bodies, makes no provision for the prevention of destitution, fails to make unemployment a national responsibility, and will not appreciably relieve the financial position of necessitous areas; will arrest the normal and steady development of local health services by the establishment of fixed block grants from the Exchequer and the imposition of a charge for treatment in hospitals, especially maternity hospitals, proposals calculated to increase the already high mortality amongst mothers; inaugurates a system of rating relief that will be unfair in its incidence; and, by failing adequately to reimburse local authorities for loss of revenue, will add to the burdens of shopkeepers, householders, and other ratepayers."

The debate was continued on the two following days, when the Labour amendment was rejected, and the Bill was read a second time.

The Liberals were divided on the Bill. Twenty-three of them voted with Labour against the Bill. Seven voted with the Government in favour of the Bill. Fourteen did not vote at all.

The De-Rating Fiasco

LABOUR SHATTERS THE GOVERNMENT'S SCHEME

A FEW days before he introduced his notorious Local Government Bill into the House of Commons, Mr. Neville Chamberlain said that anybody who did not understand it was advertising either his laziness or his stupidity. It was very unfortunate for Mr. Chamberlain, therefore, that on the third day of the debate devoted to the Bill's second reading, Mr. Sidney Webb should have demonstrated that even Mr. Chamberlain himself was not conversant with the provisions of the measure.

The very interesting little incident in the course of which this disclosure was made arose in connection with Mr. Webb's point that patients in municipal hospitals were to be charged under the Government's scheme with the cost of their maintenance and treatment. Up jumped Mr. Neville Chamberlain to deny Mr. Webb's allegation, and to point out that maintenance only was being charged for, and not treatment. But Mr. Webb, calmly referring to the text of the bill, read out the words "maintenance and treatment," from the text of Mr. Chamberlain's own measure, whereupon the Minister of Health subsided, and his bubble reputation for precision and accuracy vanished into thin air. It was only one little incident, but it was typical of many that have occurred during the debates, in which Labour has beaten the Government in argument all along the line. The brilliant speeches of Susan Lawrence, Sidney Webb, Philip Snowden, William Graham, Pethick Lawrence, George Lansbury, Arthur Greenwood—who moved the rejection of the second reading—and many others, shattered the Bill fore and aft, and destroyed practically every argument and submission on which the Minister of Health was relying for the justification of his scheme.

The Government were able, of course, to secure a comfortable majority for the second reading by whipping up their reserves, but it is significant to notice that no less than 42 Tory members neither voted for the Bill nor paired.

As usual, the Liberals were divided, seven of them voting with the Government, 23 with Labour, and 14 not voting at all.

THE SCHEME.

The general outlines of the Government's whole de-rating scheme are by this time fairly

familiar. It has called for the introduction of three legislative instruments.

The first was the Finance Act, 1928, which imposed a tax of 4d. a gallon on petrol for the purpose of creating the pool of revenue from which the Government will make grants to local authorities to reimburse them for the losses which they will sustain as a result of De-rating.

The second was the Rating (Valuation and Apportionment) Act of last session, which specified that industrial hereditaments should be relieved of 75 per cent. of their rates, agricultural hereditaments should be relieved of 100 per cent. of their rates, and freight transport hereditaments (railways, etc.) should be relieved of 75 per cent. of their rates, with the proviso in this last-named case that the relief should be handed on in the form of freight reductions on coal used for the iron and steel industry and for export purposes, and also on certain classes of agricultural foodstuffs and fertilisers.

The third and final legislative instrument in connection with the scheme is the Local Government Bill now before the House. Its main purposes are to abolish the Boards of Guardians, to hand over the administration of the Poor Law to County Councils and County Borough Councils, to effect certain other rearrangements in the duties and responsibilities of local authorities, and to specify the basis on which the National Exchequer will reimburse local authorities (1) for the losses that they suffer as a consequence of de-rating and (2) for the losses that they will suffer in consequence of the abolition of certain Assigned Revenues and Block Grants that they have been receiving hitherto. This basis is defined by means of a very elaborate and complicated formula, to the defects of which reference will be made later.

GENERAL CRITICISMS.

Nearly every important feature of the scheme is open to serious criticism and condemnation.

There is, of course, something to be said both for the abolition of Boards of Guardians and for the lifting of rate burdens. But the present Government, as with everything it tackles, has gone about the matter in the wrong way in every respect, and has bungled the matter about as badly as could be imagined.

(1) Whilst abolishing the Boards of Guardians it has not abolished the Poor Law system with all its bad deterrents, but on the other hand has merely taken the administration of the Poor Law out of the hands of Boards of Guardians—on many of which Labour was well represented—and has transferred it to County Councils, many of whom are reactionary bodies almost entirely dominated by Tory landlords.

(2) Its de-rating relief to so-called "productive" industry is being distributed indiscriminately and indefensibly without any regard to the need of the recipients. As shown in *THE LABOUR MAGAZINE* of July last, wealthy brewers and big employers in many types of luxury industry are to receive what are in effect huge State subsidies, despite the fact that they may already be making huge profits and distributing huge dividends. On the other hand, the industries that really do need relief are being inadequately dealt with, as much of the money that they could do with is being squandered on the industries that do not need it, and householders and shopkeepers are omitted altogether from the various categories of ratepayer who are to be entitled to relief.

(3) The freight relief that is being given on export coal will be, in effect, a direct subsidy to the cotton and woollen and other manufacturers in Germany and France and elsewhere abroad who buy British coal. British manufacturers will not get a similar subsidy, because their coal will have to pay full freight rates, and so they will be saddled with the burden of fighting against foreign competitors who are virtually being assisted with a subsidy paid by the British taxpayer. The Tories call this Statesmanship. Many people will call it folly.

(4) The formula which governs the Exchequer Grants to local authorities is so fundamentally unsound that when it comes into full operation—after the expiration of the Supplementary Exchequer Grants that are to palliate its harsh effects during the early years of the scheme—many hard-hit industrial towns will have their rates increased considerably, while wealthy seaside resorts will have theirs lowered.

(5) Moreover, as the Exchequer grants are only to be reviewable at five-yearly intervals, local authorities will have to bear a large portion of the increased burden—in the form of higher rates—due to the expansion of their social services during the five years, or alternatively they will be deterred from undertaking those expansions.

(6) There is a very real danger that services like Maternity and Child Welfare will be prevented from developing to the required extent,

and the fear of this is even shared by Tories like Lady Astor.

(7) The fact that the year 1928-29 is being chosen by the Government as the "standard year" upon which the new Exchequer grants are to be calculated, means that the grant received by many local authorities will be far below what they will really need during the next five years, as owing to trade depression they have been forced to "economise" in many services and to reduce their expenditure to an artificially low level, far below their real requirements during this particular year which is being adopted as the "standard."

(8) In respect of patients who enter municipally owned hospitals or maternity homes for treatment after the scheme comes into operation, the local authorities are to be compelled to send in a bill for the cost of maintenance and treatment. The result will be to frighten many patients away from the hospitals, and to deter them from taking treatment, especially in the early stages of their ailments, when treatment might be most profitably undertaken.

(9) The subsidy to agriculturists—the relief from the remaining 25 per cent. of their rates—will mean that landlords will be able to put up rents by that amount, as the farmer will be able to afford to pay that much extra, and the sale price of land will be increased accordingly. This may account for the warm welcome that the Landowners' Association have officially accorded to the Bill.

FINANCES OF THE SCHEME.

The basic financial arrangements of the scheme are fairly easy to understand, though whether the actual figures prepared by the Government are reliable is another matter!

There is to be constituted an Exchequer "pool," out of which the Exchequer Grants to local authorities will be distributed. The pool will consist of:—

(1) A sum of approximately £24 million (raised from the Petrol Tax in the last Budget), for recompensing local authorities for the losses that they will suffer by the de-rating of industrial properties in their areas.

(2) A sum of approximately £16 million, which at present is paid by the National Exchequer to local authorities in the form of certain assigned Revenues and percentage grants on road and health and other expenditure. In future it will be diverted to the pool, and distributed out of that pool to the local authorities in accordance with the general formula governing the distribution of the pool.

(3) A sum of "new money," originally fixed by the Government at £5,000,000, but now increased to about £7,000,000. The National Exchequer is putting this "new money" into the pool ostensibly for the purpose of meeting the losses of local authorities, due to the expansion of their services during the five-year period.

Items (1) and (2) will remain stereotyped for all time, but item (3) will be varied to meet the changed conditions at the end of every five-yearly period.

This "pool" idea is full of defects, and the local authorities have not been slow to notice the fact. The following are some of the main objections, as put forward by Labour members during the debate.

In the first place, owing to the fact that each local authority is not going to have handed back to it out of the £24,000,000 in Part (1) of the pool the precise amount of its own de-rating loss, but is merely going to take pot-luck as to the amount it gets in the general sharing-out under the formula, there is a very real fear—born out by the actual calculations that have been made—that many local authorities will not have made up to them the full amount of the de-rating loss that they are suffering. The demand was, therefore, put forward—unsuccessfully, however—that the de-rating portion of the pool should be segregated and not mixed up with the Health and Highway and other grants, and that every local authority should have returned to it the actual amount that it loses.

In the second place, the abolition of the percentage grants, especially in regard to Health and Maternity and Child Welfare, will remove one of the main incentives which has brought about the progressive development of those services, and reactionary authorities may be tempted—now that their grant is to be a fixed "block" one, and not a percentage one dependent upon the actual amount of money that they spend—to curtail the development of these services, and spend the money on roads and in other directions, or to reduce the rates by not spending it at all.

In the third place, all the local authorities in the country are unanimous in stating that the £7,000,000 or so of "new money" that the Government are placing in the pool, ostensibly for the purpose of meeting local authorities' losses due to expansion of services, will not be sufficient for this purpose. The obvious consequence will be that progressive local authorities will be penalised and many necessary expansions of the social services will be postponed, or else the burden will have to be shouldered primarily by the ratepayers who have not been de-rated, the shopkeepers and householders.

In the fourth place, the stereotyping of the Exchequer Grants for five-yearly periods will impose considerable hardships upon the ratepayers of many local authorities.

The Urban District Councils Association says: "In the case of rapidly developing districts, the stereotyping of the grants for a

period of five years will undoubtedly cause serious hardship."

The Rural District Councils Association adds: "Whereas in the case of many grants to-day, the Government bears its share of increased expenditure year by year, the stereotyping of the grants under the new scheme will mean that the Government will always be five years in arrear of contributing to any increased expenditure."

And Mr. Philip Snowden says still further: "I have never seen any statement made which has been an answer to this point—that the de-rating of industrial property is going to increase the amount of rates borne by other classes of ratepayers. I suppose that we shall get new industrial districts in the future. New factories will arise rated at only 25 per cent., but involving enormous expenditure to the local authority in respect of new streets, water supply, and other services. Until the next quinquennial period the whole burden of this increase is going to fall on the local authority, and a far heavier burden will fall on the properties that are fully rated."

A further consequence of the concentration of the increasing expenditure of local authorities on the backs of the smaller group of non-de-rated ratepayers was lucidly illustrated by Mr. Pethick Lawrence during the course of the debate on the second reading. Speaking with special reference to the case of a local authority which wished to increase its expenditure on maternity and child welfare services, he said:—

"Suppose, as an example, that a local authority is spending at the present time £10,000 a year upon maternity and child welfare services and that half of that is being paid out of the National Exchequer. Let us suppose that, copying more progressive authorities, they decide to increase the amount spent on these services until it reaches £30,000 a year. Under our present system the Exchequer Grant would increase in the same proportion and, therefore, the amount that would fall upon the rates from the three-fold expenditure would also be three-fold what it was before.

"See what happens under this Bill. If the total expenditure is going to increase from £10,000 to £30,000 the local authority had previously to find £5,000 of that, but now it will have to find £25,000 or five times as much. £20,000 of new expenditure will fall upon the local authority, so that the increase due to their determination to increase these services will multiply by five the expenditure from rates for these services.

"That is not all. Under the de-rating scheme the rates on all the agricultural and industrial hereditaments will be cut out or reduced so that you may expect a fall of 20 or 30 per cent. in the yield of a penny rate.

"As a result not only will the amount that the authority have to find be increased five times, but the rates measured in pence to the pound will have to be increased some seven times to cover that sum. This has to be compared with the threefold increase under the percentage grant."

THE FAMOUS FORMULA.

The electors have heard much about the complicated formula by which the grants from the Exchequer Pool are being distributed among local authorities. It is supposed to apportion them between the different local authorities on the basis of "need"—but it does not!

Stated simply, the formula takes into account the following factors with regard to each of the counties and county boroughs concerned, and adopts these as the basis of "need" in each case:—

- (1) Population.
- (2) Number of children under five years of age.
- (3) The high or low rateable value of the area per head of the population.
- (4) Unemployment.
- (5) Sparsity of population.

The only way to judge the complicated formula is by the way it will work out in practice. Judged by this, it stands condemned. For instance, out of every £100 distributed in Government Grants, the operation of the formula will mean that—

	£
<i>Population</i> will govern the destination of.....	37·4
<i>Number of children under five</i> will govern the destination of.....	28·4
<i>Lowness of rateable value</i> of an area will govern the destination of...	16·6
<i>Unemployment</i> will govern the destination of.....	2·8
<i>Sparsity of population</i> will govern the destination of.....	14·8

How can it be said that a formula is a true guide to the "needs" of local authorities when the factor of unemployment is only allowed to count for less than £3 out of every £100?

Further proof that there is something very radically wrong with the Government's formula as a means of assisting the "needs" of the various areas is provided by examples of the way it would work out in certain cases. Hard hit industrial towns like Bradford would lose 16d. per head, and Rochdale 6d. per head under the full operation of the formula, for instance, whilst seaside resorts like Southend would gain 37d. per head, Brighton 28d. per head, Blackpool 14d. per head, Eastbourne 12d. per head, and Bournemouth 12d. per head. Among the urban districts the same tendency would manifest itself. The rates of Rugby, which were 12s. 5d. in the £ for the year 1926-7 would have gone up to 13s. 11½d. had the formula been in full operation that

year. The rates of Criccieth on the other hand, the well-known seaside resort, which were 14s. 10d. for the same year would have gone down to 13s. 2d. under the formula. All these examples are taken from the Government's own White Paper Cmd. 3134.*

Obviously, in the face of anomalous results like these, it is impossible for the formula to be defended as a true assessment of "need." Even the Government have been compelled to realise this, but instead of scrapping the discredited formula and providing a new one, they are trying to patch it up.

They are promising that to places like Rugby, where the full operation of the formula would increase the rates straight away, they will give a Supplementary Exchequer Grant equivalent to the amount of the increase in respect of the first year. During that first year, therefore, the rates will not go up. But in the succeeding years the Supplementary Exchequer guarantee against increased rates is being withdrawn to the extent of one-fifteenth each year. After the early years of the scheme, therefore, such districts will be confronted with big increases in their rates. The "Municipal Journal"—by no means a Labour publication—in its issue of October 19 this year, page 1,619, warns the local authorities of this danger. It says:—

"After a temporary gain to be experienced during the first five years, a lean and barren perpetuity would be the fate of the West Riding and some other counties in England and Wales. At the end of 15 years the formula will have gained its full effect.

"The West Riding will then be confronted with a position in which it must choose between the reduction in the standard of its public services, or an increase in the rate charged on 60 per cent. of its ratepayers—that being the proportion of hereditaments on which the full rates levied will continue to fall."

No better example than that of the West Riding could have been selected to illustrate this weakness of the scheme. Examples of the increases in rates that the West Riding towns would have had to bear in the year 1926/7, had the formula been in full operation during that year, are given in the Government's White Paper Cmd 3227 as follow:—

District.	Increase in Rates.
Batley	1/11 in the £
Brighouse	2/2 do.
Todmorden... ..	2/6 do.
Elland	2/4 do.
Guisley	3/- do.
Heckmondwike	1/7 do.
Ilkley	1/8 do.

These are only a few of many examples that might be quoted.

Luckily, the local authorities are not allowing themselves to be deceived by the jam with

which the Government are temporarily coating the pill, i.e., the system of temporary Supplementary Exchequer Grants during the early years of the scheme.

The Urban District Councils Association say:—

"The Association have not overlooked the modifications of the proposals as regards the first, second, and the third quinquennial periods contained in paragraphs 25 to 29 of the White Paper. They consider that the merits of the new scheme should be judged solely from its effect at the expiration of the first 15 years, and that if (as the Association believe), the ultimate result of the proposals will be seriously to disturb, if not to dislocate, the work of urban district councils, the scheme is not to be commended by reason of the palliative effect of the modifications which are proposed during the first 15 years."

The Rural District Councils Association say:—

"It is suggested that more regard should be paid to the ultimate effect of the scheme rather than to the early years when these palliatives are adopted to remedy defects and inequities. Local Authorities should bear in mind that if this paragraph operates in their favour at the inception of the scheme they clearly will have an ultimate permanent burden as a result of the scheme."

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROPOSALS.

Turning from the finance to the Local Government side of the Bill, we find that it is full of injustices. One or two of those that were mentioned by Mr. Sidney Webb in his powerful speech on the Second Reading are sufficient to indicate their indefensibility.

One was that local authorities in future are to be *compelled* to send bills for their maintenance and treatment to all patients who enter municipally owned hospitals, and that if the patients do not pay up they are to be sued in the county court. Moreover, the basis for calculating the cost of maintenance and treatment, in the form in which it is laid down in the Bill, would mean in some cases that patients might be called upon to pay huge fees, for if only an average of five or six patients happened to be in residence they would have to bear the whole cost of the expense of maintaining and staffing the institution. As a consequence of these new regulations, it is more than likely that working people will be deterred from going into these hospitals for treatment, and the state of the public health will probably suffer.

Another example that Mr. Webb mentioned had reference to the discrimination between one type of patient and another. He showed, for instance, that whilst women who went to maternity hospitals for treatment for venereal disease could obtain this free, women who entered the same institutions in preparation for

motherhood were called upon to pay. Obviously that kind of discrimination cannot be defended.

There is also a serious risk of the work of the Maternity and Child Welfare Centres throughout the country being impeded as a result of the cancellation of the percentage grants that have hitherto encouraged their work and the substitution of a system of block grants for the future. After Labour members had pointed out how likely it would be that this innovation would turn back the clock in regard to maternity and child welfare work, even Lady Astor had to support their appeal for the deletion of this part of the Bill. "Everybody who is interested," she said, "knows that these services have been built up mainly through the stimulus which has come from the central authority," and she agreed that the time had not yet come for removing them from the Percentage Grant to the Block Grant basis.

Large numbers of authorities are at present only doing about half as much as they might do in the direction of maternity and child welfare work, and if the Government's new proposal for introducing a block grant is allowed to go through, many of these may not trouble to do any more in the future.

THE SUBSIDY AND TRADE.

One of the chief arguments that the Government have been using in support of the scheme is that De-rating will take a burden of £24,000,000 off the back of industry. But that, as Mr. Arthur Greenwood pointed out in moving the rejection of the second reading, is not a fair way of putting it, because in several of the industries which are going to receive relief, huge profits are being made and no burden exists. In the brewing industry, for instance, to which £400,000 a year is to be given under the scheme, many millions of pounds of profit are being made annually, and the profits of many of the leading firms are rising year by year. In these cases the rating relief will merely swell the profits. And in regard to the Government's claim that the subsidy will increase employment, Mr. Sidney Webb showed that in many of the industries which are to receive the subsidy the demand for their products is either inelastic and not affected by prices—coffin making was the typical and convincing case he quoted—or the relief is not sufficient to enable the cost to be reduced to the consumer—as in the tobacco and soapmaking industries—and, therefore, in the scores of industries that come in these categories there will be no stimulation of demand, and no consequent increase of employment; all that will happen is that the money will go into the

profit and loss accounts of the manufacturers concerned.

TORY FIGURES UNRELIABLE.

One thing that has emerged quite clearly from the debates inside and outside the House so far, is that the figures which the Minister of Health has adduced in support of his arguments and as the foundation of his scheme are not worth the paper on which they are written.

The disclosures made by Sir Walter Preston, the Tory candidate in the Cheltenham by-election, are still fresh in the public mind. He told electors that the scheme would mean £24,000 relief to Cheltenham's rates. "If it had been in force last year," he said to them, "the Cheltenham authorities could safely have reduced their rates by 1s. or possibly 1s. 6d. in the £." The Cheltenham electors bit at the bait, and elected him. But after he had been elected, it was brought to his notice that instead of Cheltenham gaining £24,000 under the scheme it would lose £42,000. He asked the Ministry of Health what they had to say about this, because he felt he "had been elected under false pretences," and he said that after a thorough investigation, the actuarial experts at the Ministry of Health gave him three contradictory answers as to what the loss or gain to the town was likely to be.

These three answers, he said, were as follow:—

(1) That Cheltenham would be worse off by about £80,000.

(2) That there would be practically no change—that the town would neither gain very much nor lose very much.

(3) That the town would gain slightly.

The third calculation, however, was found to contain an arithmetical mistake, and so the figure had to be discarded. So much for that testimony!

Further evidence of the unreliability of the figures which Tory propagandists are quoting in an effort to persuade the people of various areas that their rates will be reduced by the scheme is provided by the foreword to the Minister of Health's recently issued White Paper, which says:—

"The tables . . . have never purported to be and should not be regarded as precise forecasts of the poundage rates which would, under the scheme, be leviable on the general body of the ratepayers in particular localities."

The foreword goes on to point out that:—

The tables in the White Paper refer to the year 1926-27, an abnormal year, whereas the "standard year" on which all calculations are actually to be based under the Scheme is 1928-9.

The estimates of the losses of Rate Income that local authorities will suffer under the de-rating portion of the scheme are based on a different Assessment Roll from that which is to be the basis of the actual Scheme.

The number, for the purposes of the White Paper, of children under 5 years of age in the various localities (one of the factors entering into the calculation which apportions the Grant to local authorities), is not the number for the standard year, nor even for the year 1926-7, but for the year 1921, when conditions were far different, and when the children concerned under the scheme had not even been born.

Even Mr. Neville Chamberlain himself, in an interview with the *Daily News*, had to admit "it is impossible to get out infallible figures."

It only remains to be added that others beside the Labour Party have seen through the scheme, and it is, perhaps, worth while quoting the criticisms of the *Daily Mail* as a sample. In its issue of November 15 the *Daily Mail* said:—

"The scheme has come to mean that the ratepayer will have to make good some part of the loss incurred by remitting 75 per cent. of the rates in the case of wealthy and prosperous industries, that is breweries, cement works, and newspapers. It outrages every sense of justice that the wage-earner and small householder should be taxed to pay the money which they do not require."

And so say all of us.

C. E. L.

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Mr. Lloyd George Caught Out!

LABOUR CHIEF WHIP BLOWS HIS WILD ALLEGATIONS TO SMITHEREENS

MR. LLOYD GEORGE has been badly caught out by Mr. Thomas Kennedy, M.P., the Labour Chief Whip. At the Yarmouth Liberal Conference, it will be remembered, he made the wild allegation that the Tory and Labour Whips in the House of Commons had entered into "conspiracies" to prevent the Liberals from taking part in certain discussions. Mr. Kennedy, as the Labour Chief Whip implicated, at once demanded that evidence should be adduced in support of Mr. Lloyd George's rash statement. A correspondence ensued between the Labour Chief Whip and the Liberal Chief Whip, but the latter has failed to produce the evidence, and all the facts tend to show, as Mr. Kennedy remarks in his final letter, that "the statement made by Mr. Lloyd George can only be supported by evidence originating in his own imagination."

Mr. Lloyd George's original statement, made at Yarmouth on October 12 this year, was in the following terms:—

I offer, if challenged, to give details of conspiracies between the Tory and Socialist Whips to close a debate on an important financial measure imposing new taxation, merely to prevent Liberals from taking part in the discussion.

Within a few days of Mr. Lloyd George's allegation appearing in the newspapers, Mr. Kennedy sent a communication to the Liberal Chief Whip (Sir Robert Hutchison), asserting that Mr. Lloyd George's grievance was "purely imaginary" and demanding the production of evidence in support of the allegation.

It took the Liberal Chief Whip nearly three weeks to prepare and send his reply, and when it did arrive it was a painfully weak attempt to evade the issue. He said that he proposed to confine himself to "two instances, which would doubtless be sufficient evidence." He then proceeded to outline the circumstances of his "two instances" in the following terms:—

The first incident arose in connection with the Finance Bill of 1925, under which new taxes were being imposed, making an important departure from the principles of Free Trade, notably by the introduction of duties on silk and artificial silk, imported hops, and the re-enactment of the McKenna duties. The Second Reading Debate on this Bill took place on May 25 and was

closed by Mr. Churchill after one day's discussion, although only three members from the Liberal benches had taken part and two of the chief spokesmen on the Free Trade issue, Mr. Runciman and Captain Wedgwood Benn (who was then Liberal) had notified their desire to speak. A vote of censure on the Speaker was moved by Captain Wedgwood Benn for his action in accepting the closure after so inadequate a debate, and on that motion, which was taken on May 28, 1925, Mr. Clynes promised the unanimous support of the Labour Party to the Conservatives in opposition to Captain Wedgwood Benn. Seventy members of the Labour Party voted with the Conservatives on this occasion in opposition to the Liberals.

The other occasion I will cite took place this year. In arranging with regard to the distribution between the Labour and Liberal Parties of the Supply votes, it had been settled that the Labour Party would take the Foreign Office vote on May 10 in order to call attention to the Government's Foreign Policy, while the Liberals would take the Ministry of Labour vote in order to raise the question of unemployment. Subsequent to this arrangement the Labour Party expressed its desire to move a vote of censure on the Government on the unemployment question, and Mr. Baldwin agreed to the suggestion and offered July 24, the date when the Ministry of Labour vote was to be taken. This arrangement, of course, effectively prevented the Liberals from themselves raising the unemployment issue by means of a motion for the reduction in the vote for the Ministry of Labour, and thus robbed them of their legitimate opportunity to initiate a debate on this great national issue.

Evidently, by way of an afterthought, he added:—

I will not dwell on the incident of yesterday (November 6) when an attempt was made to deprive the Liberal Party of its legitimate turn to raise one out of the two important issues arising on the Address, namely, the question of the Anglo-French Pact.

Whereas it had taken the Liberal Chief Whip nearly three weeks to reply to Mr. Kennedy's challenge, Mr. Kennedy's reply to the Liberal "instances" was forthcoming immediately, and he turned the tables completely upon his accusers. The two "instances" quoted, he said, could not by the wildest stretch of imagination be interpreted as supporting Mr. Lloyd George's statement, and he went on to show why.

With regard to the first instance, he said the facts were that the debate which followed the Labour Party's motion for the rejection

of the 1925 Finance Bill occupied 125 columns of Hansard, and of these 125 columns the Liberal speeches covered 25; that when the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved the closure at 11.45 p.m., after the Prime Minister had replied to the debate, the Labour Party opposed the closure and unanimously voted against it; and that only about one-half of the Liberal Members of the House voted against the closure, three of them voting with the Tories. These facts, commented Mr. Kennedy, proved:—

1. That the Liberals had not the remotest ground of complaint against the Labour Party.
2. That the Liberals, in proportion to their numbers, had *more than their full share* of the time occupied by the debate.
3. And that about one-half of the Liberal Members did not vote at all.

"But more important still," added Mr. Kennedy, "*the incident does not provide a vestige of evidence to support the idea of a 'conspiracy between the Tory and Socialist Whips.'* . . . *On the contrary, there is clear proof that the Labour Party unanimously opposed the closure, and that the Liberal Party did not.*"

As to the Liberal Chief Whip's suggestion that Mr. Runciman and Captain Wedgwood Benn had notified their desire to speak in the debate, Mr. Kennedy said:—

The Speaker accepted the motion, that the question be now put, moved by Mr. Churchill, and the motion was adopted, not by Mr. Speaker, but by the House. Mr. Runciman and Captain Wedgwood Benn, you say, "notified their desire to speak." Since when, may I ask, did notification of a desire to speak justify your implied claim, either that the members who give such notice establish a right to address the House at any time that may suit them, or that such notification overrides Mr. Speaker's discretion? But, in any case, what on earth has the exercise of the Speaker's discretion in this case, whether right or wrong, to do with the allegation of "conspiracies between the Tory and Socialist Whips?"

With regard to the second instance, Mr. Kennedy pointed out that the Labour Party *did* take the Foreign Office vote as arranged on May 10, and that between May 10 and July 24 the Liberals had three Supply Days allotted to them. They could have taken the Ministry of Labour vote on any one of these three days. Instead they chose the Ministry of Health vote, the Scottish Estimates, and the Post Office vote. In view of this it was not true to state that the Labour Party's motion of censure on the Government on the question of unemployment, debated on July 25, prevented the Liberals from "raising the unemployment issue by means of a motion for the reduction in the vote for the Ministry of

Labour, and thus robbed them of their legitimate opportunity to initiate a debate." The Liberals could have taken any one of the three days mentioned, but deliberately chose not to do so. Did that indicate a desire on the part of the Liberals to raise the question of unemployment on the Ministry of Labour vote?

In any case, added Mr. Kennedy, the Labour Party, as the chief Opposition, could not abandon its right to challenge the Government by means of a Motion of Censure when it thought fit, and in the particular case referred to it was necessary and desirable to secure a debate on a wider basis than could be afforded on a departmental vote.

With regard to the third instance mentioned by the Liberal Chief Whip, Mr. Kennedy expressed surprise that this should have been one of the "evidences" in Mr. Lloyd George's mind when he spoke on October 12, because it only happened on November 6, nearly three weeks later.

He went on to point out, however, that it had been widely advertised that the subject the Liberals proposed to raise on the debate on the Address was the Government's "Safeguarding" policy, and that the Liberal amendment on the Anglo-French Pact only appeared on the Order Paper for the first time on November 8, *one day after the day on which the Liberal Chief Whip had written the letter in which this third "instance" was cited.*

"The Labour Party," continued Mr. Kennedy, "had no other indication, so far as I know, from any quarter as to your intentions. How then can you suggest that we put down an amendment in order to deprive Liberals of their rights? *Will you forgive me if I express the suspicion that if the Labour Party had put down an amendment on Safeguarding, you would have expressed exactly the same resentment in respect of that amendment as you now express regarding our amendment on the Anglo-French Pact?*"

"You know," he added, "that according to custom the Speaker gives the Liberals their opportunity for moving an amendment in their turn, and that, in fact, Tuesday next has been allotted to your amendment on this subject."

Having disposed of all the points that Sir Robert Hutchison had raised, Mr. Kennedy challenged the Liberal Chief Whip once again to produce any evidence which, even on the most strained interpretation, could indicate the existence of conspiracies between the Tory and Socialist Whips to prevent Liberals from taking part in discussions. "If you have no such evidence," he concluded, "please say so."

Sir Robert Hutchison took five days to reply, but could not think of any new "instances" to bring forward, and could do nothing better than sail in with a slight amplification and variation of the "instances" that he had already mentioned.

It seems perfectly clear, commented Mr. Kennedy in the reply which he sent back on the same day that the Liberal Chief Whip's letter was received, that you are to make no attempt to meet my challenge that you should produce some evidence to justify Mr. Lloyd George's statement at Great Yarmouth. . . .

If you will be so good as to read again my letter of the 9th you will see that I completely disposed of your allegation that the debate on the Finance Bill of 1925 was closed through an arrangement or conspiracy between the Tory and Socialist Whips. There was no such arrangement and no such conspiracy. When you say that the decision to close the Bill was taken and made known to the Labour Whips you say something which is not true.

It is clear to me that Mr. Lloyd George made the statement at Yarmouth on the ground of suspicions which have not and cannot be justified.

This brings me to the matter of your quite unjustified attempt to confuse two distinct issues, namely, the Closure Motion, and the Speaker's acceptance of that motion. Acceptance of the motion by the Speaker merely allowed the House

to decide whether the debate should continue or not. The Labour Party voted against the Closure, but we refused to be associated with a motion censuring the Speaker, who merely exercised his discretion in allowing the House to decide whether the discussion should continue or not. That Motion of Censure could only be justified on the wholly unwarrantable assumption not only that the Socialist and Tory Whips, but also Mr. Speaker (who was himself a Liberal), had entered into a conspiracy to prevent Liberals from taking part in the debate. I scarcely think that even Mr. Lloyd George would assume so much.

"The latter part of your letter," concluded Mr. Kennedy, "contains irrelevant insinuations and express complaints which I hear from you now for the first time. Is it not rather amazing that you did not think it necessary to discuss with me during last session the grievances and requirements of the Liberal Party on the matter of facilities for debate? I hope you will not misunderstand me if I say that *the fact that you did not do so, is at least presumptive evidence in support of my view that the statement made by Mr. Lloyd George can only be supported by evidence originating in his own imagination.*"

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“The Real Situation in Russia”*

By

H. W. LEE

IN 1921 Lenin introduced the “New Economic Policy” into Soviet Russia. That he knew the “N.E.P.” to be a right about face from the original Bolshevik economic policy is clear from what he said at the last Congress of the Communist Party he was able to attend: “Here we have lived a year with the State in our hands, and under the New Economic Policy has it operated our way? No. We don’t like to acknowledge this, but it hasn’t. And how has it operated? The machine isn’t going where we guide it, but where some illegal, or lawless, or God knows whence derived, speculators or private capitalistic business men, either the one or the other, are guiding it. A machine doesn’t always travel exactly the way, and it often travels just exactly not the way, that the man imagines who sits at the wheel.”

Difficulties in obtaining goods through the Soviet State institutions aided the private traders under the N.E.P. They became so great a necessity for the mass of the people that Soviet restrictions were almost powerless against them. The “Nepmen” could move and act quickly, while Soviet institutions had to wait for supplies, orders, instructions, and carry out all kinds of official regulations. No wonder that even before Lenin made his somewhat despairing remarks about the N.E.P., private traders had got hold of 80 per cent. of the wholesale trade and 90 per cent. of the retail trade in Soviet Russia. Three years later Zinovieff complained about the manner in which people were treated at Soviet co-operative stores. “I saw lately,” he said, “in a paper a picture that put our co-operative society in a comical light. The clerk in a co-operative shop spoke politely to a customer. The astonished chief or his vice said: ‘Our clerk is evidently not quite normal; see how he speaks to our customers; he surely has a screw loose!’ Such is sometimes the character of the co-operative agencies, and for that reason workmen’s wives won’t go to them.”

Lenin died on January 21, 1924. Before he died he sounded a warning against the danger of Soviet bureaucracy. As things settled

down to some extent after the period of civil war and “war Communism,” gradually, but steadily, the single-minded enthusiasm of the “old Guard” of the Bolsheviks gave way before the new type of Soviet official. Trotsky took up Lenin’s warning and started his attacks on Soviet bureaucracy, and the “Troïka” of the Russian Communist Party—Stalin, Zinovieff, and Kameneff—began their attacks on him. Trotsky replied with his “memorandum” in which he denounced the management of the Russian Communist Party as “false to the core and unhealthy,” as a “secretarial hierarchy” which controlled everything. He also charged Bukharin, then chief editor of *Pravda*, with suppressing complaints against the Soviet bureaucracy, and with printing a special edition of *Pravda* of one copy because Lenin, though dying, insisted on seeing his article against the Soviet bureaucratic apparatus in print!

The “iron discipline” of Stalin, backed up by Bukharin, Zinovieff, and Kameneff, won. Trotsky capitulated a year after the death of Lenin. But he was biding his time. It was soon clear that Stalin had used Zinovieff and Kameneff against Trotsky, and was as ready to use Trotsky against the others if it suited his purpose. Disciplinary measures inside the Russian Communist Party and the complete prohibition of all discussions on “sore questions,” were too much for Zinovieff, Kameneff and certain other members of the Politbureau, and Stalin had to turn his attention to them. Kameneff had to retire from the chairmanship of the Commissariat of Labour and Defence and the Politbureau, and changes were made in the latter.

The disputes in the Russian Communist Party during 1926 brought into shape that Opposition of which Trotsky, Zinovieff, and Kameneff became the leaders and which was crushed by Stalin at the Congress of the Party at Moscow last December. Both before and after that Congress expulsions of active “Oppositionists” and all prominent Bolsheviks known to be supporters of or sympathisers with Trotsky went on. Finally, Stalin sent Trotsky, Zinovieff, Kameneff, Piatakoff, Radek, Rakovsky, and others into exile. Zinovieff, Kameneff, and Piatakoff are among those who have since bent the knee to

* “Leon Trotsky: The Real Situation in Russia.” Translated by Max Eastman. (Allen and Unwin, 40, Museum Street, W.C. 1.) 7s. 6d. net.

the Secretary-General and dictator of the Russian Communist Party, and therefore the real "boss" of Soviet Russia—the Georgian, Joseph Dzhugashvili, alias "Koba," "David," "Nizhevadze," "Chizhikoff," "Ivanovitch," and "Stalin." Trotsky refuses to give way. He remains exiled in Vyernyi, in the Siberian province of Semirychensk, about 180 miles from the borders of Chinese Turkestan, and 300 miles from a railway station.

I have outlined some of the incidents that led up to the situation which faced the Russian Communist Party towards the end of 1927. *The Real Situation in Russia* sets out the grounds of the Opposition against the Stalin regime. The book contains certain speeches and letters of Trotsky. The main part of the book is the statement of the Opposition drafted by Trotsky in October, 1927, for circulation in the Russian Communist Party. It had to be printed secretly, but the G.P.U. found it out and suppressed it. There is no need to go into the polemical part of it. It is the description of the conditions of things in Soviet Russia which is the interesting and valuable part of the statement for those who want to get at the facts.

"The decisive factor in appraising the movement of our country forward along the road of Socialist construction must be the growth of our productive forces and the dominance of the Socialist elements over the capitalist—together with an improvement of all the conditions of existence of the working class." No one can find fault with what the Opposition here lays down. It declares that "all data testify that the growth of wages is lagging behind the growth of the productivity of labour. The intensity of labour increases—the bad conditions of labour remain the same.

. . . The rationalisation of production now being introduced will inevitably lower still more the conditions of the working class, unless it is accompanied by an expansion of industry and transport sufficient to take in the discharged workers." Figures are given to show the tendency to lower real wages. As regards the earnings of women and adolescent workers the tendency becomes an actuality; and unemployment increases greatly among the adolescent workers.

Of the 1,600,000 farm wage-workers, men and women, in Soviet Russia, only 20 per cent. are in Trade Unions. "The registration of wage contracts, often so low as to mean practical slavery, is barely beginning. The wages of farm-hands are customarily below the legal minimum, and this often in the Soviet estates.

Real wages on the average are not over 63 per cent. of the pre-war level. The working day is rarely less than ten hours. In the majority of cases it is, as a matter of fact, unlimited. Wages are irregularly paid, and paid after intolerable delays."

The Opposition declares the housing situation to be growing worse. The average dwelling space for an industrial worker is put at 5.6 square metres (6.7 square yards), the lowest of all the categories of the population. "Moreover, the dimension of the workers' living-space is narrowing from year to year; that of the non-proletarian elements is widening." As regards the unemployed, their number "is growing incomparably faster than the general number of employed workers." In April, 1927, it was officially given as 1,478,000; the Opposition declares it to be about 2,000,000, and estimates that, if things go on as they are, it will be 3,000,000 by 1931. "The average benefit is 11.9 roubles, that is, about 5 pre-war roubles. The Trade Union benefits average 6.5 to 7 roubles. And these benefits are paid approximately to only 20 per cent. of the unemployed members of the union." These are no doubt monthly payments, as wages and payments are made on a monthly basis.

Collective bargaining is said to be characterised by an "almost universal lowering of legal restrictions and a downward pressure on standards and wage-scales. Giving the economic management the right of compulsory arbitration has reduced to nothing the collective contract itself, changing it from a two-sided act of agreement to an administrative order."

The Opposition complains of the "bureaucratisation" of the Trade Unions. "In the staff of the elective executive organs of ten industrial unions the percentage of workers from the shops and non-party militant workers is extremely small (12 to 13 per cent.). The immense majority of the delegates to Trade Union conferences are people entirely dissociated from industry. Never before have the Trade Unions and the working mass stood so far from the management of the Socialist industry as now. . . . The attitude of the workers to the factory and shop committees is one of distrust. . . . 'We mustn't be too active—if you want a bite of bread, don't talk so much.' Such sayings are very common."

The figures given by the Opposition about the peasantry suggest that of the four groups into which the peasantry was divided after the

Bolshevist revolution, the landless and "poor" peasants are diminishing while the "kulaki," the well-to-do peasants, are increasing. "The renting of land assumes larger and larger proportions every year. The renting proprietors are, in the majority of cases, the large land-owners possessing the means of production. In the immense majority of cases, the fact that the land is rented is concealed to avoid the payment of the tax."

Much more to the same effect could be quoted. What is important is that the statement of the Opposition about the serious difficulties in Soviet Russia to-day is borne out, and more than borne out, by news, not from "capitalist lie factories," but from the Soviet journals themselves. The back pages of *Trud* and *Pravda* contain reports about bad housing, low wages, long hours, and the treatment of workers in Soviet undertakings sufficient to fill a volume. Reports of Soviet Trade Union meetings, taken from official Soviet sources, and published in *Industrial and Labour Information* of the I.L.O., tell the same story.

The Opposition does not confine itself to criticism of the Soviet regime at the time. It sets out policies and programmes to remedy the evils it lays bare. To deal with them in this article would be too big a job, but it is questionable if a return, however partial, to "war Communism" would be beneficial, even if possible.

It is certain that Stalin's present policy lacks the clear sightedness of Lenin and the brilliancy of Trotsky. He is, indeed, taking "zig-zag" courses. After suppressing the "Left" Opposition, he took a turn to the "Left" by threatening the "kulaki." Now that he is faced with the tacit "Right" Opposition of Rykov and Kalinin, and the more open "Right" Opposition of Frumkin, Deputy Commissar of Finance, he threatens Frumkin and accepts, temporarily at any rate, a "Right" policy towards the peasantry. Whichever "Opposition" he attacks he takes from it some of its demands, and shapes his policy accordingly for the time being. But such a policy—or the want of one—with a growing bureaucracy such as did not exist in the first years of the Bolshevik seizure of power, appears full of dangers for Russia in general, and for the working class and the peasantry in particular.

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Book Reviews

The Problem of Trust and Monopoly Control. By A. P. L. Gordon. (Routledge. 5s.)

In these days of much talk about "rationalisation," when such terms as cartel and price-agreement and what not have become the small change of current controversy, a book like this of Mr. Gordon's is very useful, for it focusses attention on the development of the German trust movement, and then examines the ways in which German legislation has tried to eliminate features of these organisations that have proved harmful. This is especially important for the Labour movement, which has now abandoned its original attitude of hostility to trusts, and is prepared to encourage their development as a step towards the greater consolidation of Socialism. But it is realised that only under certain conditions and with certain safeguards can the trust movement be regarded benevolently.

The possibilities of exploitation, whether of workers or consumers, must be eradicated, and in this matter the German attempts are instructive. Mr. Gordon's discussion of this point, and of the British legal position regarding cartels, is extremely useful and suggestive, though not everyone will be prepared to accept his proposals.

Norman Dale, M.P. By James C. Welsh. (Herbert Jenkins. 3s. 6d.)

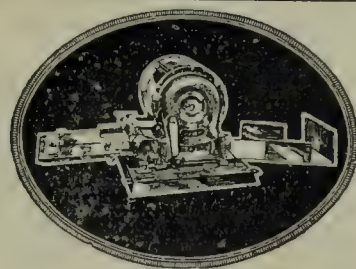
In this book Mr. Welsh, the well-known miner-poet and Labour member for Coatbridge, records in a vivid and direct way life in Lanark during the last twenty-five or thirty years.

Though cast in the form of a novel, and therefore presumably imaginative, practically all of it must have been drawn first hand from life as the author has seen and known it. Though a love story which anyone might enjoy for itself, the book is therefore also interesting as an authentic picture of conditions in the Scottish coal areas, and valuable as documentary evidence of the changes that have come in the political outlook of those living there during the last quarter of a century. People in their infinite variety cross Mr. Welsh's pages. We are introduced to the homes and minds of the miner and his women folk: we see from the inside the cottages, the pit, the church, the Trade Union lodge and the local parish council. We meet the steady, level headed, old-timer Trade Unionist; the ardent, enthusiastic younger man; the Communist, mouthing Marxian phrases and belittling leaders; the colliery official, both good and bad, the local landowner, distressed at the

growing lack of servility to himself and his kind, and the busybody, ever ready to believe the worst of his class at the slightest hint from those above him.

Mr. Welsh makes no attempt at intricacy or newness of plot. He is content to duplicate what must have been collectively the experience of quite a number of present miners' members. The story is a simple one. Norman Dale, the hero, is a young miner ambitious to educate himself out of his class. A dispute at the pit in which he takes a leading share leads to his victimisation. Thereafter he no longer desires to climb out of his class but to remain in it and to serve it. After years of service, locally, he is eventually elected by his mates as their representative at Westminster.

The first part of the book, dealing with the ups and downs of village life, is, perhaps, better than the latter part, dealing with the hero's adventures in London. In particular the chapters dealing with the election campaign, canvassing and the contest itself are humorous and exciting and ring true. This is the third novel Mr. Welsh has written, and we venture to prophesy that it will be as great a success as its predecessors, and deservedly so.



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Labour's Programme

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A summary which appears as an appendix to the pamphlet states: "The Labour Party asks for power. If granted power, it will use it both to lay the foundations of a new social order, and to relieve immediate distress, by carrying out, as rapidly as Parliamentary opportunity permits, the policy embodied in 'Labour and the Nation,' of which the following legislative and administrative measures are a summary." Then follows a list of the measures in question, viz. :—

* * *

I.—Industrial Legislation

1. The Repeal of the Trade Unions Act and the Restoration of Trade Union Rights.

2. The establishment of a 48-hour week.

3. The improvement and extension of Factory Acts, Mines Regulation Acts, Workmen's Compensation Acts; Merchant Shipping Acts, Minimum Wage Acts, and other industrial legislation.

4. The establishment and enforcement of international labour standards.

* * *

II.—Unemployment

1. The establishment of adequate provision for unemployed workers, under the control of a National Authority.

2. The amendment of the Unemployment Insurance Acts, the establishment of the scale of benefits recommended by the Labour Party in its evidence before the Blanesburgh Committee, and the extension of the principle of Unemployment Insurance to classes of workers at present outside its scope.

3. The withdrawal from the Labour market of children under 15, with the necessary provision of maintenance allowances.

4. The improvement of the provision made for widows and orphans and for the veterans of industry.

5. The repeal of the Eight Hours Act in the coal industry.

6. The transference and migration of unemployed miners.

7. The establishment of a superannuation scheme for aged miners.

* * *

III.—The Development of Industry and Trade

1. The establishment of a National Economic Committee to advise the Government as to economic policy, and of a National Development and Employment Board to prepare schemes for the development of national resources.

2. The control of the Bank of England by a public Corporation, including representatives of the Treasury, the Board of Trade, Industry, Labour and the Co-operative Movement; the encouragement of Co-operative and Municipal banking; the promotion

of an International Conference, as proposed at Genoa in 1922, with a view to the regulation of the value of gold by international agreement; and the introduction of such further changes in the banking and financial system as will secure that the available supply of credit and savings is used to the greatest national advantage.

3. The transference to public ownership of the coal, transport, power, and life insurance industries.

4. The appointment of a Commission to prepare a scheme for the reconstruction of the cotton industry.

5. The relief of industry by the readjustment of the relations between national and local finance and by the taxation of land values.

6. The protection of the consumer against exploitation and the extension of the powers of the Food Council.

7. The establishment of the fullest possible publicity with regard to costs and profits.

8. The promotion of scientific research, with a view to the improvement of industrial technique.

9. The extension of the powers of the Economic Section of the League of Nations.

* * *

IV.—Agriculture and Rural Life

1. The transference of land to public ownership.

2. The establishment of security of tenure for efficient farmers.

3. The provision of credit on easy terms.

4. The stabilisation of prices by the collective purchase of imported grain and meat.

5. The elimination of waste by the development of collective marketing.

6. The establishment of efficient services of electrical power and transport in rural areas.

7. The protection of the agricultural worker by the establishment of an adequate minimum wage, effectively enforced, and of reasonable hours of labour.

8. The improvement of the services of health, housing and education in rural districts.

9. The provision of facilities for the acquisition of land, both for small holdings and for allotments.

10. The introduction of legislation to abolish the evils of the tied cottage, and the rapid development of housing schemes in rural areas.

11. The development of the fishing industry, and the improvement of the conditions of fishermen and their dependents.

* * *

V.—The Development of the Social Services

1. The passage of legislation to enable the larger local authorities to undertake such services as their citizens may desire, subject to due safeguards in respect of efficiency and capital expenditure.

2. The provision of an adequate supply of houses at rents within the means of the workers, the establishment of cottage homes for the aged, the continuance and strengthening of the Rent Restriction Acts, and the prevention of profiteering in land building materials.

3. Slum clearance and the extension of town and regional planning.

4. The provision of medical care before and after child-birth, and the extension and improvement of the school medical service.

5. The amendment of the Health Insurance Acts, and the extension of insurance, including additional medical benefits, to the dependents of insured workers and to sections of the population at present outside its scope.
6. The improvement of pensions for the aged and of the allowances provided for widows and orphans.
7. The break-up of the Poor Law.

* * *

VI.—Education and the Care of Childhood

1. The creation of a democratic system of education, adequately financed, free from the taint of class distinctions, and organised as a continuous whole from the Nursery School to the University.
2. The fullest possible provision for the physical well-being of children, by the establishment of the necessary number of open-air Nursery Schools, other open-air schools, and special schools for defective children, by the extension of school meals and by the further development of the school medical service.
3. The adequate staffing of Primary Schools and the drastic reduction in the size of classes.
4. The improvement of school buildings, and the provision of books, equipment and amenities on a generous scale.
5. The regrading and development of education in such a way as to secure primary education for all children up to 11, and free secondary education, of varying types, for all children above that age.
6. The extension of the school-leaving age to 15, with a view to its being raised to 16, as soon as that further reform shall be practicable, and the necessary provision of maintenance allowances.
7. The establishment of easy access to Universities and to other places of higher education, and the provision of adequate financial assistance for them.

* * *

VII.—Financial Policy

1. The progressive reduction of expenditure on armaments.
2. The abolition of taxes upon the necessities of life and of protective duties.
3. The increase of the death duties upon large estates.
4. The further graduation of the income tax so as to relieve the smaller, and increase the contribution from the larger, incomes.
5. The establishment of an additional graduated surtax on incomes from property of over £500 per annum.
6. The taxation of land values.

* * *

VIII.—International Peace and Co-operation

1. The renunciation by international treaty, without reservation or qualification, of the use of war as an instrument of national policy, and the negotiation through the League of Nations of international agreements.
2. The reduction of armaments, by international agreement, to the minimum required for police purposes, with due provision for the employment elsewhere of workers who are displaced, and opposition to compulsory military service.
3. The immediate signature of the Optional Clause, the consequent acceptance of the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice in all justiciable disputes, and the signature of the General Act of Arbitration, Conciliation and Judicial Settlement,

drafted and approved by the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1928.

4. The repudiations of the agreement with regard to military and naval forces which the Conservative Government has attempted to negotiate with France.

5. The immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Rhineland.

6. The promotion of international economic co-operation, as recommended by the International Economic Conference of 1927, and cordial co-operation with the International Labour Office.

7. The establishment of the fullest possible publicity with regard to international relations and policy, the publication of any international agreement not yet disclosed, or disclosed only imperfectly, and the submission of all international engagements to the House of Commons.

8. The systematic use of the League of Nations to promote the utmost possible measure of co-operation between the nations of the world.

9. The establishment of diplomatic and commercial relations with the Russian Government.

* * *

IX.—The British Commonwealth of Nations

1. The establishment of the closest possible co-operation on terms of complete equality between Great Britain and the Dominions.

2. The recognition of the right of the Indian people to self-government and self-determination, and the admission of India to the British Commonwealth of Nations on an equal footing with the self-governing Dominions.

3. The establishment of safeguards against the exploitation of indigenous peoples by European capital, the prevention of forced labour and of injurious or inequitable conditions of employment, the protection of such people in the occupation of their land and in the exercise of civic rights, the development among them of the services of health and education, and their preparation, by all possible means, for full self-government at the earliest practicable date.

4. The strengthening and extension of the authority of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.

5. The development, in co-operation with the other States composing it, of the economic resources of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and the establishment of machinery for the advice and supervision of intending emigrants.

* * *

X.—Political Democracy

1. The maintenance of the unquestioned supremacy of the House of Commons.

2. Uncompromising resistance to the establishment of a second chamber with authority over finance and power to hamper the House of Commons and defeat democratic decisions.

3. The abolition of plural voting.

4. The establishment of full civil and political rights for Civil Servants.

5. Drastic legislation against corrupt practices at elections, and the abolition of practices which confer special political advantages upon wealth.

6. The establishment of complete publicity with regard to Party funds, and the termination of the practice of selling so-called honours.

7. The creation of separate legislative assemblies in Scotland, Wales and England, with autonomous powers in matters of local concern.

Industrial Developments

Wage Movements in September

In the industries for which statistics are regularly compiled by the Ministry of Labour the changes in rates of wages reported to have come into operation during October resulted in a reduction of £1,470 in the weekly full-time wages of 16,350 workpeople, and an increase of £1,125 in those of nearly 95,000 workpeople, according to figures quoted in the *Ministry of Labour Gazette*.

During the ten completed months of 1928 the changes reported to the Ministry in the industries for which statistics are compiled have resulted in net increases of £20,650 in the weekly full-time wages of 208,000 workpeople and in net reductions of £169,450 in those of 1,701,000 workpeople. In the corresponding period of 1927 there were net increases of £29,700 in the weekly full-time wages of 275,000 workpeople and net reductions of £374,000 in those of 1,734,000 workpeople.

* * *

Statistics of Trade Disputes

The number of trade disputes involving stoppages of work, reported to the Ministry of Labour as beginning in October, was 27. In addition, nine disputes which began before October were still in progress at the beginning of the month. The number of workpeople involved in all disputes in October (including workpeople thrown out of work at the establishments where disputes occurred, but not themselves parties to the disputes) was about 7,000, and the aggregate duration of all disputes during October was about 59,000 working days. These figures compare with totals of 10,800 workpeople involved and 56,000 working days lost in the previous month and with 10,500 workpeople involved and 40,000 working days lost in October, 1927.

The aggregate duration of all disputes in progress in the ten completed months of 1928 was about 1,316,000 working days and the total number of workpeople involved in these disputes was about 117,000. The figures for the corresponding period of 1927 were 1,081,000 days and 100,000 workpeople respectively.

* * *

Railway Wage Claim

The claim of the four railway companies for a reduction of 6s. per week in the wages of staffs employed in railway generating stations and sub-stations and on high-tension cables, to which reference was made last month, has been rejected by the Industrial Court, and a reduction of 2½ per cent. only has been allowed.

In its award the Court points to the recent agreement under which all sections of railway employees have suffered a 2½ per cent. wage cut, and has decided that electrical workers should be subject to a similar reduction.

* * *

Mond-Turner Conference

A resolution welcoming the recommendations of the interim report of the Mond-Turner Conference has been passed by the Board of the Flour Milling Employers' Federation. The Board especially welcomes the proposal to establish a National Industrial Council and "notes that there is no intention to trespass in any way upon the sphere and functions of existing employers and Trade Unions in the individual industries."

State Manual Workers

Further consideration was given to the question of the wages and conditions of the lower-paid manual workers in Government establishments at a conference held on October 26th of representatives of the Trades Union Congress General Council, the National Union of General and Municipal Workers and the Workers' Union.

As a first step in the proposed Government Workers' Charter the conference agreed on the principle of a minimum wage for all labourers employed in H.M. Arsenal, Dockyards, and similar establishments. It was decided to request the General Council to call a conference of all other affiliated unions having members employed in such establishments.

* * *

Relief for Coalfields

A deputation of representatives of the South Wales Miners' Federation and Members of Parliament representing the areas of South Wales and Monmouthshire, waited upon the Minister of Health and the Minister of Labour on October 31, to appeal for Government help for the mining areas. They pleaded for immediate attention and action by the Government, not only that the hardships and suffering of the winter might be mitigated, but that concentrated effort should be made to endeavour to find a solution for the grave economic conditions which prevail.

On behalf of the Government a promise was given that the whole matter would receive consideration.

* * *

Cardroom Amalgamation to Rejoin T.U.C.

A ballot vote of the Amalgamated Association of Card and Blowing Room Operatives on the question of re-affiliation to the Trades Union Congress has resulted in a large majority for this course, which was recommended to the membership by the Executive Council of the Association.

The Amalgamation was one of the first organisations to support the Trades Union Congress after its inception in Manchester in 1868.

The total membership of the Amalgamation approximates to 65,000.

* * *

T.U.C. and Social Insurance

The first of a series of conferences on social insurance, under the auspices of the Trades Union Congress General Council, was held in London, on November 24, when the need for reform in Unemployment and Health Insurance was discussed, and Labour's proposals for dealing with Workmen's Compensation were explained.

The object of the conferences is primarily to provide an opportunity for representatives of the organised Movement to consider social insurance problems in their widest aspects with a view to framing a common policy for the Movement.

Other conferences are to be held at Exeter, December 1; Newcastle-on-Tyne, December 8; Glasgow, January 19; and Manchester, January 26.

International Trade Union Notes and Labour Abroad

(Specially contributed to the LABOUR MAGAZINE by the International Federation of Trade Unions.)

The Question of Forced Native Labour

Next year the International Labour Conference will tackle for the first time a problem which only affects colonial populations—the question of forced native labour. Although Governments are required, after the ratification of any international convention, to extend its application to their colonial and mandatory territories, they generally omit to do so, alleging impracticability. The choice, for once, of a problem mainly concerning non-European peoples is therefore particularly fortunate.

In this connection we should like to draw attention to the series of articles published in "The International Trade Union Movement," the Monthly Journal of the I.F.T.U., specimen copies of which will be willingly sent on request by the International Federation of Trade Unions, Tesselschadestraas, 31, Amsterdam.

* * *

Move towards Industrial Peace in Sweden

The Swedish Conservative Government has instructed the Social Minister to convene a conference to discuss the possibility of strengthening the sense of community solidarity and of augmenting co-operation on a voluntary basis between the workers and the employers. The conference will take place in Stockholm at the end of November, and will be attended by some 200 persons, comprising representatives of the workers' and employers' organisations and other persons with experience in these matters, or concerned in the questions under discussion. The object of the conference is to sound the feelings of both workers and employers and, if possible, to lay down general principles for subsequent discussions. The future measures and methods for the advancement of economic peace will be considered in greater detail, both at and after the conference.

This scheme has certain points in common with the efforts made by the earlier Swedish Labour Government, when it sought to establish a so-called "Labour Peace Commission," but failed to do so owing to the opposition of the non-Labour parties. The schemes of the Labour Government were, however, on the lines of the voluntary co-operation of the two national organisations in developing a code of law to be based on the negotiations and collective agreement systems, while that of the present Government, although it also provides for the representation of the two national organisations of employers and workers, does not do so as directly as did that of the Labour Government. The conference as now planned will moreover also include a larger number of private employers and workers in leading positions.

The General Council of the Swedish national centre has decided to participate in this conference, because it looks upon it as a first step towards economic democracy: and economic democracy, it believes, is an essential condition to any really practical policy of industrial peace. In labour circles, however, there are no exaggerated hopes as to the immediate results of the conference.

Instances of Rationalisation in Austria

A Committee appointed by the Federation of Austrian Industrial Employees has issued a publication from which we take the following instances of rationalisation. In a metal factory there were, in 1913, 1,480 workers, who produced about 3,000,000 units of a particular commodity: in 1927, 357 workers produced 5,800,000 of that same commodity. The output of a large woodworking factory was, in 1923, 3,600 units of production: in 1927, after years of rationalisation, the output of the same factory was 8,900. A chemical factory reduced its workers by 10 per cent. to 15 per cent. in the period 1922-1928, and its production in the same period has risen by 75 per cent. There was no improvement in the machinery, the increased output being due solely to intensive management. Another chemical factory which did improve its machinery raised its output in the period 1922-1927 by 119 per cent., while at the same time reducing its workers by 15 per cent. A soda factory, which turned out 29,964 tons of soda in 1922 turned out 40,117 tons in 1927, while employing 452 instead of 784 workers, this being a rise of production of 132 per cent. A boot and shoe factory set up a moving conveyor, and was then able to increase its workers from 130 to 170, but its output by 60 per cent.

The general conclusions are as follows: The same thing is happening almost everywhere—a tremendous increase in the intensity of labour, while the share of wages in the total costs of production usually falls, and there is invariably an increase in profits. Everywhere, too, rationalisation is accompanied by a dismissal of the older workers; but in many cases more salaried employees are taken on. Like so many others, this inquiry goes to show that capitalistic rationalisation brings with it greater exploitation of the workers.

* * *

Control of Cartels in Austria

Austria has now become so small a country that it is not uncommon to find the whole of a branch of production under complete control of a single company. In addition, Austrian industry is dependent to a high degree upon the banks, and the banks in their turn are so strongly linked together that many cases occur of all concerns in a given branch of industry being controlled by one banking combine. Added to this, the tariff policy of the Government notoriously encourages the formation of cartels.

All these facts have induced the workers to agitate strongly for some kind of controlling legislation, and as a first step the publishing of all cartel agreements, which involves the setting up of a National Cartel Bureau—with a similar international bureau for international cartels. As far as workers themselves are directly concerned, closer contact between Works Councils is strongly advocated. In cartelised industries it often happens, when a labour conflict threatens to break out, that orders which have been received are passed on to other manufacturers, thus giving the impression that circumstances are not favourable to a strike. Since tactics

of this kind frequently come into operation across national frontiers, it is proposed to establish international associations of Works Councils connected with international cartels in neighbouring countries. The duties of such joint cartel Works' Councils would include the levelling up of wages and working hours.

* * *

Need for Trade Union Concentration

Capitalism has revived and is making enormously rapid progress. A few days alone have brought in the following items of news which bear witness to its powers of absorption. The great Swedish Match Trust is now a large shareholder of the strongest member of the Swedish iron production (the Grangesberg Trafik Aktiebolaget), which has so strengthened this group that in all probability it will soon dominate at least the European part of the whole international iron-ore industry.

The Royal Dutch Shell, the second largest oil company in the world, is now about to set up nitrogen-producing plant in Holland, and if this proves successful, no doubt in other countries also: the idea being to make use of the natural gas released in the present-day process of oil production. The only question is—will the Royal Dutch work hand-in-hand with the present international nitrogen industry, or will it compete with it?

The two largest nickel-producing companies of the world (the International Nickel Company of America and Lord Melchett's Mond Nickel Company) are about to amalgamate.

The International Copper Cartel, which is dominated by American capital, is now driving copper prices up so high that the copper manufacturing industry of Europe is extremely uneasy, and finds it impossible to work out any price calculations.

So much for capitalist concentration. What about Trade Union concentration?

* * *

Miscellaneous

Wages and Conditions of the Belgian Steel Industry.—Belgian metalworkers' circles announce that the attitude of the Belgian steel manufacturers is not a whit less obstinate than that of their German friends. Rises in wages were refused formerly on the ground of Belgium's disadvantages in the world market: now it is urged that the poor shareholders really must have some consideration, and dividend raised. In point of fact, the situation of the industry is a bad argument against rises in wages (especially as the cost of living is rising), because, thanks to the Steel Trust, the Belgian steel industry is making a very good recovery, and producing 50 per cent. more than it did before the war. The profits of some of the works run up to 10,000,000 francs and more: and yet when the workers demand a 10 per cent. rise, they are asked to be satisfied with 5 per cent. A recruiting campaign is being organised to bring the workers into the union, and on November 25 there was a great demonstration.

The Working Class and International Trustification.—In view of the growth of international trustification in the margarine industry, discussions are at the moment going on between the German and Dutch factory workers' unions. Representatives of the German union have already studied conditions in Rotterdam. There is now to be a larger meeting at Arnhem for the exchange of information between the workers of the German and Dutch margarine factories.

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International Labour Office Notes

Director in the East

M. Albert Thomas, Director of the International Labour Office of the League of Nations, left Geneva at the end of October on a visit to the Far East. He was accompanied by Mr. E. J. Phelan, Chief of the Diplomatic Division of the Office, and M. Viple, principal private secretary. Travelling by way of Russia and across Siberia, M. Thomas reached China in the middle of November and proposed to visit Peking, Hankow, Nankin, and Shanghai. He would thus be able to enter into relations with the new administration in China. Early in December he will be in Japan, where he expects to stay three weeks, and on his way home he hopes to visit the Dutch East Indies and Indo-China.

* * *

"Forced Labour"

Great progress has been made by the Office, in its preparation of a "grey" report, on the question of "forced labour," in preparation for the discussion of this question at the twelfth Conference which will open in Geneva next May. This "grey" report contains information regarding the present position on the question throughout the world, and also a basis for a series of questions which the Conference will submit to each Government so that an international agreement can be reached on the lines of the replies received. The plans for the issue by the Office of a new monthly publication on native labour questions are also well advanced.

* * *

"I.L.O." and Journalists

The Advisory Committee on Intellectual Workers which met at the end of October in Geneva studied the question of the Journalists' "conscience clause," which relates to the possibility of conflict between personal convictions and professional duties, especially when the change of proprietorship of a newspaper is likely to lead to a change of policy. It was decided that this question needed further examination in conjunction with the general question of contracts of service, and also that managers and publishers of newspapers must be taken into consultation as well as journalists.

* * *

A World Survey

Following a request from the International Association of Journalists accredited to the League of Nations, the Office has just published a report on "Conditions of Life and Work of Journalists," based on information obtained from organisations of journalists in 33 countries (including, in this country, the National Union of Journalists and the Institute of Journalists). Attention is drawn to the need of such a study, in view of the pressing problems arising from the increase in the amalgamation of proprietorship of newspapers and from the economic upheaval of the post-war period. The *Journalist*, the organ of the National Union, says that this report ought to be read by every member.

"Restraint of Trade"

The Advisory Committee also studied the question of clauses in contracts which restrict the freedom of an individual to pursue his occupation within a given area after the termination of a contract, matters which come within the Common Law regulations of "restraint of trade" in this country. It was unanimously decided that no provision of this kind should be valid unless it were limited to the protection of the legitimate interests of the employer against any injury which might result from the disclosure of trade secrets, or from competition based on special knowledge acquired in his service. A resolution was also adopted by the Committee that the Office should consult theatre managers and theatrical artistes, and also theatrical agencies, regarding an extension to the profession of the principles of the Convention (Washington, 1919) regarding the substitution of public employment offices for private agencies.

* * *

Dutch Ratification

Formal notice has been received in Geneva of the ratification by the Netherlands of the Convention concerning Workmen's Compensation for occupational diseases, adopted by the Conference at its seventh Session in Geneva (1925). By the terms of the Convention, a country undertakes to pay compensation to workmen who are incapacitated by certain occupational diseases detailed in a schedule. Fourteen ratifications have now been received of this Convention including Great Britain, Germany, India, Japan, Belgium and Switzerland.

* * *

Turkey and the "I.L.O."

Although not a member of the International Labour Organisation, the Turkish Government has appointed Muchefik Selami Bey, Counsellor of Embassy, to Geneva, to maintain relations between that Government and the international organisations. The Director of the Office has also received a letter from the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the Turkish Republic thanking him for the welcome given to the observer sent by Turkey to the last Conference, and saying that Turkey is following the work of the "I.L.O." with increasing interest, and is pleased to see the improvement in working conditions brought about by its efforts.

* * *

Uruguay and Accident Prevention

The Uruguayan National Labour Office has informed the International Labour Office by letter that, in applying its national legislation, it constantly strives to put into practice the principles of "Safety First" in accordance with the resolution adopted by the Conference at its eleventh Session, held earlier in the year. With this end in view, competent officials are employed to see that safety is considered an essential part of the organisation of production, and that employers and workers combine to ensure the carrying out of the tasks of labour with the least possible risk. In the larger factories, joint committees are in operation. These are very useful institutions, and the National Labour Office is extending them over the whole field of industry.

Co-operative Activities

"Co-op." Statistics

The Co-operative Union has published its annual returns of co-operative societies for 1927. These show that the membership at the end of last year was 5,579,038, which is an increase of 392,310 on the membership of 1926. Membership has continued to grow almost at this rate from year to year for the past twelve years or so, having increased to 5,579,038 at the end of 1927 from 3,011,390 in 1913. The capital of retail societies amounts to £92,281,003, and share and loan capital to £107,773,835. The trade of the retail societies was valued at £199,924,938, from which there was a surplus for distribution of £23,424,774.

The small co-operative productive societies, of which there are 102, did a trade of £6,277,492; the English C.W.S. had a turnover of over £87,000,000, and the Scottish C.W.S. £17,718,055. These are big figures, and from all accounts bigger ones are to come next year.

* * *

Spread of Internationalism

Co-operative organisation is spreading rapidly throughout the world. At the recent annual dinner of the Co-operative Printing Society, Mr. H. J. May, Secretary of the International Co-operative Alliance, said the Alliance had now a membership of 36 countries, 100 national unions embracing 50,000,000 co-operators.

The latest countries to be admitted include Persia, Mexico, and Iceland. The Alliance should become a great force in international affairs.

* * *

Aberdeen and Politics

Acting on legal advice, the Aberdeen Co-operative Society had withdrawn from the Co-operative Union on the grounds that the rules of the Union are not consistent with the rules of the society because the Union contributes from its funds to the Co-operative Party, which is political. Efforts have been made to bring the society back, but without avail.

The solicitors acting for the Union in England and Scotland take the view that political action is permissible under the rules, and the Union is fully prepared to back up any society which may have any action brought against it for payments to the party funds of the Co-operative Party. This is the decision of the Central Board.

* * *

Co-operative Party Conference

The Co-operative Party have arranged to hold their annual conference on three days from January 25 to 27 at the Grand Hotel, Bristol. A special appeal is being made for the good attendance of delegates in consequence of its being expected that early in 1929 a General Election will take place.

The report of the committee will be issued later on, and the list of visits to the various centres of co-operative activities in the Bristol area will also be circulated.

* * *

Diamond Jubilee

The Co-operative Union Limited attains its diamond jubilee this year, and it has been proposed to commemorate the occasion by extending Holyoake House, the headquarters, Manchester, in order to provide accommodation for the increasing work of the Union, and particularly for education. For the present, however, the matter has been referred back for further consideration.

A Remarkable Restoration

A statement made by the President of the C.W.S. (Mr. H. J. A. Wilkins) shows that during the heavy losses of 1920-21 in C.W.S. trade it was necessary to draw upon reserves to the extent of £7,750,000, and since then the society had practically recovered its position, so far as actually replacing the amount was concerned. On the other hand, the liabilities in shares, etc., had increased in seven years from £8,750,000 to £47,500,000.

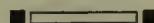
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Co-operators as Candidates

Although co-operators have not yet made up their minds definitely how far public services may go to the municipality, or the co-operative society, co-operators continue to increase their strength on Borough Councils.

Few of these come out as co-operative candidates; they are mostly Labour men and women who are members and active workers of the co-operative movement. This is all to the good. It brings co-operators in contact with other public representatives and widens their views with regard to public necessities, and the part to be played and the place to be taken in respect to politics. In many of the November elections the Co-operative Party combined with the Labour Party in pushing the interests of candidates.

LABOUR AND THE NATION



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THE LABOUR MAGAZINE

Incorporating The British Trades Union Review and the Labour Party Bulletin

VOL. VII

JANUARY, 1929

No. 9

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THE RIGHT HON. PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.

The "Safeguarding" of the Wool Textile Industry

By

THE RIGHT HON. PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.

ONE needs to be a Yorkshireman to understand the comedy which is now being played in the West Riding textile trade. The Yorkshireman has a cynical humour all his own, and ridicule is one of the chief weapons in his armoury of controversy.

Faced with a threat, from a number of Protectionist employers, of a reduction of 25 per cent. in wages unless they agreed to support an application for "safeguarding," the National Federation of Textile Unions made a pretence of falling in with the suggestion, and appointed a Committee to make a thorough investigation into the alluring promise of restoring prosperity to the industry by the Simple Simon plan of stopping the importation of foreign goods, and compelling the wearers of wool fabrics to "Buy British Goods" at 25 per cent. higher prices than the present.

The Union Committee has conducted the inquiry with impassive faces, and the employers never suspected that they were being led up the garden. They have produced a Report recommending "safeguarding," and even yet there are people who are so devoid of a sense of humour that they cannot see the joke of the proceedings.

The Report, when read between the lines, is the most destructive case against the thing which, on the surface, it appears to support, which could have been produced.

If this Report goes before an impartial Committee as the case for safeguarding it will be laughed out of Court after half-an-hour's consideration.

In 1925 these Unions opposed an application by the employers for an import duty on certain wool textile fabrics. They did so on the grounds that what the industry needed was a thorough reorganisation on the lines of eliminating waste and cutting out the parasitical middleman; the adoption of mass production methods; the cutting down of exorbitant profits being made by certain sections of the industry; the collective buying of wool and the selling of the products; the greater effort and enterprise on the part of the captains of industry.

Now, all these reforms have been abandoned, and the stopping of imports produced, on their

own admission, by labour which is equally well paid but far more efficiently organised, is the only remedy for the depression in the industry!

The Report of the Executives is, after all, not quite sure at times whether this is the certain remedy which at other times they declare it to be. It is an "experiment" which, if adopted, "must be carefully watched."

There are 250,000 persons engaged in the wool textile trade. Half of these are found employment by the foreigner, who, if the contention of the Report is realised, is to be prevented from sending imports to pay the wages of these 125,000 Yorkshire operatives.

The Committee tell us they have taken the evidence of economic "experts." We are left with an inquiring mind as to the identity of these "experts." Their names are kept as secret as if the vengeance of a Cheka would fall upon them were their subversive propaganda known. Not one word of their evidence is embodied in the Report. We are left to assume that there was a unanimity among them which has never been known since the first days of the Garden of Eden.

The members of the Committee of Inquiry were all life-long Free Traders, and it took them a long time to overcome their innocent belief that the tenets of Free Trade had not been delivered to Moses amid the thunders of Sinai. But the evidence of these unnamed "economic experts," and the assurances of the employers, both Free Traders and Protectionists, that the industry was the last word in organisation and efficiency convinced them of the heresy of their Free Trade birth inheritance; though as a tribute to their old allegiance they confess that they still believe that "Free Trade is the only honest trade." And having paid that tribute as the price of their recantation, they proceed to advocate "dishonest" trade.

If I were not convinced that the Committee has drafted this Report with their tongues in their cheeks, and for the purpose of making the proposed "safeguarding" application ridiculous, I should be compelled to revise the high opinion I have held of the commonsense and cuteness of my fellow countymen, and

particularly of some of the officials of the Federation.

But who can regard a Report as serious which makes the assertion that a tariff will stop three-quarters of the foreign imports of textile fabrics? If the Committee had taken a glance at the effect of safeguarding duties now in operation they would never have made such a ridiculous assertion. Let them refer to the cases of lace, fabric gloves, artificial silk, and see what effect the duties have had in stopping imports.

They are not content with the grotesque assumption that a duty will stop 30,000,000 yards of textile fabrics from coming into the home market, but they make some calculations as to the amount of employment it will provide. One cannot but admire the meticulous exactness of these calculations. We are told to a single unit how many additional persons will be employed in each branch of the trade. There are no round figures in these calculations. No, no. Exactly 1,666 weavers will be taken off the Employment Exchange register and 1,832 other operatives. I like those three "sixes"; there is alliteration and rotundity about them. And that 1,832 has a special attraction. They must have been thinking about the year of the passing of the Reform Act, which led to the relief of our grandfathers from the curse of Protection.

But unfortunately for the value of these precise estimates, the Report tells us in another part that the West Riding is not equipped to make the class of goods which are now imported. But the employers have assured the Committee that, given a tariff, they will begin to do so. And meantime, if the foreign imports are stopped, the women must buy the heavier and more expensive goods which Bradford now produces.

The Committee might have carried their search for evidence to the glove trade and other "safeguarded" industries and tried to find out how far the same promise given by the applicants for a duty in these industries had been carried out. They would have found that there has been no attempt whatever. As soon as the employers were sheltered behind a tariff wall they forgot their promises of amendment, and went on in the same old way.

It is admitted that the bulk of the foreign imports are not of a competitive class. The French, in particular, have developed a trade in a cheaper class of goods which, though less durable, have all the finish and appearance of high class fabrics.

The Bradford manufacturers have known this for years, but have made little or no effort to meet this competition. If they had used

one-hundredth part of the thousands per cent. profit they made during the war to re-equip their works to meet the changing world fashion they would not be in the condition they are to-day.

In parts the Report repeats the parrot cry of the Protectionist about lower-paid labour competing with highly-paid British labour. If that be the case, it requires some explanation why Protection has not given higher wages in these foreign countries. But, as a matter of fact, the earnings per loom in France, as shown in the last issue of the *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, are higher than in this country. The output per loom is 40 per cent. higher in France, which points to more efficient machinery.

Not a figure is given in the Report, nor even an argument, to show why the foreign goods are cheaper than the Bradford goods. But the unions gave those reasons in their evidence three years ago before the Safeguarding Tribunal, and they still are the reasons.

Perhaps the strangest of all the omissions from the Report is all reference to the export trade of this country in wool textiles. In 1927 we exported 187,000,000 square yards of wool cloths to overseas markets, and imported only one-fifth that quantity, including damasks, tapestry, and other furniture stuff. In addition to these exports of 187,000,000 yards of cloth, we exported 42,000,000 lbs. of tops and 69,000,000 lbs. of yarn.

The demand for the protection of woven cloths has whetted the appetites of the spinners, and they are insisting on duties being placed upon imported yarns and tops. A quantity of cheap foreign yarns are now imported, and these are worked up in Bradford, and this enables the Bradford manufacturer to sell his cloths at competitive prices in the foreign market. A duty on foreign yarns will close this channel of trade to the Bradford manufacturer by increasing the price of yarns, which is the raw material of the manufacturer.

The Committee's Report wholly ignores the repercussions of a tariff on the export trade, which is one-half of the whole production of wool textile fabrics. On the wholly baseless assumption that a tariff on fabrics would find employment for 8,400 operatives, the Committee are prepared to risk the livelihood of 125,000 workers who are now employed on foreign orders. The Report might well, indeed, describe the proposal as an "experiment." It would have been more accurate to describe it as a criminal gamble.

The Report contains a table of imports of wool tissues, which is intended to support the assertion that foreign competition in the class of goods complained about is rapidly increasing.

Again, the table can surely only have been inserted to discredit the general statement. The increase in imports is wholly accounted for by the recovery of German imports since the restoration of German economic life. The class of goods imported from Germany are mainly of a class which is not competitive with the Bradford productions.

It is the competition of France which is complained about, and the table gives the striking fact that whereas we imported over 21 million yards of cloth from that country in 1924, we imported only half that quantity in 1927!

But the Report makes no mention of the following facts in regard to Germany. Our exports of wool fabrics to Germany are increasing. In the ten months (January to October) of 1925, we exported two and a-half million yards of cloth to Germany, and in the same months of the present year we exported six million yards. Of worsted tissues we exported over seven times more than we imported, and the exports are still rising. A recent trade report from Germany says that the imports of British cloth into Germany were 53 per cent. more than in the same period of last year. Exactly the same talk about British competition is being heard in Germany as in Bradford about German and French competition.

The Committee's Report says that the British wool textile trade is a languishing industry. It is depressed, but the figures show that there is a great improvement recently in our exports to nearly every country in Europe. Nobody knows better than Mr. Shaw and his colleagues that the unsettled conditions in the Far East have been in a large measure responsible for that depression in recent years. Things are settling down there now, and a revival of our former export trade to these parts may be confidently expected, unless "safeguarding" is adopted, for that will certainly kill our trade in those countries which require a cheaper and lighter class of goods.

But the main cause of the depression in the wool textile trade in Bradford is the change in world fashion. Women are not now wearing half the dress lengths they did some years ago, and they are wearing much lighter materials. Yorkshire has not adapted itself to this changed demand. It still produces the best cloths in the world, and in this limited market it has no real competitor, but the big world demand is for the cheaper and lighter materials, and France has been alive to this fact and adapted her trade to meet it.

The Committee, as I have said, repeatedly confess their faith in Free Trade as the only "honest" trade, but I am afraid they never had a very clear understanding of its principles

if they really believe the Tariff jargon they intersperse in the Report. They have apparently never heard of the discussions on tariffs at the recent International Economic Conferences, and the unanimous decisions of the delegates from over 50 countries against protective duties. The Committee appear to think that if Great Britain adopts a tariff policy that other countries will lower their tariffs. All experience points to the contrary. A tariff always fails to protect, and in striving to make it protective countries are driven to constantly increase the tariff rate.

There are the wider effects of a tariff which the Committee has never recognised. A tariff on wool cloths will certainly raise the price. That is admitted. The employers want to secure the home market for a higher priced class of goods; in other words, to force the home consumer to buy a cloth she does not want at 25 per cent. higher cost. In that case it means a restriction of the purchasing power on other articles.

Neither has the Committee recognised that if they get a tariff on wool textiles it will not stop there. Every other industry will clamour for protection, and their demand cannot be resisted. A tariff on steel will increase the cost of equipment of every factory and raise the cost of living all round.

The support of the executives of the wool textile industries of the employers' demand for protection has been given to avert a threat of a wage reduction of 25 per cent. It now transpires officially that the Tory employers who made that threat never had any authority from the employers' federations to make such a threat, or to offer the bribe of support of "safeguarding" to withdraw it.

The Committee, in the investigations they claim to have made, have apparently never thought it necessary to inquire whether wages have risen in the industries which have already been protected. They would have found that there is not an instance where this has happened, and if they had taken the trouble to look at the trade reports and the unemployment figures of these industries, they would never have committed themselves to the absurdities which fill this Report. Mr. A. H. Hirst, one of the biggest employers in the woollen trade, when advocating Protection, said recently: "If safeguarding could be secured *and a revision in the rates of wages which was necessary for the economic conditions of the country*, they would secure their full share of the home and export markets."

But after all we must not take this report too seriously. We must regard it as a piece of clever fooling intended to damn, while professing to praise.

This Misery of Boots

By

MARGARET BONDFIELD, M.P.

THE Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organisations, impressed with the terrible condition of the children in the distressed areas, undertook the organisation of a conference at a week's notice for the purpose of calling attention primarily to the really dangerous situation created by the lack of proper footwear for children. As an outcome of that conference, I was glad to be able to introduce a Bill which creates another precedent in Parliamentary history, and as such deserves to be quoted in full:

A BILL

TO PROVIDE FOOTWEAR FOR CHILDREN IN DISTRESSED AREAS.

Whereas owing to acute distress arising out of long continued trade depression children in many areas are unprovided with footwear to resist inclement weather:

Be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

1. Where in the opinion of the Minister of Health acute distress prevails, the county council or local authority may, with his consent, take such steps as they think fit for the provision of footwear for children under school age.

2. Where in the opinion of the Board of Education acute distress prevails, the local education authority for elementary education may, with the Board's consent, take such steps as they think fit for the provision of footwear for children in attendance at any public elementary school within their area.

3. There shall be charged to the parent of every child in respect of footwear furnished to that child under this Act such an amount as may be determined by the county council or local authority or the local education authority, as the case may be, and, in the event of payment not being made by the parent, it shall be the duty of the authority, unless they are satisfied that the parent is unable by reason of circumstances other than his own default, to pay the amount to require the payment of that amount from the parent, and any such amount may be recovered summarily as a civil debt.

4.—(1) Any expenses incurred in the execution of this Act shall be defrayed, in the case of a county council, as expenses for general county purposes, and in the case of a local authority, as part of the expenses of the authority in the execution of the Public Health Act.

(2) The powers of a local educational authority under this Act shall be deemed to be powers of that authority under the Education Act, 1921, and the provisions of that Act as to the manner in which the expenses of a local education authority are to be discharged and defrayed shall apply to expenses incurred under this Act.

5. *Any expenditure incurred in the execution of this Act shall, to the extent of ninety per cent. thereof, be defrayed out of moneys provided by Parliament.*

6.—(1) This Act may be cited as the Children (Provision of Footwear) Act, 1928.

2. This Act shall continue in force until the thirty-first day of December, nineteen hundred and twenty-nine.

3. This Act shall not extend to Scotland and Northern Ireland.

It is the first time that a Bill has been backed only by women, and those women representing all parties in the House.

It was submitted under the ten minutes' rule, and leave to introduce was unanimously given. It received its second reading on December 11, again without opposition. That is as far as it was possible for a private Member to take a Bill containing financial provisions. It could only proceed if the Government came forward with a money resolution, or with some alternative form of Government assistance. To the following question asked by Mr. MacDonald, "whether the Government have considered if a Financial resolution is necessary for the Children (Provision of Footwear) Bill; and, if so, what action do the Government propose to take regarding it?" Mr. Churchill replied:—

"I understand that a Financial Resolution would be necessary. The Prime Minister has asked me to give an answer to the latter part of the right hon. gentleman's question. The Children (Provision of Footwear) Bill, as Clause 5 indicates, was primarily designed to deal with the distressed mining areas, and the need in those areas will be more effectively met by the Government policy which the Prime Minister announced yesterday. In other areas there are long-standing arrangements under which boots for school children are provided by recognised voluntary local funds, and the Government are not satisfied that there is any sufficient reason for interfering with these arrangements. They are, therefore, not prepared to give facilities for the Bill."

It will be noticed that the Bill is a purely temporary measure, intended to meet the present distress. How great that distress is the following facts will show. Out of 200 places, most of them small villages, we have a recorded number of 7,657 children away from school because they have no boots. In others we are told that in bad weather, ten to 20 per cent. of

those on the register are away for this reason. Of those absent at any time, about 80 per cent. in Durham County are away for the same cause. School attendance in a Nottingham village fell from 91 per cent. in September to 50 per cent. in bad October weather.

Of the children at school we have definite evidence of 64,000 with really bad boots in some 200 areas. In other places we have been given the following percentages. In Newcastle 50 per cent. to 70 per cent.; Dinnington (Yorks) 24 per cent.; Standish (Lancs) 90 per cent.; Aberdare, 80 per cent., etc. Many children are wearing broken sandshoes, boots with cardboard soles, odd shoes or large sizes, etc.

In six districts in the Wallsend Division, there are 114 children away from school through the lack of boots, and 1,845 children at school with bad boots. The help which has already been given consists of help from the Lord Mayor's Fund *five months ago* in one district; 142 pairs from the same fund in another area where 70 children are still without boots. In a third there was help from the Lord Mayor's Fund last August which just touched the fringe of the need *then*; in the fourth district only 14 pairs have been given in November by the Lord Mayor's Fund, and there are now 365 children at school with bad boots. In the fifth district, where most families have not had a day's work since the lock-out of 1926, only a few pairs have been received from the Lord Mayor's Fund, whilst in the sixth area there is no record of any charitable help *at all* being received. Here there are ten away from school through lack of boots and 60 at school with bad boots.

In the County of Durham there is no district in the 14 included under the Education Committee which is not losing attendance because of the lack of boots. The children are going to school with their toes out of their boots and their hands pushed under their jerseys to keep warm.

In Aberdare there are 11,000 children on the school registers, and with the 700 pairs of boots expected now from the Lord Mayor's Fund they will have received 2,800 pairs.

As to the plight of the young children at home, there is evidence that these children are invariably sacrificed so that the older children may have boots and attend school; they are the prisoners of poverty in their own homes.

To supply the children with one pair of boots does not meet the situation for long. These boots must be kept in good repair, and when they are past mending another pair must be given. The commonest forms of rheumatism are caused by ill-shod feet, and it extremely dangerous for little children, even though they

are kept indoors, to go about the draughty, cold floors in their bare feet.

That ill effects are already only too much in evidence is unfortunately the case, and examples are too numerous to quote. In the Seaton Burn end of the Wallsend Division, for instance, there are 60 children suffering from tuberculous disease waiting for admission to a sanatorium; in the Coxlodge Castle Ward there are six children certified as waiting for admission.

It is very important that the money spent on boots should be used only for solid and well-made footwear. Cheap, inferior boots wear out very quickly, are water-tight for a short time, and do not stand repair. It might well be considered whether the central authorities should not set up some small committee, including representatives of the workers and manufacturers in the boot trade, to advise on quality and prices.

The introduction of the Boot Bill was only the opening of the campaign for directing attention to this question of clothing. On the following night, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, taking advantage of the adjournment, raised the question of the lack of clothing. In a vigorous speech she pointed out that the million and a quarter unemployed, receiving either unemployment benefit or poor relief, have no margin at all for clothes. She instanced a man (a highly skilled workman) receiving 28s. a week in unemployment benefit who had to spend 8s. for rent, 2s. for arrears, 6s. for coal and gas, leaving him with 12s. with which to buy food for a family of five. The guardians in the poor areas are at their wits' end to provide sufficient money for food alone. Careful as the parents are, children are going about clothed most inadequately—one teacher said that she has 18 children in her class who have no "undies" except a cotton chemise. In many cases the mothers had sacrificed their own underwear for their children, but that source of supply is now at an end.

Lord Eustace Percy's reply was of the kind to which we have become accustomed, namely, that they were depending upon a great outpouring of charity. We have no word to say other than that of admiration and praise for those fine citizens who are voluntarily taking up this question, and doing what they can to relieve existing misery; but we say most emphatically that nothing which is done in this direction can absolve the Government of the day from their responsibility in this matter.

Lord Eustace Percy did, however, admit the urgent need for clothing. "There is no doubt," he said, "that the chief and urgent need at the present moment in the schools in South Wales

is clothing, to a much greater extent than it was last year. When I went down a year ago the main need was boots, but to-day the main need is clothing. I am sorry that it has not been sufficiently advertised in the Press and in the country that the committee at Cardiff, like the committee at Newcastle, is collecting garments as well as parcels, and it is very important that that should be very widely known. That is the first main need of the present moment. 'There is a desperate need in the schools for clothing; while the distribution of boots which was made at the beginning of this winter will not suffice to last the winter through. In February, or early in March, another distribution will be essential. I do not like to put a figure on the amount of money which will be required for the distribution in South Wales, but in any case it will not be a penny less than £30,000 which will be required in new money at that time.'

A strong memorandum describing the state of distress amongst the children has been sent to the Prime Minister, drawn up by the Standing Joint Committee in consultation and in agreement with:—

- The National Union of Teachers;
- National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship;
- Central Committee on Women's Training and Employment;
- Society of Friends, Coalfields Distress Committee.

In this memorandum practical suggestions were made with regard to the Boots Bill, emphasising the need as outlined above, and making the following suggestions for co-ordination and administration:—

"While we fully recognise that goodwill amongst the public may do much to supply some of the many supplementary needs, the special calls due to sickness, maternity, provision of warm bed clothes and special food and Christmas cheer in these distressed areas, we urge upon you that during the past year distress has so grown that voluntary funds and organisation cannot meet fully the primary needs of boots and clothing. We feel strongly that these voluntary funds and their administration should be supplementary both in dealing with needs and in administration.

"We urge that administration in the first place of relief in boots and clothes should be organised through the Government Departments of the Ministry of Health, Board of Education and Ministry of Labour. In connection with the last, we would point out to you the valuable

work in which the Queen took so deep an interest of the Central Committee on Women's Training and Employment at the end of 1914 and the beginning of 1915. The Committee then organised work-rooms for unemployed women at which clothes were made and distributed through the local maternity and education authorities, and we understand that the Committee would again be glad to co-operate in a similar way.

"The local organisations connected with these departments should be the administrative bodies locally, a town's committee co-operating and supplementing with relief of other kinds.

"Such a scheme we recognise requires national funds as well as voluntary funds. We strongly hope that national funds for boots, and we hope also for clothes, should be given, and we express a strong hope that *any such public funds voted by Parliament shall be administered through public authorities* co-operating where necessary with local committees, formed by co-ordinating all voluntary efforts in each unit, whether town, villages or group."

The Standing Joint Committee has done good service in rousing public opinion on behalf of the children in the distressed areas, and although we have not got what we asked for, this agitation has undoubtedly had its effect in moving the Prime Minister to make, at long last, a definite statement of Government assistance.

Speaking in the House on December 17, Mr. Baldwin dealt first with the question of training and transference, and passing on to the general health of those living in the distressed areas he said: "The Government have come to the conclusion that the best method of giving additional help to the distressed areas is to assist the Lord Mayor's Fund more effectively to discharge its present work and to co-operate with it in extending that work in certain directions. They have therefore consulted the Lord Mayor, who has agreed that the scope of his Fund should include the provision of meals for adults and children who require additional nourishment during the winter months, the Government, on their part, undertaking to provide the Lord Mayors of Cardiff and Newcastle with the administrative assistance required. This arrangement will be supplementary to, and not in replacement of, the existing public services. The Government propose to ask Parliament for authority to grant to the fund £1 for every £1 received in voluntary subscriptions to the fund, and, as an immediate step, to grant £150,000 to the fund as the equivalent of the money already subscribed to it."

Where Socialist Dreams Come True

MUNICIPAL ACHIEVEMENTS IN VIENNA

By

HERBERT MORRISON

EVERYBODY interested in local government, irrespective of Party, will receive education and, I trust, inspiration, from the new edition of *Vienna under Socialist Rule*, the British edition of which has just been published by the Labour Party at 1s.

Written by Herr Robert Danneberg, who is the President of the Vienna Diet, and ably translated by Mr. H. J. Stenning, the booklet is an authoritative statement of the great constructive work of the Socialist municipality of Vienna. The Socialist majority has now existed for some years. After the Revolution the Social Democratic Party held 100 out of the 165 seats and the proportion is now 78 out of 120.

CIVIC DEPARTMENTS.

The government of the City of Vienna is somewhat on the lines of a British County Borough, for although the School Board is separate its membership is largely determined by the municipality, and although there are district committees of the municipality their powers are negligible. The German system of a semi-professional Burgomaster or Mayor and semi-professional administrative Aldermen exists. An administrative Alderman, who is elected for a period of five years, but who may be recalled, is at the head of the following eight departments:—

1. Staff matters and administrative organisation ;
2. Finance ;
3. Welfare institutions and public health ;
4. Housing ;
5. Works and Constructional Department ;
6. Food and Stores Department ;
7. General Purposes ; and
8. Municipal enterprises.

The administrative Alderman corresponds to a sort of semi-Minister, whilst the Mayor is a quasi-Premier. The record of municipal work and the many indications of the much wider powers of the municipality as compared

with the statutory limitations of British local government makes one's mouth water. There are a large number of public enterprises, but the municipality has the liberty to run them as limited liability companies on a commercial footing. There is a fairly common practice in Germany and Austria of the municipalities establishing companies, but owning the majority of the ordinary shares, thereby achieving effective control and appointing the majority of the directors.

As municipalisation grows my impression is that we shall require to take into favourable consideration such administrative methods here. They have the additional advantage of reducing the amount of public capital which requires to be raised.

The Socialist Council has instituted a strict independent audit office, which is subject to the general regulations of the Council, but which is equal in status to the Council itself.

Financial control would appear to be much more strict under Socialist administration. This corresponds with much British experience, where the so-called business man has as often as not been a miserable failure in connection with municipal finance.

It should be realised that Vienna, in addition to being a Town Council, is also a province, and as such has a diet ; that is to say, a State Parliament subordinate to the national Government. As the diet consists of the same members as the municipality the combination makes possible very considerable local government autonomy.

HOW MONEY IS RAISED.

The burden of the rates is a familiar cry in our own municipal elections. Labour Councillors will envy the freedom of our Vienna friends in local taxation. Except for purposes of raising money for housing, rates upon houses have been almost abolished and a new and broader system of local taxation has been introduced. Following are examples of the Socialist taxes:—

An entertainment tax, which is varied according to the class of the performances ; for example, 5 per cent. for theatrical and

operatic performances, and 33½ per cent. for horse racing, boxing and wrestling matches. These are estimated to yield for 1928, £430,000.

Taxes on restaurant meals and drinks, with special regard to luxury meals, are estimated to produce £390,000.

The beer tax is expected to yield £300,000.

The motor-car tax on private cars produces £111,500.

The servant tax, stiffly graduated in relation to the number of servants employed and not imposed in cases where one person only is employed, is expected to yield in 1928 about £73,000.

The horse tax on horses used for private purposes produces £1,330.

The dog tax adds to the revenue £30,900.

The welfare tax on sums expended for wages and salaries is expected to produce in 1928 £2,029,000, and was imposed at a time of great distress in order to maintain the welfare activities of the municipality.

The concessions tax imposed upon businesses which require for their legal conduct a special licence from the authorities, produces £13,200.

HOTEL TAX.

The hotel tax on hotel bills produces £88,000.

The poster tax on all public announcements other than election posters, announcements of public meetings, etc., adds £26,500 to the revenue.

The advertisement tax on paid advertisements in publications produces £132,000.

The auctions tax on public auctions is expected to yield £7,300.

Registration stamps and police rate, including fines, is estimated at £19,000.

The fire brigade tax on persons insured against fire is expected to yield £88,000.

The water-power tax is a temporary tax upon consumers of gas and electric current for the purposes of developing the water supply (as credit had been reduced); it is estimated to yield £110,000.

The land tax imposed in the first years of the Socialist administration is no longer in force because the drastic rent restrictions prevented the development of new property; but

The increment value tax has become extremely important and is payable by the vendor on conveyances of land, the

municipality sharing in the increment value. The yield of the tax for 1928 is expected to be £191,000.

The house duty is a tax on houses—very modest in the case of small properties, but pretty stiff on the properties of the well-to-do—is estimated to produce £1,053,000, and is used for housing development instead of raising expensive loans.

Naturally there was opposition to these Socialist taxes on the part of the well-to-do, for however much the anti-Socialist may scream about the over-burdened ratepayer, he always resists a more just distribution of burdens, especially when such re-distribution pinches the well-to-do.

There were great efforts to evade the law, but the Socialist municipality has taken vigorous steps to secure the proper payment of taxes.

NATIONAL TAXES SHARED.

In addition to its own taxes the municipality receives a certain proportion of the national taxes collected in its area. It is estimated that in 1928 Vienna will receive from this source £3,296,000 in addition to 3 per cent. for collecting a number of federal taxes estimated to secure to the municipality £155,000 net.

A third source of revenue is certain municipal supplements to such federal taxes as stamp duty on conveyances and betting taxes, estimated to produce in 1928, £68,700.

Extraordinary as it may seem in view of the vast municipal development brought about by municipal Socialism, and especially having regard to the terrific economic problems which faced Austria after the war, the local taxation of the population of Vienna is now no higher than it was in 1913.

In connection with the municipality's appointment of directors to joint municipal and commercial companies, it is provided that such directors must pay into the municipal coffers whatever emoluments they may receive, but they are paid, for each meeting they attend, the usual fee paid for attending meetings of Council Committees. If, however, they are appointed to special positions, such as Chairman of the public services concerned, they are allowed to retain the directors' fees; but the total remuneration for each person, however many directorates he may belong to, may not exceed the current salary of a Member of Parliament, although exceptions to the rule may be sanctioned by the Aldermen.

In a number of ways the municipality has assisted Viennese industry. For example, it

has made guarantees in respect of exports to Russia, and it has granted credit facilities to Vienna industrial undertakings.

The municipality has a savings bank conducted as an independent undertaking. For its own purposes as well as for loans to manufacturers and merchants, the municipality has borrowed from the bank at 6 per cent., whereas industry during the same period is obliged to pay the banks 13 per cent. for accommodation.

Small bondholders, who were ruined by the collapse of the krone after the war, have been assisted by the Socialist municipality, thus showing that Socialism is ready to take into consideration the trials and troubles of the "little people." One of the indirect benefits of the collapse in the currency was the practical wiping out of the municipal debt, the service upon which for 1928 will only amount to £22,800.

The municipal budget for 1928 foreshadows a total income of £13,040,000.

STAFF CONDITIONS.

Great improvements have been conceded to the administrative, technical and labouring employees of the municipality. Bars against the employment of Socialists imposed by the old Christian Social administration have been removed and the complete recognition of Trade Unions and Trade Union conditions established. Having regard to general economic conditions in Austria, generous provision is made for pensions. One of the institutions of the municipality is a special loan bank for the purpose of granting loans to the municipal employees.

It is noteworthy that apart from an eight-day tramway strike not a single dispute during the ten years of Socialist administration has led to a stoppage of work worth mentioning.

Splendid social welfare work has also been accomplished on the lines of the work done by our own British Labour municipalities. Maternity and child welfare activities are considerable, and the public health department campaign against death and disease, which was badly needed in Vienna, is going strong. So successful has Socialist Vienna been that the 1913 death rate from tuberculosis of 30 for every 10,000 inhabitants has been reduced in the year 1926 to 20.

In education, bold and imaginative development has taken place. In the last pre-war

year the average number of children in a class was 47, whereas it is now 29. Schools have been reorganised, including considerable changes in the curriculum and time-table. Throughout Austria continuation schools are compulsory for apprentices. There is a School Continuation Board, consisting of representatives of municipality, the employers, the workers, the School Board and the teachers. It has a Socialist majority, and the municipality pays 45 per cent. of the cost. The total educational expenditure for 1928 is estimated at £2,250,000 as compared with about £13,000,000 for London, which, of course, has a considerably greater population. Excluding the cost of trade continuation schools, educational expenditure amounts to £15 10s. for each child, or twice as much as in 1913.

In housing, wonderful work has been done. Rent restriction has been imposed. The municipality has built in advance of its programme, and the Council, having already constructed 7,259 dwellings between 1919 and the end of 1923, announced a further 25,000 due in the succeeding five years. As a matter of fact this promise was fulfilled a full year earlier, and the building programme has been increased to 30,000; so that Vienna is beating the great London County Council with its population of 4,500,000.

FINE HOUSING ARCHITECTURE.

There are, of course, a considerable number of block dwellings in Vienna, as in most other German or Austrian towns; but they have taught us a great deal in making the block dwelling a fine architectural achievement. The Tory London County Council has paid Vienna the compliment of following Viennese architecture for block dwellings in its new Ossulston Street scheme at St. Pancras.

Before the war, of every 1,000 flats built in Vienna, 953 had no water supply and 921 had no water closet on the premises. These conditions have been revolutionised by the Socialist municipality.

It is impossible here to describe fully the wonderful work recorded in this inspiring booklet, with its attractive jazz photographic cover. It is a booklet that should be read by officers and members of local authorities throughout the country, and indeed by everybody who is concerned as to the communal welfare.

The Life of an Irish Agitator

By

CON O'LEARY

THE official life of the late William O'Brien has been written by Mr. Michael MacDonagh, an Irishman and a distinguished Parliamentary journalist, who was already known as the biographer of O'Connell and the historian of the Home Rule movement and of the House of Commons. In compiling "The Life of William O'Brien" (Ernest Benn, 21s.) Mr. MacDonagh had every assistance from his subject and, after Mr. O'Brien's death, from his widow. To so competent a historian O'Brien is a subject in ten thousand, for his life was woven into the very texture of the Land League and the National League, and he was eminently the hillside man of his time, the almost fanatical leader of the Irish jacquerie, against which all the powers of government and Parliament, ascendancy and landlordism, were to battle in vain. O'Brien was never really a House of Commons man; all his effective work was done on the hillsides of Ireland. In O'Brien's power of moving people Mr. MacDonagh places him as an orator only second to O'Connell, and those who have seen Mr. O'Brien swaying an Irish crowd will hesitate to disagree with this high estimate.

When, as a boy, I used to hear him in Ireland he thrilled me as by fire. I first heard him speak from an hotel window; he was denouncing coercion in the early days of the George Wyndham régime, and I remember the agitator's frantic vehemence, expressed in every limb; here was scorn, defiance, frenzy, rage. But now and then there would be interpellated a gentler passage, when the orator dropped his voice almost to a whisper, and he seemed to have forgotten his audience and to be meditating with himself. These different moods seemed to express two natures in the one man.

His life was wrenched out of placid student and contemplative courses at the call of his country, after which he was to know no rest or calm of soul, yet he always had a wistful regret for the intellectual life which he had to abandon, and it is pathetic to observe that when imprisonment or temporary retirement gave him the opportunity, he plunged back at once almost covetously to his writing and

his studies. This was the true man whose life had been wrenched out of its natural course by his duty to his country. But the changeling that was left in his place was a much more arresting figure; one who thought in melodrama, and thus energised the movement with a volcanic fire.

As we look back now at many of those episodes in which O'Brien was the leading figure, it is impossible to escape the occasional suggestion of the political playboy, and yet by these very adventures he assumed an almost fabulous stature in the life of his time in Ireland. The episode of his refusing to wear the prison clothes in Tullamore gaol was treated with derision in the English Press, but at the time all Ireland was stirred to the depths by the account of the prisoner's sufferings, and when it was learned that he had outwitted the authorities and covered his naked limbs with a new suit of Blarney tweed, it was actually believed by some that an angel from on high had wrought the miracle, although the more prosaic fact was that a friendly warder had done the trick.

O'Brien's escape from custody in Carrick-on-Suir was followed by extraordinary tokens of the common people's goodwill towards their champion. "Ireland thrilled at the thought that William O'Brien, the darling man, was a fugitive from the British, hunted by the police and soldiers, roaming the mountains like Galloping O'Hagan and Michael Dwyer of the Glens, and other heroes of the romance of Irish nationality. In the old Irish phrase O'Brien was 'on his keeping,' meaning that the people had in their keeping the succour of one who was outlawed because he was a champion of Ireland. Candles burned all night in the windows of humble cabins in the south-eastern counties, where he was supposed to be at large, signalling shelter for the night. In the priests' houses young curates sat up all night with supper tables spread listening for the tap at the window which would tell them that the hunted man was outside in want of food and rest."

The incidents of his escape and recapture made up a political episode as stirring in its own day as any daring story of Michael Collins in later times. O'Brien's counsel, in

protest against the partisan rulings of the magistrate, declared that he was leaving the court. "So am I," said the prisoner, slipping quickly through his enfleade of police. He disappeared as if the ground had swallowed him. Every street and corner of the town was watched, but O'Brien, disguised in flour-dusted clothes and accompanied by the town miller's daughter who, as they went along, said, "Good evening" to the police, went through without challenge. He was driven to the coast and then taken in a skiff to England, and he turned up in Manchester at the famous Irish meeting in the Hulme Town Hall, again slipping through cordons of police.

I used to know Nationalists and Radicals in Manchester who gave me a vivid account of the sensation O'Brien created as he appeared in the hall. The Chief Constable, being a tactful officer, did not enforce immediate arrest in the face of the state of excitement in the audience, but after the meeting Mr. O'Brien in the custody of a large force of police was conducted by a vast procession with bands and music to the Town Hall, where he was received by the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, and the nominal prisoner slept in the State apartments, the last occupant of which had been the Duke of Clarence, the eldest son of the then Prince of Wales.

Parnell was invincible because of the unity and the determination of the people; but for the liaison which was to destroy him and the moral vendetta which was to kill him he would have put Home Rule through triumphantly. Enough credit has never been given by Irishmen, however, to the support which Home Rule received in the British constituencies, largely under the influence of men of the people like T. P. O'Connor and the late Michael Davitt, whose minds and theory the people could understand. But with the combination of Irish unity and British goodwill the House of Lords resistance was sure to be overcome by the massed indignation of the people, although its resistance was never more unshakeable than on the question of Home Rule, owing to all the tendrills and ramifications of the Irish landlord families in English society. The one thing which could destroy the Irish movement for a generation happened—the people divided. It is sickening now to an Irishman to read the reports of the proceedings in Committee Room 15 when Parnell was deposed from the leadership. John Dillon, T. P. O'Connor, and William

O'Brien were then in America; Mr. Sexton and Mr. Tim Healy were the chief spokesmen of the majority of the party who desired the deposition of Parnell. Parnell's attitude was: "Before you destroy me, get your price." Some of the language used by Mr. Healy towards the leader who was fighting for his life was extraordinarily pungent. When Mr. John Redmond was declaring that the deposition of Parnell would make the Liberals "masters of the Irish Party," Mr. Healy interjected: "Who is to be mistress of the party?" Mr. Sexton, who was sitting between Parnell and Mr. Healy, used to say that he hoped Parnell would strike Mr. Healy, as he seemed about to do, but instead Parnell lost control of himself, for the only time in his life he was seen to sob, and one of those who had moved up to protect Mr. Healy cried: "I appeal to my friend the chairman (i.e., Parnell)." Whereupon Parnell retorted: "Better appeal to your own friends. Better appeal to that cowardly little scoundrel there that in an assembly of Irishmen dares to insult a woman."

Parnell was deposed, the final voting being 44 to 29, and the vice-chairman, Mr. Justin MacCarthy, became leader of the anti-Parnellites—Parnell called him "a nice old gentleman for a ladies' tea-party." Parnell then went into the Irish constituencies, but the combined forces of the Church, the Liberals, and the anti-Parnellites defeated him. His followers were a rabble—albeit a mighty rabble, who would have died for him, and many of them literally fought for him.

On his return from America O'Brien—who could not enter Ireland because of a warrant for his arrest—made tremendous attempts from Boulogne to bring the divided forces together, and Parnell was even willing to close the breach if O'Brien would take his place as leader. But O'Brien nominated Dillon, who was not on such terms of trust with Parnell, and the negotiations quickly broke down.

Parnell continued to fight for his leadership with an uncontrollable fury in the constituencies. He fought when he was a dying man; he killed himself fighting; after his death he had a mighty funeral, the crowds that entered Glasnevin never ceasing for a week. The pity of it was that during the few weeks preceding Parnell's death O'Brien, who in the meantime had served six months in prison, had actively allied himself with the anti-Parnellites. For ten years following Parnell's death Irishmen were at each other's throats. Irish politics at this time fell very

low, and indeed it was in disgust and despair of the older men that the first stirrings of Sinn Fein began at that time. It was O'Brien who brought Parnellites and anti-Parnellites together. As the mountain would not come to Mahommed, Mahommed went to the mountain. O'Brien arranged that John Redmond, whose Parnellite M.P.s had been reduced to eight, should become the leader of the united company. Thus Mr. Redmond had to lead a force nine-tenths of whom had been at daggers drawn with him for ten years. How consummately and patriotically Mr. Redmond fulfilled his task all students of politics know. He lacked the ruthlessness of Parnell, and Irish veterans used to say that Redmond had too much trust in English politicians to be a good leader. He was often adversely compared with Parnell, but there could be no true comparison. Not only was Parnell a man in a million, as Gladstone was a man in a million, but he had created a new Ireland that up to the point of national calamity adored him. He also held the balance of power and the attention of the world. But Redmond was a compromise leader of his own party, and for many years his 80 votes were numerically ineffective against the tremendous Liberal majority. It was only, indeed, at the next General Election when Asquith saw that he would be dependent upon the Irish vote in Parliament that he gave a definite Home Rule pledge. Had the pledge been given before the election the subsequent covenanting of Sir Edward Carson, Lord Birkenhead, and the rest would have lost much of its moral support.

A further weakness to the Redmond leadership was the violent disagreement between O'Brien and Dillon over the land purchase settlement. O'Brien had much to do with the assembly of the Land Conference, which was responsible for putting through the eventual transfer of most of the soil of Ireland from the landlords to the tenants. The emancipation of the Irish tenantry was the most significant measure of liberation in Irish history since Catholic emancipation. The disagreement between O'Brien and Dillon disturbed the country until both sides were swept away ruthlessly by the new oncoming power of Sinn Fein. O'Brien, who had come

into alliance with his old opponents the Healys, abused every step of the Irish Party; he had then the fixed idea that everything could be gained by conferences between the Nationalists and the Irish Unionists. It would have been better in those years that all the Nationalists had held together, though their course might not seem immediately fruitful. And yet it was a much more insignificant faction, as it seemed, that was to capture the country from shore to shore, and send all the veterans packing. But the power of Sinn Fein was built up by British folly; of that there can be no gainsaying. Even so late as 1916 nearly every public body in Ireland passed resolutions condemning the Easter week rising of that year. It was the pair of blunt soldiers—Kitchener and Sir John Maxwell—by the executions and the wholesale dragooning of the country, who changed the mind and heart of Ireland. Just fancy it! About a thousand Irishmen fought in Dublin in 1916. Tens of thousands—in obedience to the majority command—did not turn out. Kitchener and Maxwell saved their faces by having thousands of those non-combatants arrested and interned, so that anyhow they suffered for their country. It was soldiers who lost Ireland to Great Britain.

There was something appealing in the way in which O'Brien in the last years of his life gave his support to the Irish Republican Party; it was the return of the old spirit that had sent him as a boy importing arms with his Fenian brother. It is to be hoped that young Ireland is being taught that there was a patriotic Ireland before Collins and De Valera. For the Ireland of O'Brien and Redmond, Dillon, and T. P. O'Connor was one or two generations nearer to the old Gaelic-speaking Ireland. The change which these agitators wrought on the face of Ireland, from the time when Parnell began, to the dethronement of Redmond, was almost incredible, and it was only when the serfs had been emancipated as a result of that earlier agitation that the sons of the old serfs were able to get their heads up and to demand for their country a measure of unqualified freedom. And the "old contemptibles" should be remembered for ever in the country where another generation has completed the work that they began.

Sir Oscar Warburg and His Associates

THE BANKERS AND THE "UNDERGROUND"

By

J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

THE presentation to Parliament of private Bills, promoted by the London County Council and by the Underground Electric Railways of London Limited, and its associated undertakings to enable the latter to take over from the former the magnificent property which comprises its tramway system, is a matter of so grave concern for all who believe in the retention, let alone the extension, of public ownership of basic industries that no excuse is needed once again to return to the exposure of the vested interests involved. Last month, it was my endeavour to show the tendencies, political, technical, and financial, which make inevitable the interlocking of transport and electrical enterprise into such a web of interests as makes actual consolidation of these into a single corporation or series of corporations the only alternative to their supersession by some great administrative unit under public ownership and popular control.

Following upon that examination was an *exposé* of the actual corporate if not individual *personnel* of the British Electric Traction Company Limited (who control the twenty or thirty road transport subsidiaries of the British Automobile Traction Company Limited), the Underground Electric Railways of London Limited, and a vast new incorporation on an international and, indeed, inter-Continental scale of the financial and transport and electrical interests in the Financial Trust for Transport and Industrial Enterprises; whose headquarters is in Brussels. Finally, there was just the merest hint of the connections that exist between the politicians and the private capitalists whose interest it is to transfer from public to private ownership the great national service of the "Beam" Wireless and the great local services of the London County Council Tramways. Just a hint, the merest hint and nothing more.

Now that the Municipal Reform majority on the L.C.C. has completely shown its hand, and the political instruments of high finance have definitely been set in motion, both in the government of London and in the Parliament across the bridge in Westminster, it behoves all those who are organising and participating

in the campaign of resistance to this latest and most flagrant piece of political jobbery to acquaint themselves with the *personnel* of the principals.

When such private legislation comes before the House of Commons it cannot hope to pass unless it has the endorsement and, indeed, approval of the Minister of Transport. The present Minister of Transport is, of course, Colonel Wilfred Ashley.

When the Government was pushing through Committee in the summer of 1926 the Electricity Supply Bill, the Minister in charge, aggressive and tireless, was Sir Douglas McGarel Hogg, now Lord Chancellor Hailsham.

Why exactly the legal qualifications pertaining to the high offices of Attorney-General and Lord High Chancellor of England should peculiarly fit a man to pilot through Parliament an electricity supply Bill was, perhaps, not obvious. Still, seemingly, Sir Douglas McGarel Hogg had his references all in order.

Over the way in the County Hall has been functioning another man, another advocate of individual initiative and private property. This man was the chairman of the London County Council's Special Committee on Traffic. He was the signatory of the Report recommending the transfer of the L.C.C. property in the tramways to the Underground Group. His name was Sir Oscar Emanuel Warburg.

Sir Oscar Emanuel Warburg was the second son of the late Frederic Elias Warburg, of whom we read in the "Jewish Encyclopædia," Vol. XII., p. 466, that "as a director of the Electric Traction Company he was one of the founders of the Central London Electric Railway."

This latter undertaking has been taken, so far as management is concerned, into the system owned and controlled by the Underground Electric Railways of London Limited.

This being so, my curiosity took me to the Registry of Joint Stock Companies there to make inquiries for and into the Electric Traction Company Limited that registered on March 22, 1894, was dissolved on May 7, 1907. During its thirteen years of life it had its very

important part to play in the development of the London Electric Railways.

Extremely informative as to the anatomy of the international high finance involved in the Underground group ever since its inception and still continuing most firmly in control is that old file of the share lists of the Electric Traction Company Limited.

Sir Oscar Emanuel Warburg was, indeed, himself a director from early in 1902 until the demise of the company some five years later.

In the first share list, filed in August, 1895, appeared seven prominent officials (since directors) of the greatest of all clearing houses of international electrical finance, the Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas. Lord Rothschild and Carl Meyer figured prominently. So did H. L. Bischoffsheim, of the firm and family of German - Dutch - Belgian - French - British affiliations that founded the Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas. At the same address was the father-in-law of Colonel Wilfred Ashley, viz., Sir Ernest Cassel and, also then at the same address that great merchant banker of to-day, Robert Fleming, of Robert Fleming and Company.

In the same illuminating list were S. Bleichroder, representative of the Rothschilds in Berlin; Baron de Hirsch, of Paris; Ogden Mills, of New York (later, joined by J. P. Morgan, jun.); Jacob H. Schiff, of Kuhn, Loeb and Company, of New York; and Arthur Wagg.

The present board of directors of the Underground Electric Railways of London Limited includes, mark you, Sir Max J. Bonn, of Helbert, Wagg and Company Limited; Gordon Leith, partner in Kuhn, Loeb and Company.

This same Gordon Leith is chairman of the recently formed European Merchant Banking Company Limited, most of whose capital seems to be held by officials of Kuhn, Loeb and Company. The manager of this European Merchant Banking Company Limited, heir to the Barony of Grantley, represents in Central Europe Speyer and Company, of New York.

Speyer and Company were the original promoters in 1902 of the Underground Electric Railways of London Limited. During the period when the *Daily Mail* was howling Sir Edgar Speyer as "a Hun"—which was before Mr. F. A. Szarvasy found more than £9,000,000 on mortgage security for Lord Rothermere—the Speyers passed their control over to those great South African Empire builders and race-horse owners, the Barnato Joels.

Speyer and Company, of New York, originally an offshoot of the old Speyer bank in Frankfort-on-Main, has become the main-spring of the whole gigantic family business which, operating in Germany as Lazard-Speyer-Ellissen, has recently opened up on a most vigorous financial offensive in loan and general industrial investment enterprise in the German capital.

Speyer and Company have as their London representatives J. Henry Schroeder and Company and Helbert, Wagg and Company Limited.

J. Henry Schroeder and Company are, in all probability, the most active international merchant and investment banking house at present operating in and from the City of London. They have taken over a very great part of the agency business formerly done for the German banks by their own London branches. They have been very heavily financing coal and iron industry in the Ruhr, having acquired there, jointly with Dillon, Read and Company, of New York, some of the most profitable of the constituent parts of the Stinnes' Rhine-Elbe-Union. They have taken enormous mortgages on the Powell Duffryn Steam Coal Company Limited in South Wales, and are financing much of the rationalisation of the coal industry. They have a big house in New York—the J. Henry Schroeder Banking Corporation—and are heavily interested in the Boden Credit Anstalt in Vienna and the Hungarian Commercial Bank of Pesth.

Some time ago they established in the U.S.A. the American, British, and Continental Corporation. Participating in this are banks in eleven different countries. That was in 1926. Already, in 1924, they had promoted here in London the Continental and Industrial Trust Limited.

In this company's latest return (November 20, 1928) appear not only the Marquess of Londonderry, Lord Eustace Sutherland Campbell Percy, and Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, M.P., but, along with two others, one of whom is A. L. Schlesinger of Kayser and Company, merchant bankers, Sir Oscar Emanuel Warburg with more than 15,000 shares.

In the same company is that statesman of so many parts—and interests—Sir Douglas McGarel Hogg, now Lord Hailsham. So much for Schroeders.

Helbert, Wagg and Company Limited is another house which has come most rapidly to the fore. It has most influential connections with the United States and with Holland. It

represents some of the oldest interests in railway investment at home and in America. It draws upon the fabulous reserves of the Prudential Assurance Company Limited.

Over the fortunes of its promotion, the British and German Trust Limited presides Lord Ashfield.

Co-operating with the Waggs and Lord Ashfield upon the Board are the secretary of the Prudential Assurance Company Limited, and directors of the following Berlin banks: the Berliner Handelsgesellschaft, the Deutsche Bank, the Mittel-deutsche Kreditbank, the Reichs-Kredit Gesellschaft and the Preussische Staatsbank.

Representing the last named is Dr. Franz Schroeder.

Representing his bank in London are J. Henry Schroeder and Company.

So we are back again to the old firm. Also we are back again in the case of this British and German Trust Limited, to another large holding by Lord Chancellor Hailsham.

Finally, to show the unity of action and the solidarity of sympathy which now characterises these financiers—able by the aid of skilful lawyers to evade all the entanglements into which other internationalists, not so acceptable to the promoter of the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act, might fall—let us detail the directors of the English and New York Trust Company Limited.

Chairman: R. L. Benson, of Robert Benson and Company Limited; Philip Fleming, of Robert Fleming and Company Limited; A. A. Jameson, of H. S. Lefevre and Company; I. E. Jones, of Helbert, Wagg and Company Limited; R. H. V. Smith, of Morgan, Grenfell and Company (merchant bankers).

H. A. Vernet, a partner in Robert Benson and Company Limited, is deputy chairman of the Underground Electric Railways of London Limited.

R. L. Benson, another partner, is chairman of the London Electric Supply Corporation Limited.

W. K. Whigham, a partner in Robert Fleming and Company Limited, was appointed a member of the Central Electricity Committee set up under Lord Hailsham's fostering, the Electricity Supply Act of 1926.

Morgan, Grenfell and Company is the London house of J. P. Morgan and Company.

Sir Oscar Emanuel Warburg, of the London County Council, is, if not among the immortals, at least amongst the internationalists.

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The Political Puzzle in the U.S.A.

By

MARK STARR

THE final returns for the presidential elections in last November are not yet made, but they will bring little consolation to Socialist and Labour supporters. A solitary 1 per cent. of the votes cast (and that is an optimistic forecast) seems little recompense for the efforts headed by Norman Thomas and Maurer. In 1924 La Follette, although personally a Republican, headed the progressive forces, received the help of the Socialists and, with a total vote of nearly 5,000,000, attained 8.5 per cent. of the total poll. Four years earlier Debs had polled 919,799 votes on an independent Socialist ticket. Now in 1928 much less than half that vote has been secured, and even Milwaukee has failed to send to Congress the veteran Victor Berger, who has been the only Socialist there since 1920.

The election of Hoover means a continuance of the iron heel in the Philippines; a pushing of Pan-American schemes to unite Latin America with U.S.A. against any rival grouping in the League of Nations; a subsidised mercantile marine, a greater Navy, higher tariffs, and at the same time a disregard of the plight of the farmer and the miner. The radical *New Republic* and *The Nation* editors for the most part supported Smith in order not to waste their votes, and their protesting voices against Yankee Imperialism reach only a very small and powerless circle. The Socialist Party hopes to benefit from the support created in the campaign, but there is no group of organised Labour interested enough to assist. The Socialists are still on the outside of the Trade Unions, and Socialism largely remains exotic in alien hands. The intellectuals say that Britain should be imitated and a Labour Party formed, but that is not practical politics at the moment, and nothing is expected in the near future by way of a third Party.

In explanation of this puzzle it is often said that politics do not matter very much in U.S.A. Big Business, which wants to keep the Government out of business, helps to spread the widely current idea that graft and corruption are unavoidable in political affairs. Certainly the subornery of politicians, great and small, is not thought to be so serious a matter in U.S.A. as elsewhere; the Teapot Dome Oil scandals would have been the death of a political party in

another country. Of course, the general "get-rich-quick psychology" enters into the situation, and questionable methods of wealth acquirement often create admiration rather than disgust. But corruption and graft arise out of the nature of the Party machinery, and "the spoils to the victors" system, both of which must be understood. The fact that only two Party machines, the Republican and Democratic, have successfully existed in U.S.A. is thus explained by Professor C. A. Beard:

"In this conflict between agriculture and capitalism, which has been at the heart of the American Party battle, is to be found some clue, at least, to the existence of two parties in U.S. as distinguished from the multiple party system of Europe. American society has been simpler from the beginning than European society. There have been no racial minorities with historic roots and special territorial interests, such as once furnished the Polish party for Germany and now supplies the Alsatian party for France. The Army of the U.S. has been small for obvious reasons, and has never constituted a great separate class in the American social system. The various Churches, while undoubtedly powerful in influence, have never possessed large landed property or high offices in the State. Hence there has been no practical nutriment for clerical and anti-clerical parties. So the conflict between agriculture and capitalism has not been confused by collateral issues. Moreover the size of the party machines and the expense of maintaining them work against the rise of small parties in the U.S. It is usually easier for a person with a new idea—if it is not too radical—to get a hearing in one of the major parties, than to attract a following by pursuing an independent course of action." (Page 141, *American Party Battle*.)

There was then, after the War of Independence, no feudal landowning caste and class to be attacked by the rising industrialists what time the workers gained political right as a by-product of the struggle. Votes were given, and not hardly won by Chartist and other agitations, as in Britain. The Trade Unions had no general struggle for existence against Combination Acts in their development. In the light of this the non-partisan "reward your friends and punish your enemies" political policy of the American

Federation of Labour is more understandable. So long as only reforms were sought and freedom from legal injunctions, it was much more effective to bargain votes and support with the ruling parties. However, it can be noted, in passing, that the farmer and agricultural interest is lessening in U.S.A. During the years 1900 to 1920 the urban population increased by 30,000,000 while the farm population remained stationary. Experts say that 1,500,000 are now being crowded into cities every year, while agricultural depression is producing a decline outside. In 1920 the farmers were 33.1 per cent. of the gainfully employed, but the figure will be much smaller in 1930. Hoover's Republican inroads upon the hitherto "solid South" coincides with the trek of mills and factories into those States, while the migration of the negro into the Northern cities makes more general the colour question which had previously united the South with the Democratic Party from the Civil War onwards.* If this process continues either the Democratic Party will be changed or a new Party will arise.

The more one studied the programmes of the Republicans and the Democrats in the recent contest, the more alike they seemed. Al Smith symbolised, it is true, the later immigrants of the towns and their opposition to the mass production of morals by prohibition. But the respective parties are not separated by widely diverging principles. Indeed they are only two great pieces of machinery for producing votes at the required moment. The politician may receive invitations from both parties to be their candidate. The trust will contribute, in some cases, to the funds of both parties to have a friend in court—whichever group wins. By tradition the Democratic Party has been the critic, and while U.S. prosperity continues Republican nominees will be accepted. Only a split in that camp made possible the Wilson administration (1913-1921).

The unit of party organisation is the precinct organiser or committeeman, who has on his register about 600 voters, with details of their political allegiance. Next comes the ward, district, and city chiefs, right away up to the bosses of national renown. The Government recognises the candidates selected by "the primaries" of the parties, and at the primary nomination meetings only a small percentage (say 10 per cent.) even of the listed supporters attend. There are said to be 250,000 committeemen, and their duty is to keep in touch with their voters and produce them when required.

This is not a whole-time job, as in the supervising of a larger area. The party machine names the paid election officials (six for each precinct), and also the polling places, and this gives it a chance to assist financially its supporters. The higher party men often serve as public officials when their party has the spoils to divide. There are, it is estimated, 2,000,000 political jobholders in U.S.—from the city street sweeper up to the president. In some cases judges and heads of administrative departments are publicly elected. The ward executive man usually distributes the Campaign Fund "to get out the votes" on election day. In many wards Republican and Democratic clubs are maintained as centres of social life; organised outings, concerts are arranged. The party officials help their people in every way—from getting employment to seeing the magistrate and settling up Police Court proceedings. It is the expected thing that posts in city administration will be given to party supporters, and that contributions to party funds can influence the awarding of contracts and the levying of taxation. Business men seeking favours, candidates for office, and those already enjoying them, all swell the huge contributions necessary to run a modern election. (Nearly 4,000,000 dollars were spent to elect Harding in 1920.) When matters are discussed in State Legislatures, the members anxious for re-election first find out what the party "boss" wants and vote accordingly. Gradually opinion is growing for the adoption of a merit system in all public service, but the obstacles are very obvious in the vested interests of the powerful party machines. Another factor in the political situation in U.S. is the greatness of the territory covered and its diversity. Imagine one political party and machine canvassing Europe for its suffrage, and electing a president to reign over it. The 48 States do not easily yield up any power to the Federal Government. The machinery of Government is cumbrous and slow; an amendment to the U.S. constitution must have a two-thirds majority in both houses, and a majority in three-quarters of the State. Then there are the checks of the Supreme Court and the President's veto. Eighteen years were necessary to reverse the decision of the Supreme Court on the illegality of income tax; 20 to secure the direct election of senators; 45 years of agitation to get the 18th Amendment concerning Prohibition; 50 years to get the 19th Amendment introducing Women's Suffrage. The gestation of an elephant is more difficult than that of a mouse, and to try and build a Labour Party on a European scale, and to spread propaganda through a Continent are big tasks.

* The inrush of the negro into industrial life is illustrated by the fact that negro town dwellers now number 4,932,000 (i.e., nearly half the total of negroes in United States).

These considerations affect, and will continue to do so, the possibility of a Labour Party in U.S.A. The deeper factor, however, is the full dinner pail—the present general prosperity in America despite the bad spots in mining, farming, and textiles. “Welfare capitalism” with its company unions, has replaced in many areas the old style bitter clashes between Capital and Labour. The majority of the people in U.S.A. now believe in Hoover prosperity and its continuance.

In view of the possibility of capturing the “primaries,” it has been suggested by some circles that progressive elements should unite upon a reform programme (disarmament, Free Trade, social insurance, taxation of unearned income, tax on land values, public ownership of public utilities), and get election through the Democratic machine. As a precedent there is the success of the Non-Partisan League in North Dakota. Control over local government could probably be secured by such tactics. It is doubtful, however, whether permanent control could be attained, and whether anything more than minor reforms could be so secured. A Labour Block in Congress would naturally be created by such a method, but unlike the Farmer block its demands would finally put it, not in the position of holding a balance of power between rival groups, but in antagonism to a united capitalist grouping.

What of the Trade Unions in the matter of political action? At present their leaders support either Republican or Democrat. The magnate Mellon and the miners’ leader, John L. Lewis, came out for Hoover; Rashob, of General Motors, and W. Green, President of the A.F. of L., came out unitedly for Smith. Hoover was influenced to acknowledge that

injunctions had been abused “in some instances,” while Smith also pledged himself to remove “abuses” in the use of these legal strangleholds. There is much similarity between the craft unions of 1850-1880 in Britain and those now in the A.F. of L. There is the same restriction of entry by way of high fees and contributions. The unskilled workers remain untouched to a very great extent. The craft worker shares in the expansion of Empire, the debit side of which is yet small. The menace of an immigration influx has been stemmed. Why should workers, placed so favourably *inside* capitalism, want to go *outside*? (The U.S.A. Department of Labour gives the average hourly union rate of wages as \$1.159 on May 1, 1928, with a weekly average of \$53.65. This was a slight advance from 1927. The real wage is indicated by the fact that the cost of living, taking 1900 as 100, is now 170 and wages are 240. It must be remembered that the membership of the A.F. of L. is now barely 3,000,000.) The new auto industry, the new textile mills in the South, the steel and packing industries, however, are not organised in their biggest and most important units. But the later immigrants, who are the present hewers of wood and drawers of water, will soon get used to the standards of life which to many of them now seem very high. The great mechanised factories engaged in fiercer competition will probably drop their practice and their lip service to the policy of high wages. Either the younger and militant elements of the A.F. of L. will organise these sections or the new unionism will be a separate growth. Such an expansion of organisation would necessitate some political action, also to obtain protective legislation, and this will probably be the way of development.

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Our Coming Labour State Organism

By

EDWARD HUNTER

BY all the known laws of logic and sequence Britain stands upon the eve of entering a Labour State. The changing economic order has coincident with it a changing standard of ethics. Democracy has had the power to change orders at will for decades. Democracy has been thick-headed, muddled and all tangled up in its own fetters. The slave sent his master to make laws that held the free-captive in stronger bonds ; the creator of wealth left his treasure in the hands of his oppressor to enjoy ; the head of the family opened wide the door to allow the raider and usurper to plunder, ravage and starve old and young alike—Democracy has done these things ; and for less than a mess of pottage sold his birthright. Now, the magical change in the flux of time and events can be described in one word. That transforming word will ring clear over all the failures and meaningless suffering among the race of men, and will be forever called blessed ; in living letters of the most refined gold let it be written—SOCIAL : *Social Democracy* ! Simple as that.

Statecraft is a science, the eldest of all. The most human of the arts, yet nothing in jungle life so brutal. From the jungle man can escape ; from the State there is none can avoid the suffering imposed by inhumane laws, unless those favoured few whom a thick-muddled-headed Democracy itself elected to inflict these same ill-balanced measures of Statecraft.

The main features of the passing order are clearly set before the eyes of men, and even the dullest may understand. Yet, because *Social Democracy* will be the youngest of all the sciences and arts, the ways that are best to develop a healthy, secure growth are giving cause for thought. With all the miraculous achievements of Man over Nature and the elements he has yet to learn to govern himself wisely and well. Hitherto his greatest miracles over formidable problems have led him into scenes of his own destruction—wars and slaughter ; in peace—slums and starvation ; in crisis and normal life bringing needless, senseless, early death, sorrow and mocking reward for his unending toil and epics of patience and endurance.

A Statecraft that is designed to endure against panic, and calculated, deliberate analysis must stand fundamentally upon the basis of emotional excellence and ethical greatness. The merciless

destruction and ruin of the past and passing forms of "civilisation" have rested upon a relentlessly unjust economic order.

Man's fortunes and misfortunes, adventures and experiences, have been training and fitting him for the *Social Future*. In the hour of deliverance, the changing from Democracy to Social Democracy, our minds are deeply exercised over apparently conflicting powers at our service. Because of ideals grown out of experiences individuals took the initiative and legislated for themselves ; so we have a powerful Co-operative Movement. Similar ideals for like reasons moved in resourcefulness and we have municipal communities legislating powerful changes.

The relation of these two great social governance forces to each other must be understood before it is possible to relate to each its place and function within the coming Labour State organism.

A proved way for demonstrative purposes is to examine the working of the mechanics of the organism, and having seen, the better to understand its characteristics, take the mechanism down and proceed to build it up again. Our Co-operative Movement is one of the wonders of achievement within the astounding exhibits of scientifically equipped machines of production and distribution. In the taking down and rebuilding there remains the basic characteristic of its very genesis ; a challenge to the orthodox structure of capitalism. Here we have a growing opposition to capitalist method ; much that is purely academical, but deep down there is the quintessence of permanent change from an individual-combine-syndicalist order to that of a social order. Our Co-operative Movement has been hindered by the limitations imposed by a State Government friendly to the capitalist method, and brutally in opposition to the development of the economic and ethical standards of the Co-operative Movement. The strength of the Co-operative Movement is also its weakness ; in these standards there is "the dividend" which bears an apparent relation to "vested interests" and is reflected in "Tory and Liberal" Co-operators. Those who are in the Co-operative Movement for purely financial gain are blind to the value of ethical import. The true, loyal Co-operator sees in his movement the factor for change, to whom the ethical force is as a religion holding the regeneration of the

orthodox vested-interest victims, and the establishment of a Social Commonwealth.

Our Municipal Government presents much that is akin to the Co-operative Movement. The conflict arises in well-defined areas of activity. Shall we have a Municipal Milk Supply or a Co-operative Distribution? Municipal lighting, transport, banks, health and such "public" departments; Co-operative bakery, factory, and such manufacturing and "home" departments. Then, over all, with a halo of social service, comes the Labour State. This brings us to the vital and essential understanding of our problem—the co-relation of our subjects.

What distinguishes the Co-operative Movement is that it is voluntary; while within the Municipal Government, based upon popular vote, there is a minority (representing the remnants of our passing Democracy) upon whom municipal ethics and standards have to be imposed; the majority is on the way to a Social Order.

The splendid resources of the socially-minded people have kept their faith and made possible the realisation of a Labour State where ethics place the excellence of social service as the dynamic basis of the mechanism of Statecraft organism. Freed from limitations and strictures upon Municipal and Co-operative development, and given the sympathy and understanding of a common ideal, there need be no complications in determining the functions of these powers. A glance at our key industries reveals that the operatives, having met the problem in many forms, have declared the solution to be Nationalisation. The Labour State is the logic and sequence of experience and need. The future Statecraft will own the mines, railways, transport, land and all means whereby the people live. From platitude we are passing to realisation; through the ethical concept to the new social economic order based upon social welfare. This national concept is a gradual recognition of ultimate life, and after epochs of endeavour, the application of, but newly-accepted tenets must necessarily appear to be gradual, however large may be the scale of operation. To clear ourselves from age-long entanglements, to make not only escape sure, but to safeguard against creating new and stronger fetters, the relationship of Co-operative-Municipal-State-Nationalised methods must be harmonised.

To perform this service, to administer well, keep free from error and hold the faith, will need that measure of courage and patience which will be more enduring than any shock of violent effort or endeavour. In the process there may be little of the spectacular, and the easy idealist-

emotionalist will look on, contributing sand. While those with vision will bow to their task, mindful only of the one thing that matters—that Man for the first time has begun to govern wisely and well.

It is possible that our sand-throwers will grit our mechanism, and the Labour State perish thereby. The alternative will be a dictatorship, under whose regime neither Democracy nor Social Democracy will dare claim a mind to glow or a heart to feel.

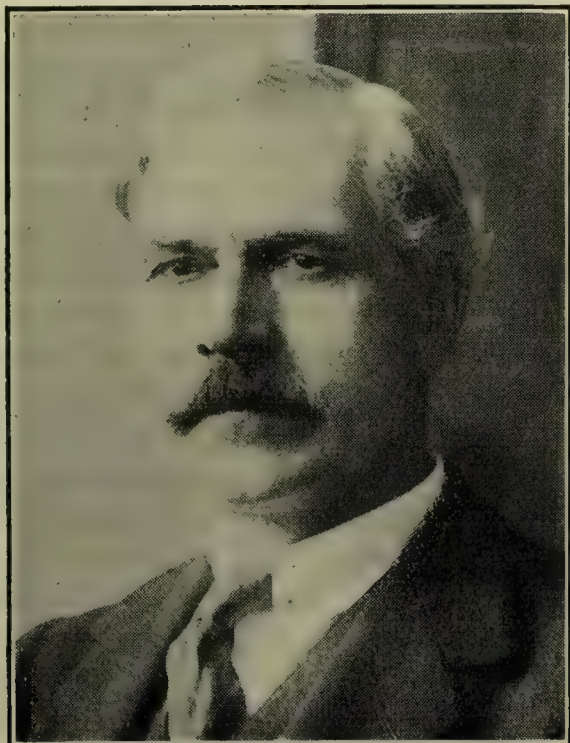
Let us remember that under Democracy our part was aggressive, and in the days of Social Democracy our early part will be that of as vigilant defenders. Our philosophical and psychological approach will have undergone a significant change. The moral: An Army can defeat itself!

The Labour State is upon us rapidly at the end of an embarrassing past; the dream out-distanced by reality. In the scheme of our Labour State organism there are several missing links. Here we may trace one. The source of all wealth and living gifts—the land—is a seemingly simple problem, but like most simple things presents formidable difficulties. In all matters civic the elixir of new life will be immediately enjoyed. In this land business we have no ready machinery to effect our proposals. Being utilitarian, the existing Local Government may serve well enough until the new conveyances can be provided. Looks very much like the setting-up of a fearless iconoclastic department to deal with our landed gentry and their camp-followers. Only this month these latter modern Shylocks were to be met in one of the largest county markets of Scotland. The market is subsidised by the farmers. Here, he came selling his food produce, and the buyer reaped a profit of 100 per cent. when re-selling to the consumer. Marketing is another of the simple-looking proposals. The buying and selling of a Nation's requirements is big with possibilities—also with difficulties. County marketing, subsidised by the farmers themselves, ought to have given other results. The point here to observe is that the farmer is not solving a problem of first-class magnitude to himself on these limited lines of collective selling.

Both Co-operative and Municipal effort has failed in this particular land-food-raising matter. The problem awaits the advent of a power with greater resources—the Labour State. As with our Co-operative and Municipalities, every department of human life will know the regenerating influences of our Labour State—success will be the measure of what can be attained in one common ideal.

New Year Greetings

December, 1928.



After four years that for many of our people have spelt depression, destitution and despair, we stand upon the threshold of a year of brighter hopes.

The present Government can only last a few months longer. It has grossly mismanaged the affairs of the nation and has subordinated the welfare of the general community to the interests of the class with which it is concerned.

I have no doubt as to what the verdict of the people will be. They are heartily tired of this Government's muddled legislation and administration, of its attitude of class favouritism towards every question it approaches, and of its callous disregard of the health and welfare of multitudes of honest men and women and suffering children. They are determined that this Government must go, and they are looking to Labour to give them brighter hopes and to lead them to a better state of affairs. If they will put into our hands the weapon of power that we need to undertake our task, we on our part will see that they are not disappointed.

Harry Macdonnell

20th December, 1928.

Greetings to the millions of organised workers and their families for the year 1929. Not only new hopes, but new inspirations and new spirit fill our souls for the New Year. The Labour Movement can and must save the country from the calculated sordidness of Unemployment.

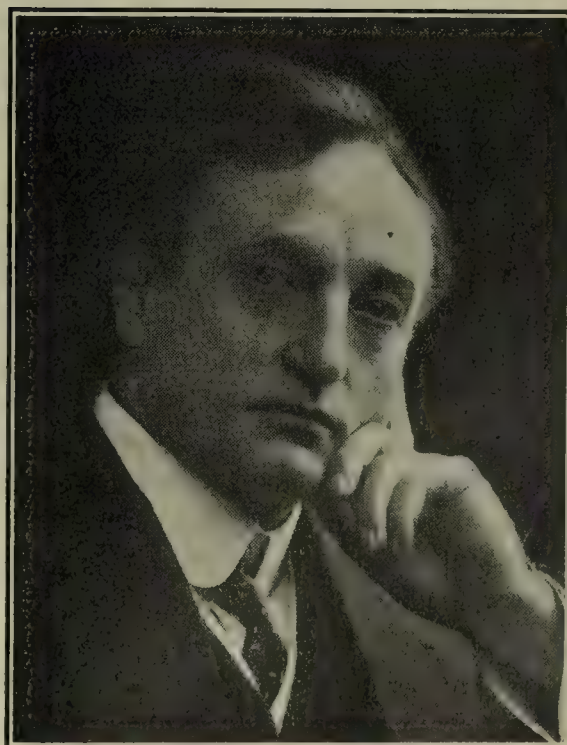
Good trade and international goodwill go together, and we must remove from power and office the present Government which has so sinisterly wrecked our trade and alienated commercial potentiality with Russia and other great countries. Let the New Year give us a wholesouled team work, and victory will crown our noblest efforts.

Cheerio and Good Luck

for the New Year

Yours sincerely

Ben Tillet.



THE
LABOUR MAGAZINE

*Official Journal of the Trades Union Congress
and the Labour Party*

Editorial Offices: TRANSPORT HOUSE (SOUTH
BLOCK), SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W. 1.

Telephones: VICTORIA 8016-7-8

Telegrams: LABRECOM, CHURTON, LONDON

SIXPENCE MONTHLY, by post 7d.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION 7s.

THE illness of the King, which has been the cause of deep anxiety to the whole nation, has served as a timely reminder that the qualities of the individual make their strongest appeal when applied to the service of the community. The eighteen years of King George's reign have been years of peculiar difficulty for a constitutional monarch faced with situations in which the validity of the constitution itself has been in debate in an atmosphere rendered more perplexing by the fact that nobody is perfectly clear as to what the constitution is. Mere propriety of action could not carry the most constitutional of monarchs happily through these successive crises; it is a fact that the King has held his place in the regard of the people by those manifestations of character (using the word in an "English" and perhaps, therefore, an indefinable sense), which we urgently desire to see in all men and women with high public functions to perform. As Mr. MacDonald said, His Majesty, in the anxious days of his illness, commanded not only respectful homage, but received a warm popular sympathy accurately illustrating a position in the hearts and minds of the people which all the rulers and potentates of the earth must envy.

THE record of the Government with regard to the relief of distress among the suffering children in the coalfields is not one of which their supporters can feel very proud. True, they have at last, after more than a fortnight's delay, consented to make a grant from Exchequer Funds towards the object in view. But the amount that they have granted is wholly inadequate to meet the need; they are still leaving private charity to deal with the distress instead of shouldering it as a national responsibility; and by their policy of procrastination they have deliberately permitted the suffering of the children to continue for more than a fortnight longer than was necessary, in cold and frosty wintry weather. All that they are consenting to give is a grant to the Lord Mayor's Fund of £1 for every £1 that is subscribed by private donors—with an initial grant of £150,000 to cover the £150,000 that has already been privately subscribed—and a grant of £100,000 to help the work of transferring miners' families from one part of the country to another. They have definitely refused to provide facilities for the passage of the Children (Provision of Footwear) Bill, despite the fact that it was unanimously accorded a first reading by the House when Miss Margaret Bondfield introduced it early in December.

* * *

NOT only is the amount of their present grant inadequate, but the Government will have to realise that not merely by distributing doles can they hope to solve the question of the decay of the mining industry. The problem requires treatment of a far more fundamental character than that. And whilst in the view of the Labour Movement nothing short of complete nationalisation and re-organisation along with the power and transport services will ever restore the coal industry to its rightful position in the national

economy, yet there are certain remedial measures that even the present Government must be urged to carry into effect without a moment's delay. The first of these is the immediate easing of the labour market by the grant of pensions to the aged miners who still remain at work, and the granting of maintenance allowances to enable the boys who would otherwise be driven to look for work to remain at school until a later age. The next is that the mineworkers should be given the full benefits of the National Unemployment Insurance scheme, the Government accepting full financial responsibility for this, as well as doing their utmost to secure the recruitment of unemployed mineworkers into other industries and facilitating their migration. Moreover, there is much that might be done to assist the migration of mineworkers overseas, though any scheme for this purpose would have to be properly considered and worked out in collaboration with the Trade Unions in this country and in the Dominions. The ultimate solution of the industry's problems, of course, lies in nationalisation and scientific reorganisation, aiming at the creation of a single public service combining coal production and utilisation with power and transport in a single national system. But the urgent needs of the present situation in the coalfields cannot be made to await the advent of a Government prepared to legislate on these lines. Some remedial steps must be taken *immediately*. There is little doubt that the support of the organised working-class movement would be forthcoming for any sincere and systematic attempt the Government might make to relieve the more urgent necessities of the coalfields in this direction.

* * *

EVEN the boldest supporter of private enterprise must be compelled to admit that there is something wrong with a system of society which produces the anomalies

which we see around us to-day. Nobody can rationally defend a system which leaves hundreds of thousands of children in the coalfields and other distressed areas without proper boots to their feet and many of them with no boots at all, while 22,000 boot and shoe operatives who might be making the boots needed are out of employment, and wearing out their own boots by walking the streets. Equally indefensible is the state of affairs under which hundreds of thousands of families are crying out for houses, while over 100,000 building trade workers are compulsorily idle, drawing unemployment benefit instead of wages, and denied the chance of building the houses that are needed. Similarly, under this much-vaunted system of private enterprise, we find thousands of poverty-stricken families huddled together in their humble homes before cold, cheerless hearths, while 280,000 coal miners are out of work and millions of tons of coal are lying in the ground waiting to be won. Labour says that a system which produces such anomalies should be changed. The Liberals and Tories, however, who are so fond of pretending to be realists, claim that it is the only rational industrial and social system and, according to them, it must be allowed to continue.

* * *

ALTHOUGH the Labour Party has opposed the proposal with all the powers at its command, the Government has forced through Parliament an Order for a further reduction of the subsidy in aid of working-class houses. The disastrous consequences that are likely to follow the Government's action are not difficult to foresee, for we have the experience of the previous subsidy reduction—which the Government put into operation just over a year ago—to work upon. The result on that occasion was that housebuilding was reduced by more than one-half during the twelve months immediately following, and that the number

of unemployed building trade workers was increased by several thousands. Although it knows that the same thing must happen again—and although it knows that the housing shortage is still a long way from being overcome, for there are long waiting lists of applicants for houses in nearly every town—the Government is callously sweeping these considerations aside and is attempting to justify its action on the ground that a reduction of the subsidy will lead to a reduction in the cost of building. This contention, of course, is utterly fallacious.

* * *

WHILST it is true that the cost of housebuilding has shown a downward trend since the Minister of Health announced his previous reduction of the subsidy, that reduction in prices has been due to causes altogether removed from the reduction of the subsidy. A few of them may be mentioned. The houses that have recently been approved by the Ministry are smaller in size than those in the period before the reduction of the subsidy. The fitments are of a lower quality. There has been a 5 per cent. reduction in building workers' wages. There has been an all-round reduction in the prices of building materials. And owing to the large-scale building operations that were encouraged by the 1924 Housing Act passed by the Labour Government, a better state of organisation in the industry, leading to economy of methods, has come about. But if all these cogent arguments fail to convince the Tory mind completely that the lower cost of building is not due to the lower subsidy, there is one more fact that should put the matter beyond all doubt. It is this—that during the very period in which the prices of building with a reduced subsidy fell in England and Wales, they fell in Scotland also, although in the latter country the subsidy was retained at its original unreduced level. Nothing could

prove more definitely and more conclusively that the reduction in building prices has had nothing whatever to do with the reduction of the subsidy.

* * *

THE excuse that the Government puts forward in an attempt to justify its action in cutting down by £12,000 the grants in aid of milk for mothers and babies is one of the lamest to which Parliament has ever been treated. According to the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health the cuts were made so that the Ministry might be able to balance its account. "A reduction of about £12,000," he said, "was made in the grants available for certain local authorities in aid of their expenditure on milk during the present financial year in order to keep the grants paid by the department for the health services within the amount voted by Parliament." But when the War Office "exceeded the amount that had been voted by Parliament" through sending troops to China, it did not cut down other departmental expenditure in order to balance its accounts, but went straight to Parliament with a supplementary estimate for the amount of the surplus expenditure involved. Other Departments have done the same thing. It is a common procedure, in fact. And the Ministry of Health could have acted in a similar manner, and no decent M.P. would have opposed or disputed the supplementary estimate in any way. The Government know that. Their excuse is only an *excuse*, and a very poor one at that. They need not have cut down the grants in aid of the babies' milk, but they did. That is all there is to be said about it.

* * *

HOW much or how little the unemployed workers may expect from the sense of responsibility of the Government is made clear from the published reports of the deputation from the Trades Union

Congress to Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, M.P., the Minister of Labour. The deputation brought to the attention of the Minister the serious anxiety felt by every section of the workers with regard to the termination next April, under the Act of 1927, of the transitional period, the inevitable result of which must be the throwing over of scores of thousands of unemployed. Another serious matter brought before the Minister was the harsh conditions of administration imposed on associations by the 1927 Act. So hard, indeed, are the conditions imposed by the Act that a large number of unions will be unable much longer to continue to administer State Unemployment Benefit. At the same time a number of other grievances and anomalies in connection with the administration of the Act—notorious examples being the harsh application of the “genuinely seeking work” condition, the toleration of the dismal queue system, and the disallowance in numerous instances of travelling expenses—were brought forward, and the Minister had the fullest opportunity of realising how strongly Trade Union opinion has been stirred on these matters. The deputation reminded Sir Arthur that he had given a promise in the House of Commons in November, 1927, that if his prognostications of an improvement in the situation as it then appeared should prove to be false, he would adjust the operation of the Act accordingly: how far his optimism of a year ago was from being justified the deputation were able to illustrate sharply by pointing out that in the shipbuilding industry alone 25 per cent. of the unemployed would find themselves entirely without benefit should the transitional provisions not be extended.

* * *

HERE were opportunities which a Minister fully alive to his obligations might have utilised to the credit of himself and the Government which he represented. Sir Arthur either did not

notice, or did not quite like the look of these opportunities—his reply to the deputation was simply a polite refusal to do anything more than he is doing at the moment, which is just nothing. He appreciated the anxiety, expressed by the deputation, he said, in the matter of the transitional provisions, and was in fact making inquiry early next year, so that he might be in a position closely to watch the situation: this inquiry would be completed in time to enable legislation to be made postponing the termination of the transitional arrangements if by any chance that course should prove to be necessary.

* * *

BUT the Government have had the opportunity of watching the situation, as closely as they pleased, for more than four years, during which period it has been steadily growing worse, without inspiring them to make any effective arrangements for dealing with the problem, and it is not unduly sceptical, in the circumstances, to admit some doubt as to the validity of an undertaking to recognise in certain contingencies a necessity which has all along existed as a stark fact. The Government is a little too fond—witness the example of the buried factory legislation—of assuming that the longer its promises lie unredeemed the greater the value attaching to them, a miscalculation likely to cost them dearly at the General Election. It must be added that Sir Arthur failed to identify the other substantial grievances mentioned by the deputation: he seemed to think that by refraining from tackling clamant evils he was indeed letting well alone—as from the point of view of his Tory associates he undoubtedly is. It would be better for him and for the Government if they would make an honest attempt to understand and satisfy those manifest stirrings of the national conscience which are furnishing the plainest of portents for those with eyes to see and ears to hear.

In the "Eight-fifteen"

LOOKING BACKWARD—AND FORWARD

By

T. S. DICKSON

"WELL, that's another one gone." It was the morning after that night when wandering Scots foregather to bury the Old Year. Or to drown him, as the case may be.

And on this, the first morning of 1929, "The Eight-fifteen" was clank-clanking along the track that led to Grubtown, with a noisy unconcern, as if Old Years never died, and New Years were never born.

In the compartment that is our peculiar affair, there sat the Man with the Briar Pipe, the Man with the L. M. S. Badge in his Cap, the Young Man with the Purple Socks, our dear old Liberal friend, Mr. Hesitant, and, of course, Mr. Hardphace. The last had bustled in, rubbing his hands, and smiling all round. "That's another one gone," he had said, as if to convey that he had had a hand in pushing 1928 into the lumber room of the past.

"The start of a New Year always brings a fresh hope, doesn't it?" he gurgled cheerfully. "Sort of gives you the feeling that you can wipe the slate clean, and start afresh, forget past mistakes, and bury past grievances, as it were."

"I don't think," rudely interposed the Man with the L.M.S. Badge, as he blew a cloud of smoke towards the parcel rack opposite. Hardphace looked hurt. So did Mr. Hesitant, slightly. The Young Man with the Purple Socks flung one leg over another in irritation. And then threw it back again hurriedly, as he remembered the crease in his trousers.

It was Mr. Hesitant who spoke next, quietly, with a touch of sentiment. "Now, wouldn't it be fine if we could start all over again each New Year's Day?"

"Mm—yes," replied the Badge, "and it would be fine if roast chestnuts and fried potatoes grew on lamp-posts in winter time, but it ain't likely, is it?"

"No imagination, my friend, no imagination—that's what's wrong with you," supplied Hardphace.

"That so?" commented the Badge. "And it struck me as being just the opposite. If I 'ad no imagination, and was tied down to the rotten facts of life, I'd make a hole in

the Thames, I would. But I'm not surprised at you wishin' that folk all lost their memories on the last day o' the year, I'm not. Your friend, Stanley, what rules the roost at Westminster, would give a lot for that, too, or I'll eat my 'at."

"Take your head out of it first," suggested Purple Socks, facetiously.

"Wouldn't make much difference to your 'at, anyhow, whether your 'ead was in it or out," slung back the Badge, just in time to smack the Purple Sock smile into oblivion. "He's got something chalked up against him on the slate, he has," still thinking of Stanley.

"It has been four years steady, sane Government," said Hardphace, weightily, stung into defence. "Nothing spectacular, nothing showy, but the deliberate laying of sure foundations at home and abroad."

"Oh, my gawd," groaned the Badge as he sank his head on his hands. Then, looking up, wearily, "Why don't the law compel the railway companies to carry a first-aid box in each compartment?"

"Yes, sir! yes, sir!" pursued Hardphace, thinking hard as a strong, silent man. "The Russian menace has been laid; the country successfully weathered a general strike; it survived the mining plot of seven long months; and, despite the clouds, I can see a trade revival coming."

"It isn't eyes you've got in your head, mister"—the Badge leant forward earnestly and laid a reverent hand on the knee of Hardphace; "it isn't eyes, it's long-distance telescopes."

"If that is your summary of four years' Tory Government," intervened the Man with the Briar Pipe, "it doesn't sound very hopeful."

"Indeed?" came haughtily from Hardphace.

"In very deed," said the Briar. "The Russian 'menace' which Mr. Stanley Baldwin and Sir William Joynson-Hicks and their friends cleared out of Britain seems to have landed in Germany, with the result that while our trade with Russia has, of course, fallen, German trade with Russia has greatly risen."

"That's only Moscow dope," snapped Hardphace.

"If so, it was swallowed by the *Observer*," rejoined the Briar, diving into his pocket-book for a cutting. "In their issue of November 25, 1928, they stated that in 1927 Soviet-German trade had increased by £10,200,000 and Soviet-American trade by £4,300,000, while Soviet-British trade fell by £9,700,000."

"Our unemployed could do with a bit of the 'menace,' if you ask me," volunteered the Badge.

"Yes," agreed the Briar, "if we take that loss alone (leaving out the increase there would almost certainly have been), and if we assume that half of that represented wages, it would have meant £3 a week for 33,000 men for twelve months. But let that pass; if the country was called upon to weather a storm in the general strike and the mining dispute, it was a storm raised by the coal-owners and the Tory Government. It cost between £400,000,000 and £500,000,000 directly and indirectly, according to Mr. Winston Churchill, and with what result? Foreign coal trade has not been captured! Prosperity has not come! And the home coal industry has not rallied! The miners have worked longer hours, they have produced more coal per man, and received less wages per man, and the end of it is that about 300,000 miners are scrapped, and whole areas are lying under famine like a plague. That famine has been spreading and deepening for months and months."

"But Mr. Baldwin was closely watching the situation," snorted the Badge with cynical venom.

"Shame," said Mr. Hardphace, in protest.

"Shame," echoed the Young Man with the Purple Socks. "Baldwin is just as humane as any of you."

"Then he can disguise 'imself no end—that's all I says," countered the Badge.

"He's supplying Government funds to relieve distress, isn't he?" protested Hardphace.

"Yes," agreed the Briar grimly, "and expecting great credit for it, no doubt."

"And why not?" burst out Mr. Hardphace.

"I don't know that you'd be very grateful if I supplied splints for you if I had first broken your leg, and so made the splints necessary," said the Briar.

"Who's talking about broken legs?" demanded the Purple Socks, he being the sort of person that must have his illustrations

confined to mutton, if the argument is about sheep.

The Briar waved him aside, and directed himself to Hardphace. "If there was great need for ambulance service in war," he suggested, "what would you think of a Government that admitted overwhelming need and suffering on a colossal scale, but said: in order to provide the ambulances that are urgently needed we will give one pound for every pound that private charity gives? You'd think such a Government should be strung up!"

"There is no parallel, none whatever," retorted Hardphace desperately.

"No?" said the Briar, with a note of patient query.

"No!" repeated Hardphace vehemently. "Cook was at the root of the whole affair; the miners followed him, and—well, they're paying the penalty."

"Pretty Polly," squawked the L.M.S. Badge. "Polly like nuts?"

Hardphace glared, and roared, "What the —— do you mean?"

"I don't mind parrots," explained the Badge blandly. "When they're in a cage," he added, piling injury upon injury.

"Keep cool, keep cool," counselled the Briar. "You see, it is admitted that whether there had been an Arthur Cook in existence or not this reorganisation and pooling of resources among the coalowners would have led to hundreds of thousands of men being thrown out. That is the inevitable result not of Cook, but of capitalism. So far as hope in foreign markets is concerned, whatever course is open to our coalowners by cutting prices, and by Government assistance, is equally open to other coal-producing countries in competition with us. You have to face up to that. To make Cook responsible for the present situation is to give him a power that neither he nor any other man in any age ever had, or could have. Besides, it makes you look merely silly. The truth is the system in which you believe cannot meet the needs of the people; hundreds of thousands of men, with their women folk and families, are sinking into a morass, and have been sinking for two years. And, as friend Badge says, Mr. Baldwin has been telling us he has been keeping the situation under observation. Tragic! tragic!"

"Yes," put in the Badge, bitterly, "it is easy to take a sane, calm view of toothache in somebody else's face."

"Ah! yes," resumed the Briar, "a *sane* view! That reminds me of the four years of sane Government we started on. After four years of it, there are 300,000 more men and women unemployed than when the Tories got hold of the problem."

"And less to live on when they *are* unemployed," supplemented the Badge. "Don't forget that."

"Also less to live on when they *are* employed," persisted the Briar. "When Labour was in office, wages rose by about £26,000,000 a year. In four years of Tory Government they have managed to pinch nearly all of that back. During this year alone what the workers have to thank the Tories for is a reduction in their wages bill of £150,000 per week. Take *some* sponge to wipe that off the slate, even at New Year time?" suggested the Briar.

"Listen, listen!" exclaimed Hardphace desperately. "That's the sort of stuff that goes down with the mob—forgetting the really big things the Government are doing—the Rating Relief Bill, for example, that goes right to the root of industrial prosperity and decent conditions for everybody in the long run."

"With knobs on the 'long run,'" added the Badge, searching once more for trouble.

"Yes, yes," nodded the Briar. "Everything the Tory Party does is for the good of everybody 'in the long run.' That extra hour per day was for the good of the miners—in the long run. When the allowances for the unemployed were reduced, it was for the good of the unemployed—in the long run. When they gave twelve millions a year in reduced taxation to the payers of super-tax, it was really for the good of industry, and ultimately the workers—in the long run. Frankly, sir, doesn't that argument begin to smell a bit? Who is the rating relief for? Who needs it most? Is it the industry that is making millions a year or the worker who is making £2 or £3 a week? There isn't any argument there; but the millionaire producer will escape taxation and the poverty-stricken worker won't. That is the position in a nutshell. You see, for long and long they have been relieving the

rich, under the plea that it would in the end help the poor, and it hasn't worked. Why not reverse the process, and see what happens? Why not relieve the poor, and see if it helps the rich? If the first method works by reverse, I don't see why the second shouldn't."

"Catch 'em," snorted the Badge.

"Yes," said the Briar, "we are at the beginning of a New Year, and the one thing I want to see wiped out first is the folly of the workers who have gone on voting and working for a system that sees them born in poverty, sees them live and work in poverty, and sees them die in poverty. If that folly is wiped out, Mr. Baldwin and his Government will be wiped out also."

"You betcher life," said the Badge, and he spat on his hands. "I wish the chance was comin' along to-morrow."

"Nice way to start the New Year," said the Young Man with the Purple Socks, as he opened the carriage door for Hardphace.

"Shocking," said Hardphace.



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Put Not Thy Faith in Princes

OR THE TRUE STORY OF CAPTAIN KIDD

By

C. WYE KENDALL

IN the annals of piracy the name of Captain Kidd has acquired a legendary significance of subtle potency. Among children his horrific fascination is shared only by Blue Beard. Later on in life, although dimmed by other figures of a more substantial notoriety, he still vaguely remains in the background of our minds as the sinister personification of piratical wickedness.

My name was Robert Kidd,* when I sailed,
when I sailed,

My name was Robert Kidd when I sailed,
My name was Robert Kidd,
God's laws I did forbid,

And so wickedly I did, when I sailed.

I'd a Bible in my hand, when I sailed, when I sailed,

I'd a Bible in my hand when I sailed,
I'd a Bible in my hand,
By my father's great command,
But I sunk it in the sand, when I sailed.

I'd ninety bars of gold, as I sailed, as I sailed,
I'd ninety bars of gold, as I sailed,
I'd ninety bars of gold,
And dollars manifold,
With riches uncontrolled, as I sailed.

Take warning now by me, for I must die, for I must die,

Take warning now by me, for I must die,
Take warning now by me,
And shun bad company,
Lest you come to hell with me, for I die.

Kidd was a privateersman hanged for murder and piracy, therefore in the eyes of the public he was inevitably regarded as a murderer and a pirate.

Had this most unhappy sailor been convicted and executed in our own time the inference would probably have been correct, but the trial took place in the early eighteenth century, when the connection between punishment and guilt did not carry quite the same degree of certitude that it now does. In other words, as recent investigations have shown, Kidd was the victim of a very ugly perversion of justice.

Born at Greenock, Scotland, in 1654, the son of a minister, Kidd came of sturdy stock. His youth, like others of his kind, is wrapped in mystery, there being no record of his career until 1689, when at the age of 35 he became captain of a privateer of 16 guns in the West Indies.

From the beginning of his seafaring life he seems to have done well and earned the reputation of a brave and skilful commander, particularly in an attack upon the French possessions of Marie Galante and St. Martins, under the command of Captain Hewetson, who afterwards gave evidence for Kidd at his trial in London.

Sometimes in the waters of the West, pirates would sign on as the crew of a useful looking privateer for the express purpose of stealing the ship and reverting to their true profession. Even the experienced Kidd fell a victim to this salt-water confidence trick, for one day whilst ashore he had the mortification of seeing his trim little vessel hoist the Jolly Roger and sail away in the hands of her piratical crew, who shouted derisive farewells to their helpless commander in gleeful anticipation of plundering on their own account, unfettered by even the latitudinarian terms of a Letter of Marque.

The discomfited Scotsman was perhaps fortunate in not being marooned but left on an island whence he could reach New York, where, nothing daunted, he was soon in command of another privateer and where, having married a widow, he became a respected and comfortably situated member of the Colony. His house in Liberty Street, we are informed, was furnished with taste and luxury, conspicuous among its treasures being a magnificent Turkey carpet, the first ever seen in that part of the world.

In 1695 Kidd sailed for London in command of the brigantine Antego. Whilst in England, such was his reputation that efforts were made to get him the King's commission to command a man-of-war for the suppression of piracy. The Government, however, rejected the proposal, whereupon Kidd was persuaded, much against his will and even with threats, to undertake the task as a privateersman, ostensibly on public grounds, but really as a business venture.

* Captain Kidd's baptismal name was William, but the popular ballads of the time always allude to him as Robert.

The shareholders in the transaction were Lord Bellomont, the newly appointed Governor of Massachusetts; the Earl of Orford, First Lord of the Admiralty; the Duke of Shrewsbury; the Earl of Romney, Master-General of the Ordnance; a certain Robert Livingstone, of New York; Sir Richard Harrison, a rich merchant, whose recommendations seem to have been largely responsible for the choice of Kidd; and Lord Somers, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, or, as we should now call him, the Lord Chancellor.

Six thousand pounds were subscribed towards the scheme. After the deduction of the usual 10 per cent. due to the Crown, one-quarter of the plunder was to go the crew, who were engaged upon a "no prize no pay" contract, and the remainder to be divided into five parts, one of which went to Kidd and Livingstone, and the other four to Bellomont and his friends. By April, 1698, all preparations were complete, and to the ordinary powers of a Letter of Marque was added a special commission by the King to his "beloved friend William Kidd" to capture certain pirates, particularly Thomas Tew, of Rhode Island, Thomas Wake and William Mage, of New York, John Ireland, and "all other pirates, freebooters, and sea rovers of what nature soever." The Letter of Marque authorised Kidd "to apprehend, seize, and take the ships, vessels, and goods belonging to the French King and his subjects or inhabitants within the dominion of the said French King, etc., etc."

Alas, poor sea dog! The Royal Commission was issued under the Great Seal of England, of which the Lord Chancellor was and is the sole guardian, whereby hangs much of this unsavoury tale.

Kidd's ship, the "Adventure" was a galley, not the oar-propelled variety, but a small square rigged quick-sailing vessel of 287 tons burthen, flush decked and without poop or forecastle. She carried about 30 guns, and had a crew of 70 men, which her commander increased to 155 upon arrival in New York. With Bellomont's blessing Kidd left America for Madagascar and the East Indies in September, 1696. Nothing further was heard of him until two years later, when complaints of piracy, in which his name figured prominently, were made by the East India Company, who resented anything in the nature of competition in their own preserves. Orders were sent to Bellomont to arrest Kidd immediately he put in an appearance. Moreover, upon a general pardon being granted by proclamation to all pirates, the privateersman's name was bracketed with that of Avery, a notorious rover, as

being altogether too wicked for inclusion in the Act of Grace.

The truth of the matter is that both these men had attacked ships belonging to the Great Mogul, who was an ally of the mighty and monopolistic East India Company.

Avery is said to have actually captured one of the Satrap's daughters who happened to be on board his prey, together with great booty and varied treasure. This man was a pirate pure and simple. Acting on no authority but his own, he escaped all attempts to capture him, and after possessing considerable wealth died a pauper at Basingstoke. Had Kidd really been a pirate he, too, would probably have escaped punishment. As it was, however, believing himself to be covered by the terms of his commission, he returned to America, and having sent Joseph Emmot, a New York lawyer, to intercede for him with the Governor, he cruised about waiting for an answer.

Bellomont was at Boston when the lawyer reached him with the news of the sinner's return. The situation was an awkward one for the Governor, who greatly desired his share of the considerable booty Kidd is alleged to have brought home with him, the bulk of which was on board one of the prizes in which he had returned, and concealed somewhere off the coast of Hispaniola. In fact, the noble Earl was firmly impaled on the horns of a dilemma, for either the arrest or the escape of his troublesome partner seemed to point equally to the loss of the treasure. Kidd's own ship, the "Adventure," having been abandoned and burnt as un-seaworthy, and the prize to which he had transferred having been hidden away, the wily William was constrained to purchase a small sloop for the purpose of visiting Bellomont. On board this vessel Kidd had placed the balance of the plunder left behind at Hispaniola. He probably intended it for Bellomont, but on second thoughts decided to leave it in the care of John Gardiner, who lived upon and owned a small island named after him.

Altogether, the worried man's mind appears to have been an odd compound of confidence and suspicion. Ostensibly at great pains to safeguard and hide his goods and chattels, he none the less seemed quite prepared to place his head in the lion's mouth so far as his person was concerned.

No event in history has been more prolific of weird and wonderful tales than the treasure on Gardiner's Island. Like his contemporary and colleague, Alexander Salkirk, Kidd inspired the pen of genius, and if to one of these privateersmen all children, big and little, young and old, owe Robinson Crusoe, then to the other

they are equally indebted for the Gold Bug, to say nothing of Treasure Island.

After a deal of discussion Bellomont laid the matter before the members of his council, who approved the despatch of a letter to the supposed pirate. Unversed in the ways of princes Kidd regarded this document as a safe conduct, and brought his ship into port, taking up quarters, together with his wife, who had joined him, in the house of Duncan Campbell, the local postmaster and an old friend. If Bellomont believed in the innocence of Kidd he soon lost the courage of his convictions, and, preferring the good opinion of the Lords of Trade in London to his conscience, within a week had his unsuspecting associate arrested and thrown into jail. As the laws of Massachusetts did not provide for the hanging of pirates, Kidd was sent for trial to England, where he arrived in April, 1700, on the day of the prorogation of Parliament.

Great excitement prevailed at this period in the political world on account of the impending impeachment of Somers, who, as we have already seen, was an original shareholder in the Kidd Syndicate. This fact was seized upon by the Chancellor's enemies as a weapon against him, with the consequence that just before Kidd's arrival in England a vote was passed addressing the King that the accused should not be tried, discharged, or pardoned until the next session of Parliament. This was agreed to, and the unfortunate man remained in jail until the reassembly of Parliament in February of the following year, when the contract between the statesman and the sailor became the basis of one of the clauses in the impeachment of the former, because, in the words of Macaulay, "the Great Seal had been employed to sanction a piratical expedition."

Kidd was haled twice before Parliament, and then tried, in the first instance, not for piracy, but murder, on the ground that "being moved and seduced by the instigation of the Devil . . . he did make an assault in and upon William Moore upon the High Seas . . . with a certain wooden bucket bound with iron hoops of the value of 8d., giving the said William Moore . . . a mortal bruise of which the aforementioned William Moore did languish and die."

Now William Moore was Kidd's Master Gunner who, being insolent, insubordinate, and argumentative, got knocked down for his pains and inadvertently died. Nothing very

unusual about this on a privateer in the seventeenth century, where prompt and drastic action was frequently necessary to maintain a discipline less securely sanctioned and defined than on board a man-of-war. The method of chastisement was certainly unconventional, and the manner hasty, but there does not appear to have been a shred of evidence to support a charge other than manslaughter. Moreover, men frequently died from worse and more deliberately brutal treatment in the Navy without any fuss being made. Kidd, nevertheless, was found guilty of murder by a jury whose verdict reflected a greater respect for their own skins than justice.

The hangman having thus been made certain of his victim, Kidd was next indicted for piracy. On the Bench sat the Baron of the Exchequer, the Recorder of London, two Justices of the King's Bench, and a Justice of the Common Pleas. The prosecution was conducted by the Solicitor-General, assisted by three other counsel. Against this formidable array of legal luminaries, the highest in the land, shame be it spoken, Kidd stood alone, for in those days a prisoner tried on a criminal charge could employ no counsel, and was denied all legal guidance, except in the event of a strict point of law arising out of the proceedings. Charged with having attacked and taken two ships belonging to a friendly Power, to wit, the Great Mogul, the privateersman's main defence was that the vessels in question held French passes, and were, therefore, enemy ships which, in accordance with the terms of his Letter of Marque, he was perfectly entitled to capture. Kidd was unable to produce the passes owing to having entrusted them to the care of Lord Bellomont. His request for time in order to send for them was refused and his story derided, the Lord Chief Baron remarking that doubtless the passes only existed as a figment of Kidd's imagination.

The grim farce went on. Manfully the forlorn and forsaken sailor reiterated his demand for the passes, but the production of these documents might have rebutted the charge of piracy, a consummation fraught with displeasure, if nothing else, to the privileged and the highly placed. The passes existed, they had been sent by Bellomont to England, they were before Parliament during Kidd's examination, and then they disappeared until Jack Ketch had done his job, and the body of an innocent man swung rotting in the wind.

The County Library Movement

A FEW POINTS IN ITS PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS

By

R. B. SUTHERS

AS a literary nation it is little to our credit that the people as a whole is not a great reading people, and that in the provision of facilities for obtaining books, both through bookshops and libraries, we have lagged behind other countries. One learns with a shock of shame and surprise that fourteen years ago 43 per cent. of the population were outside public library areas. Which means that many, many millions of our people existed in extreme poverty in this respect. However, by 1925, the scene was changed. At that date only 3 per cent. of the population were outside the pale. This improvement does not imply that we are now rich in library facilities, but it does mean that we are enormously better off. How was the change effected?

Again, the present position of progress is little to our credit. The County Library movement, which is largely responsible for the rather boastful looking figure of 3 per cent., came into being not from our native public spirit but through the beneficence of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust. This was in 1915. It was not until 1918 in Scotland, 1919 in England and Wales, and 1924 and 1925 in Ireland that the County Councils and County Education Authorities were given power to maintain schemes. Up to date the Carnegie Trust has provided more than £400,000 of the necessary funds besides initiating and nursing the organisation. Nevertheless some of the glory of the progress achieved can rightly be claimed by the army of voluntary workers engaged, and by self-sacrificing officials, members of library committees, and other enthusiastic supporters of the ideal, which is a complete library service for every possible reader in the nation.

In the beginning the ideal, or rather the first aim, was "boxes of books sent for short periods to village schools." This meant a box of 50 books twice or perhaps three times a year. There are still a few counties where the distribution is at present on this meagre basis, but in progressive counties the loan collections sometimes consist of 2,000 books, and few localities receive less than 150 to 250 books at a time. There are now only four administrative counties in England, one in Wales, and one in Scotland that do not raise a library rate, and altogether there are more than 15,000 local

centres from which books are distributed. Three-quarters of the centres are in schools, the other quarter consisting of institutes, Y.M.C.A.'s, etc. More than one-third of the centres are in places with less than 500 inhabitants, while in one-half the population is under 1,000. The majority of the centres serve both adults and children, but 2,061 centres are limited to adults, and 1,197 to children. The total population for which the Acts have been adopted is nearly 16,000,000, and of this number 12,000,000 were being served at the end of last year.

One indication of the change of attitude towards the library problem can be found in a comparison of the rates raised in the bad old times with some of those of to-day. Before the war a rate of one-tenth of a penny was by many considered extravagant. In 1925, when the County Library scheme had been going ten years, there were only three counties in England, Scotland, and Wales with a rate over $\frac{1}{2}$ d. In 1926-7 there were twelve. Only two counties raised a rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to $\frac{3}{4}$ d. Now twelve do so. Only four raised a rate of $\frac{1}{4}$ d. to $\frac{3}{4}$ d. Now ten do so. There are still many backward counties. A farthing library rate gives them the horrors, but in the near future as much as a penny rate will become the rule, and the more civilised counties will rise to the giddy heights of $1\frac{1}{2}$ d., which as the Report for 1926-7 points out, means that a £50 ratepayer gets for 6s. 3d. a year access to an unlimited book supply.

The County Library movement was established primarily for the service of the rural areas, but after a short time the demand for assistance from small urban districts became clamant, and there have been some interesting developments in co-operation. It is rather astonishing to learn of really thickly populated urban districts which are by resolution of the county authority excluded from the benefits of the Acts. Amongst these excluded populations are the six boroughs, Swindon, Crewe, Wallsend, Sutton Coldfield, Bridlington and Windsor, with more than 20,000 each. Nine urban districts are outside the library areas, and amongst them is the Rhondda with a population of 162,700, where the ordinary County service would hardly be adequate. The question of expense is of course a strongly

deterrent factor, especially in the necessitous areas, but public opinion in several of them has ripened lately, and they may be expected shortly to remove the reproach of being backward in civilising amenities.

Since the initiation of the scheme many problems have emerged which have been met in diverse ways by the various authorities. One of these problems crops up in connection with the needs of the larger districts within the county areas, some of which approximate or reach urban dimensions. A county branch with a population of 10,000 obviously requires a paid librarian, with an ample stock of books, and suitable accommodation. It would be unfair to spread the cost over the whole area, and in consequence the principle of differential rating has been applied in a number of districts. In Lancashire there are eleven areas on this basis. One of the branches is at Ulverston, population 10,000, which has recently opened a separate building to serve as a distributing centre for the North Lonsdale area. The special rate is 1d., and the total rate is 1½d. By co-operating in this way both services are multiplied in efficiency at a much less cost than could be achieved separately.

It is now almost universally recognised that towns with a less population than 20,000 cannot maintain a satisfactory library service, and in such cases it is becoming more and more common for the towns to draw on the County Library for supplementary books, paying agreed sums for the accommodation. Some towns are provided with collections of books in return for a sum equivalent to the county library rate on the area served by the town library. Another form of co-operation exists in Lancashire, where the parish of Ribbleson, which is partly in the borough of Preston and partly in the county council area, is served jointly by the two authorities. There are many other methods of co-operation, and the advantages of linking up are appreciated by a wider circle of libraries and readers with ever increasing speed.

At the 15,000 local centres, the workers are in the main voluntary. Some idea of the immense amount of energy expended in the County Library services may be obtained by a study of the following statistics. The book stock of seven large counties in 1926-7 was 365,400. In 1927-8 it had increased to 485,820. The issues in the first year were 2,769,390. In the second, 4,108,450. The seven counties referred to are West Riding, Kent, Middlesex, Lancashire, Devon, Durham, Derbyshire. The total population of these counties in 1927-8 was 2,771,100, and the number of local centres was 1,888. The book issues thus increased by

50 per cent., though the population had increased only 6 per cent. "An average of eight issues per book," remarks the Report, "is very impressive."

The book supply per 100 of the population naturally varies in different areas. In 30 of the county libraries which have been established for at least five years the book supply averages 20 per 100 of the population, of which eight volumes were non-fiction. The standard to aim at, it is suggested, should be 25 volumes per 100, of which ten should be non-fiction, as for books of this class neighbouring libraries and the Central Library for Students can be tapped. This, however, is suggested only as a minimum figure. The average for the libraries of the whole country is 52.3, but this is swollen, of course, by the large stocks in reference libraries in the big towns.

In this connection the problem of the maintenance of stocks is rather important. Books borrowed from urban libraries generally receive worse treatment than those borrowed from County Libraries, though the latter, through constant packing and transport, are subjected to considerable wear and tear. The average annual expenditure of all libraries for new books and replacements is £22, and the lending departments of some of the large urban libraries spend up to £30 per 1,000 volumes in stock. It is difficult to set up a standard for the County Libraries from the experience of urban libraries, but, assuming the average life of a book to be five years, it is suggested that £40 per 1,000, or on a seven years' basis £30 per 1,000, might be required for this purpose. The problem of the re-binding of books also becomes a growing one as the libraries get more firmly established, and this item is likely to be heavier than in the case of urban libraries. In the big industrial centres urban libraries spend no more than £5 10s. per 1,000 books per annum, but a number of County Libraries already spend £12 per 1,000 per annum, and it is suggested that for some time the figure may rise to £15.

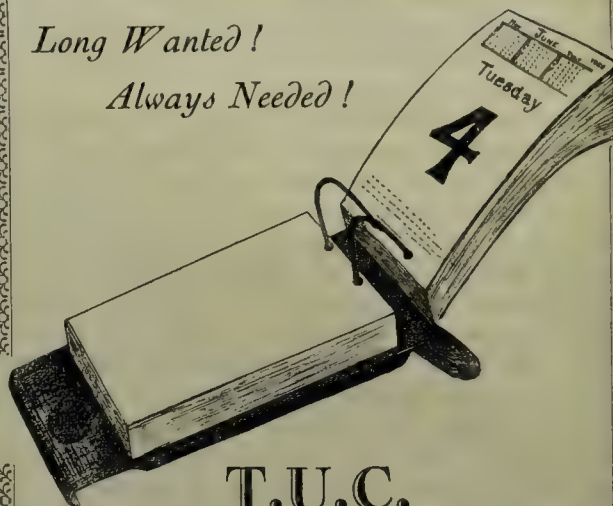
As might be expected, the inherited stinginess of the County Councils has militated against the movement in respect to the provision of adequate headquarters and adequate payment for a sufficient and efficient staff. Improvement, however, is becoming more rapid. Amongst the best examples is Kent, with a bookstock of 75,000. It has a staff of nine. The West Riding, with 85,000 books, has a staff of eleven. Middlesex, with 91,000, books has a staff of six. Lancashire, with 49,000 books, has five. The minimum staff recommended is the County Librarian and one assistant, who should be trained, with an additional assistant for every

10,000 volumes in stock, 50 per cent. of whom should rank as clerks. At present, of 33 English County Libraries making returns, only eight have trained assistants, in Scotland, of 22 only two, but in Ireland, five out of twelve have trained assistants. The salary and status of the Chief Librarian has also been a burning question. The original suggestion was a minimum salary of £300, but this is exceeded in 16 counties, and half a dozen receive £400 or more. The highest salary paid to an assistant is £255; but as a rule the salary ranges between £125 and £150. Strong efforts are being made to raise the standard of educational and technical qualifications, and it seems likely that in the near future both grades will approximate to the status and salaries of their official colleagues in other municipal departments.

Perhaps the branch of its activities of which the County Library movement is most proud is the assistance it gives to organised education, juvenile and adult. The needs of schools, technical institutes, adult classes, and individual students are catered for with an elasticity and efficiency not equalled by the bigger borough libraries, which are naturally more rigid in their methods. In counties which are far from liberal in their assistance to adult education the libraries step into the breach, and the W.E.A. and other recognised adult classes have benefited greatly by this development. Devon, for example, reports: 40 W.E.A. classes supplied, 22 of these being those formed by the new tutor organiser; in several cases the number sent had shortly to be doubled. Wherever educational groups are formed they have a reasonable chance of having their needs supplied. The system of supplying non-fiction books to individual students by post is also finding favour. Durham records 8,000 issues; Norfolk, 3,845; Nottinghamshire, 3,104; and Herefordshire, 2,477. In Kent the student may have three books at a time for a month at the cost only of return postage.

No one reading the reports of this remarkable post-war movement could disagree with the opinion expressed by the Carnegie Trustees that, "the service was designed, however modestly, on sound lines." The machinery has evolved logically in response to demand, and although it is by no means complete or sufficient, the experience garnered has shown clearly the path to be pursued. All that is required now is an expansion and intensification of the forces already at work. One thing the movement needs is more publicity, and I trust these few notes will stimulate the reader to learn more about it.

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A Diary of Parliament

November 29.

Money resolution in connection with the Local Government Bill introduced by the Government. Mr. Snowden opened Labour's opposition, and this was continued until the following night, when the resolution was adopted on a division.

December 3.

Local Government (Scotland) Bill introduced by the Secretary for Scotland. Labour's amendment for rejection of the Bill was defeated on a division the following night.

In reply to a question as to whether he would ask Parliament to vote a sum towards relief in the distressed mining districts Mr. Baldwin said: "It is not proposed to ask Parliament to vote a sum for relief."

December 4.

Miss Margaret Bondfield introduced the Children (Provision of Footwear) Bill, to empower local public health and education authorities, with the consent of the Minister of Health or the Minister of Education, to provide footwear for necessitous children in their areas, 90 per cent. of the cost to be borne by the National Exchequer. An unopposed formal first reading was given to the Bill, but it made no further progress, as the Government were not willing to grant it facilities or to introduce the necessary money resolution.

December 5.

Money resolution in connection with the Local Government (Scotland) Bill introduced by the Government and adopted after a division.

On the adjournment, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, on behalf of the Labour Party, asked the Government to make a Treasury grant for the purpose of supplying clothing to children in the necessitous areas. The President of the Board of Education (Lord Eustace Percy), who replied on behalf of the Government, declined.

December 6 and 7.

Imperial Telegraphs Bill (by which the Government are selling the State cables to a combine, and in connection with which they are also leasing the State Beam Wireless Service to the same combine for 25 years), considered in Committee. Labour opposed the measure clause by clause.

December 10.

The Prime Minister, when questioned again with regard to the question of granting Exchequer assistance to the distressed areas, merely announced that he had lent a number of Civil Servants to help the Lord Mayor in the administration of his fund, but with regard to giving a grant from Exchequer Funds, he said: "I have nothing to add."

Imperial Telegraphs Bill.—Labour moved several new clauses, the objects including: (1) The rate of dividend or interest paid by the combine not to exceed the rate laid down by Parliament; (2) the annual balance sheets and accounts of the combine to be presented to Parliament; (3) the capital of the combine not to be increased except with the consent of the Treasury; (4) the chairman of the combine to be approved by the Government, to devote his whole services to the post, and not to take on any other directorships without the consent of the Government. All these new clauses were rejected by the Government. The Bill was then read a third time, Labour voting against.

December 11

The Secretary for Mines, in reply to a Labour question, admitted that the number of coal mines working had fallen

from 2,372 in November, 1924, to 2,084 in November, 1928; that the number of wage earners employed had fallen from 1,136,600 to 896,200 in the same period; and that the average weekly wage bill of the miners had fallen from £3,050,000 to £1,880,000.

President of the Board of Education, in reply to a Labour question, admitted that during last summer, in a number of the county areas in the West Riding, surveys made by the Medical Officers showed that 8 per cent. of the school children were found to be malnourished, and that 21 per cent. of the 44,000 children examined were found to have bad boots.

In reply to Mr. Mardy Jones, the Secretary for Mines said that since January 1, 1927, the number of coalmines abandoned was 540, normally employing 34,339 workers.

Local Government Bill.—Government introduced guillotine resolution to restrict the time available for future discussion of the Bill, as follows: English Bill, seventeen days; Scottish Bill, eleven days. The motion was resolutely opposed by the Labour Party, but was ultimately carried, with slight modifications.

December 12.

Government introduced motion to reduce the Housing Subsidy payable under the 1924 Act by £1 10s. per house, and to abolish altogether the subsidy payable under the 1923 Act, with effect from September 30 next. Labour opposed the motion on the ground that the previous subsidy reduction put into operation by the Government had led to a reduction in the rate of building and an increase in unemployment among building workers. The Government resolution was carried.

December 17.

Further questioned by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald as to what he intended to do to relieve the distress in the mining areas, Mr. Baldwin reversed his previously announced decision, and said he intended to make a Treasury grant of £1 for every £1 subscribed to the Lord Mayor's Fund, with an immediate grant of £150,000 to cover the £150,000 that had already been subscribed by the public. A sum of £100,000 would also be granted to cover the cost of the removal of families from one part of the country to another.

December 18

A meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party discussed the Government's proposal with regard to relief for the distressed mining areas, and decided that in view of the importance of the subject, the inadequacy of the Government proposals to deal with the situation, and the inadvisability of voting the Estimate without full consideration, to press for the whole of Thursday (December 20) being given to the matter, and allowing the motion for the Christmas adjournment to stand over until Friday (December 21).

Later in the day the Government refused this demand, but agreed to a partial extension of the time for discussing the relief question by arranging that the House should sit until 9 p.m. on December 20 instead of adjourning in the afternoon.

In reply to a question by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald as to whether the Government proposed to give facilities for the passage of the Children (Provision of Footwear) Bill, Mr. Baldwin answered that they did not.

December 20

Christmas adjournment.—Labour demanded, on the adjournment motion, that the Government should take further steps for dealing with the situation in the coalfields.

Labour's Fight Against the Higher Rates Bill

FOLLOWING the majority which the Government managed to obtain for their Local Government Bill on the Second Reading (as reported in the *LABOUR MAGAZINE* last month), Labour has renewed the fight against the later stages of the measure with redoubled vigour. The Government's arguments on the Money Resolution have been mercilessly exposed, and when the House adjourned for the Christmas recess Labour Members were in the midst of a line-by-line and clause-by-clause war against the Bill in its Committee stage.

The Government were not slow to perceive the disastrous effect which Labour's penetrating opposition was likely to have, both on the prestige of themselves and of their Bill, and they took a very early opportunity of passing a guillotine motion for the purpose of "gagging" the discussion.

Under this motion they stipulated that only seventeen days were to be allowed for the Committee, Report, and Third Reading stages of the English Bill, and only eleven days for all stages of the Scottish Bill. As Mr. J. R. Clynes said, in opposing this guillotine motion on the Labour Party's behalf: "It is reducing the House of Commons service to a farce. It is not legislation. It is pantomime." Just how true were his words may be judged from the fact that the Bill consists of 155 pages, and that it contains 115 clauses, twelve schedules, and a lengthy financial explanatory memorandum comprising 67 clauses and an appendix. And despite the many anomalous and contradictory provisions that lurk in the Bill the Government proposed that on one day ten clauses were to be rushed through in three and a-half hours, and that on another day in a similar period the House was to dispose of no less than sixteen clauses. The Government are scampering through the Bill in this way, of course, merely in order to save their faces, but it really is indefensible that legislation of such far-reaching importance should be rushed through on to the Statute Book in such an ill-considered manner.

During the discussion on the money resolution, Mr. Philip Snowden indicated a much more fruitful line along which the Government might have pursued their activities had they been desirous of really effectively relieving the

burdens of heavily rated authorities and their inhabitants. He pointed out that whereas about £50,000,000 a year was being spent on Poor Law administration and relief (in 1926-27), the contribution of the State towards this service was only about £3,000,000, and as the aggravation of many of the heavy rate burdens with which local authorities had been saddled within recent years was mainly due to the increase in Poor Law charges, there was an overwhelming case for transferring from the shoulders of the local ratepayers to the National Exchequer a large part of the cost of the Poor Law service, especially as the Government exercise such a close supervision and control over its administration.

Also during the discussion on the Money resolution Sir Oswald Mosley showed that instead of granting to the coal industry a "relief" in the real sense of the term the Government were hardly conferring on it a sum sufficient to counterbalance the burden that the Government had already imposed upon the industry by the return to the gold standard. According to the Minister of Transport's own figures, he said, the maximum benefit to coal from the reduction of railway rates amounted to 7½d. per ton and it was generally agreed that the actual reduction in the overhead charges on coal itself consequent upon colliery de-rating did not amount to more than 3d., so that at the very most the Government was only saving just over 10d. a ton to the coal trade. Yet according to the estimate of the Secretary of the Mining Association himself, the Government placed a burden of at least a 1s. a ton on the trade by the return to the gold standard three years ago.

The grave nature of the reaction on the non-de-rated ratepayers—that is to say, house holders and shopkeepers—as a result of the reduction of the manufacturers' assessments by 75 per cent., and the consequent reduction in the yield of a penny rate in any given area, was forcefully illustrated during the money resolution debate by Mr. Arthur Greenwood. "Take the case of a large town," he said, "where a penny rate produces £50,000 a year, and in future will produce £40,000 a year. It is perfectly clear in that case that an expenditure of, say, £100,000 on the development of such services as the fire brigade would mean a rate

of 2½d. in the £, whereas in the past it has only meant a 2d. rate. That will mean a rate of 2½d. on the people who are not being de-rated, but only a rate of one-quarter or rather over ½d. on industrial enterprises which profit by the fire brigade service probably more than the ordinary householder."

During the Committee Stage debates a considerable number of amendments are being moved by the Labour Party with a view to removing from the Bill as many as possible of its anomalies and inequalities, and although the operation of the Guillotine will prevent many of those standing on the paper from being moved, nearly 300 amendments have been handed in on behalf of the Labour Party. Some of these have already been discussed, but, despite the admirable case made out for their acceptance by Labour speakers, the Government has refused to entertain them.

One of the first of these amendments moved by the Labour Party had as its object the transfer of the functions of the Poor Law authorities to other kinds of local authorities besides the County Councils and County Borough Councils who, according to the Bill, are to constitute the Poor Law authorities of the future. As Mr. Greenwood pointed out in moving the amendment, the County Councils—because of the expenses of travelling and the remoteness of the councils from the great masses of the people—are the least representative of our local governing bodies; and he suggested that the administration of the Poor Law would be more effective as well as more sympathetic to the real needs of the poor if it were in the hands of the large non-county boroughs and the large urban districts rather than in the hands of very distant county authorities perhaps 20, 30, 40 or even more miles away.

Another of the Labour amendments, moved by Mr. Sidney Webb, endeavoured to secure to the county councils, as the new Poor Law authorities, the power to deal with the able-bodied unemployed by other means than under the Poor Law—i.e., by the provision of useful employment—such as that which local authorities may provide under the Unemployed Workmen Act, the repeal of which Statute is proposed under the present Bill.

An attempt was made in an amendment moved by Mr. Longbottom, the Labour victor in the recent Halifax by-election, to secure a modification of that particularly harsh clause of the Bill which provides for the disqualification of any working-class member of a county council who may have been compelled to seek assistance from the Poor Law. The

amendment suggested that the period of disqualification should be restricted only to the time during which the member is actually drawing Poor Law relief, and should not be counted against him as a permanent bar to membership.

A further series of amendments was moved—mainly by Mr. Sidney Webb—with a view to removing from the Bill the deterrent effect of that clause which compels local authorities to present to patients in public health hospitals a bill for the cost of their maintenance and treatment whilst in the institutions, and particularly to exempt maternity hospitals from the effects of the provision mentioned.

All these amendments were rejected by the Government.

A day or two before the House rose for the Christmas recess the Government announced that they had decided to make one or two minor amendments, in the nature of a concession, in order to placate some of the local authorities. But all that happens under this concession is that the transitional period is extended from 15 to 17 years and that the bitter pill of higher rates which the local authorities will ultimately have to swallow is merely given an extra coating of jam—in the form of an extension of the temporary Exchequer grants which are to operate during the earlier years of the scheme.

An interesting light on the unreliable nature of the figures which the Minister of Health has caused to be published in his various White Papers was shed by Mr. Tom Griffiths, M.P., during one of the debates on the Committee Stage. He had received a letter, he said, from the Clerk to the Urban District Council of Panteg, in Monmouthshire, which read as follows:—

In the Panteg urban district in which Command Paper 3,134 indicated a gain of 1s. 1½d. in the £, the county accountant and myself estimate a loss equivalent to 3s. 1d. in the £ on the de-rated values in the one rating sub-district, and 3s. 6d. in the other, and in the adjoining Pontypool rural district the gain of 1s. 9d. appears now to be a loss of 11d. These enormous errors are presumably due to the 1926-27 figures (the year of stoppage, rates not representing expenditure and assessments based on pre-stoppage output) taken by the Government, being abnormal.

Instances of anomalies like this are coming to light nearly every day. The more the Bill is examined and the closer its details are scrutinised the more unsatisfactory and indefensible its provisions are seen to be. This is one of the reasons why the Government are displaying such an indecent anxiety to rush it through on to the Statute Book at the earliest possible moment and with the smallest possible amount of discussion.

C. E. L.

The New Internationalism

NOTHING is more significant than the ever-increasing attention which is being paid to international economic affairs. No longer is internationalism conceived in terms of political arrangements and sentiments of goodwill. It is now a question of the allocation of raw materials and markets. These are the problems that are more and more engaging the serious consideration of the nations. Mr. Phillips Price has written a most interesting and informative work on the subject.* The field is so vast that it is almost impossible to compress within the covers of a single book all the factors that are important in the attempt to work out a policy for the peaceful development of the economic life of the world.

The problem of oil supplies alone, for instance, has already led to most bitter quarrels, diplomatic intrigues, and shady international transactions of all kinds.

But the problem of oil supplies is no more difficult or involved than is the problem of rubber, or tin, or cotton, or a hundred other necessary commodities. The world seems suddenly to have realised that the international welfare of every industrial country depends upon there being adequate supplies of the necessary raw materials, and that the intense competition that results must inevitably lead to wars unless some kind of international co-operation is established.

At the same time there is an even more pressing problem, namely, that of finding markets for the goods produced. Thus economic Imperialism has become the dominant feature of modern international relations. One has often thought that while the study of pure economics and of economic history has become widely popular among the workers, the study of economic geography, which nowadays perhaps is the most important subject of all for those who would understand current affairs, has been sadly neglected. Mr. Price's book is not a work on economic geography, but it is a very illuminating footnote to that subject. It suffers from a lack of coherence, and an impression of scrappiness is left on the reader's mind. Nevertheless, it is eminently readable, and should be of the utmost value to everyone in the Labour Movement. He deals first of

all with the historical development of English foreign trade and foreign investments, and then proceeds to show how conditions have changed during the past 30 or 40 years. The entrance into the competitive world of great industrial countries like Germany and the United States has completely altered the international balance. The war greatly accentuated the change, and as everyone knows left the United States in a position of overwhelming predominance in the economic sphere.

Mr. Price sketches the post-war situation and tries to estimate the present position of this country in relation to the rest of the world. He supplies an abundance of statistics and other relevant data to illustrate his thesis. While most readers will no doubt find opinions and conclusions with which they disagree, the general trend of the argument will arouse very little dissent in the Labour Movement. Mr. Price is neither a pessimist falling back upon the Communist gospel of despair, nor is he a facile optimist who sees nothing to be alarmed about. He realises to the full, as every serious student must, the gravity of the economic strain in which the world finds itself at the moment and the terrible potentialities for war and industrial chaos that are inherent in the situation.

He concludes, however, that it is not by violent upheaval that the remedy can be found, but rather by the conscious adoption of measures of co-operation in order to adjust the needs of different nations. Not only does he think such co-operation practicable, but he sees signs that even within the present capitalist system steps are being taken to bring about such adjustment. With this reading of the world's situation most of us will agree. The signs of foresight and planning in the international economic sphere are small enough, but they do exist, and they are becoming more marked every day. In this development the Economic Section of the League of Nations may play a vitally significant part. It is the only international organisation that is working along these lines with some kind of governmental backing. It is all the more fortunate that at the head of this section of the League of Nations is such a man as Sir J. A. Salter, who is not only one of the ablest administrators in the world, but is also known to be keenly anxious to bring about an international understanding in these matters. There is an

* *The Economic Problems of Europe*. By M. Phillips Price. Allen and Unwin. 8s. 6d.)

obligation, however, on every international organisation, and particularly on the International Federation of Trade Unions, to undertake research and propaganda along these lines. The problem is unquestionably the most important that confronts democracy to-day. It will not be solved without expert study and continuous agitation. Mr. Sidney Webb, in his introduction to Mr. Price's book, says frankly that he himself is unable to see his way through the maze, as the new complications baffle him. The apparatus and

methods of the 19th century economists are, he thinks, inadequate to solve the problem. This is certainly true, but a new apparatus and new methods must be worked out very speedily or the world will topple headlong into a conflict compared with which the Great War was child's play. Mr. Price's book can therefore be most cordially recommended as an introduction to this vitally important topic. His readers will be made to think along new lines on matters that have hitherto had far too little attention.

Book Reviews

Industry and Commerce. By H. L. Carrod. (Gregg Publishing Co. 3s. 6d.)

If this is intended as a "reader" in commerce for students in commercial and technical schools, it should prove most useful for elementary classes. It gives in clear and simple English a series of articles on ancient and modern international trade, Guilds, Trade Unions, and modern industrial plant, banking and so on, followed by chapters dealing with grammatical construction and composition. It is called, however, a course in English, and if this implies that students in commercial and technical schools should gain their knowledge of English grammar and composition merely through texts containing narratives dealing with "business" topics, one can only regret the short-sighted enthusiasm of the "vocationists" who appear to think that their unfortunate pupils must eat and drink and breathe their vocation, day and night.

It is unfortunately necessary to use—and therefore to teach others how to use—business forms, but let us shun that abortion called "business English," and tell our students frankly that it is necessary to study business from the works of Gordon Selfridge and Henry Ford, and to study English from the works of Defoe, and Milton, Burton, Pater, and Hardy.

International Survey of Legal Decisions on Labour Law, 1926. (International Labour Office. 8s.)

When the first issue of this invaluable annual was published last year we welcomed it warmly, and expressed the hope that it would grow fat and wax prosperous.

With commendable promptitude the 1926 issue has followed, and it equally deserves our praise and the I.L.O. our gratitude. The same general plan is followed of printing legal decisions for each of the four countries—

England, France, Germany, and Italy—under fifteen headings, according to the subject. For England decisions of the Industrial Court, the Railway Wages Board, and similar bodies are given, as well as those of the Law Courts. In view of the great differences between British and continental practice it would be as well to emphasise in the text the fact that decisions of the former bodies are not legally enforceable.

It is very unfortunate that Justice Astbury's remarks in the Seamen's case, during the National Strike, should have been reproduced in this volume. If they had been part of his judgment, no complaint could be made, even though they have since been ridiculed by legal authorities; but, in fact, they were mere obiter dicta on a question not argued, and, therefore, they have no place in a compilation of this kind.

American Labour Dynamics. By J. S. Hardman and Associates. (Harcourt, Brace and Co. \$4.)

This absorbingly interesting work is unlike any book we have come across before, though apparently the type is beginning to be popular in America. Thirty-two economists, Trade Unionists, and students of labour have co-operated to produce a survey of tendencies, of movements, and of problems. We are presented not with a picture of what has been, or even of what is, but rather of how things are moving, of the difficulties that are being encountered, and of the ways in which they are being surmounted. The contributions are of unequal value, as might be expected, but Mr. Hardman himself has performed his editorial work with supreme skill.

His own contributions on "Problems of a Labour Union somewhere in the United States" are, to the reviewer at all events, among the most valuable and interesting chapters in the

book. They set out, in concrete terms, certain hypothetical situations—organising, striking, exercising “control,” etc.—and display the solutions to the difficulties that are formulated. They have a very real, practical value—the more so because of their terse, vivid phraseology.

Lewis Corey is most informative on “The New Capitalism,” as is A. R. Ellingwood on Labour Law, while a group of writers on specific industries and their labour problems throw much light on the dark places. But one should not pick and choose. For all who want to know the vital, moving factors in American Trade Unionism Mr. Hardman’s symposium is indispensable.

Mr. Blettsworthy on Rampole Island. By H. G. Wells. (Benn. 7s. 6d.)

As a philosopher the later Wells is thoroughly unsatisfactory, but he is still an incomparable teller of stories and painter of richly human characters. Young Blettsworthy makes an ass of himself over a shopgirl at Oxford (hoary device of a past generation of novelists) and is packed off to sea in order to teach him to grow up. By his lifelike imitation of the manner in which the captain takes soup, he mortally offends that gentleman, who leaves him locked up in a cabin when the ship is wrecked and the crew take to the boats. Then comes the nightmare period on Rampole Island where, as the Sacred Lunatic of the tribe, he is in the primitive manner treated half as a god and half as a troublesome child. The Rampolians are an unpleasant people with habits of the nastiest, but Blettsworthy, who is perforce a sort of Gulliver inverted, has but indifferent success in his efforts to describe the superiority of *his* world in a way which will inspire imitation.

However, a little accident suddenly transfers the Sacred Lunatic to New York; it is a mental and not a physical Rampole Island he has been living in, and when he goes off to the war he realises with yet another somersault that it is, after all, the world at large which is the country of his nightmare. We are on ground that Mr. Wells has made familiar. The savagery, ignorance, and cruelty of the world, or rather of the still primitive human race, are thrown into relief in the sombre visions of dementia. All the crude and uncivilised passions and impulses of humanity are brought to the surface through the technique of the psycho-analyst. It is a most effective method and Mr. Wells uses it with skill. Is not the post-war pre-occupation with the tortured workings of the diseased mind natural enough? To become a new Swift with this new technique would be worth while, in the present state of

the world, but Mr. Wells misses it, partly because of his incurable habit of lapsing into farce, and partly because his own philosophy is muddled.

To treat the whole affair as farce is permissible, but Mr. Wells is too terribly in earnest for that. Yet he is too English to keep it grim all through in the manner of the post-war German drama and film. He mixes them, and they do not mix very well. The farce-philosophy of Mr. Polly is the most glorious thing Mr. Wells has given us, and in departing from his early manner he impresses us less because he is so desperately anxious to impress us more. For what does he offer after his unquiet prologue? A vague aspiration towards optimism based on a non-existent and utterly pointless unselfishness. It will not do. It is not real enough or reasonable enough for the present generation.

Yet everyone must read about Mr. Blettsworthy because whatever else he has lost or gained Mr. Wells remains the supreme stimulant to a debilitated world.

Published Balance Sheets and Window Dressing. By L. R. Dicksee. (Gee and Co. 5s.)

The emeritus professor of accountancy and business methods in the University of London has a small opinion of published balance sheets. “It would in all probability be perfectly accurate to say that up to the present no company has upon any occasion published its accounts in such a form as to enable its shareholders to judge whether the current price of its shares seems too high or too low, or to be about justified by the state of the company’s affairs.”

He proceeds to deliver illuminating comment on the various items in the typical balance sheet, and then turns to window dressing and its intricacies. Apart from the fact that the date chosen for the balance sheet is normally one of the most favourable of the year, much can be done artificially to doctor the position. This is not necessarily bad. It may be desirable, for example, to understate the financial position, although the reverse process is not unusual.

Monthly balance sheets are declared to be practicable, and they certainly would give shareholders some idea of their position. Altogether an interesting and revealing, if rather slight, volume.

G. McK.

Human Migration and the Future. J. W. Gregory. (Seeley, Service and Company. 12s. 6d.)

Professor Gregory is as fertile in ideas and as fascinating in exposition in this volume as he usually is when he writes on geographical and racial topics. Never has the subject of

migration aroused as much interest and attention as it does to-day. Nationally and internationally the problems of emigration and immigration, and the ban placed by some nations on the influx of aliens, are being anxiously studied by those who can foresee the troubles that are all too likely to come upon the world in the comparatively near future.

Professor Gregory takes us, in his most interesting survey, over the entire world of emigrant and immigrant countries, and discusses the special problems of France and Italy, United States and South America, Canada and Australia. The conclusion that the British Isles need to maintain an emigration of about a quarter of million persons a year for the next ten years is not an overestimate, and the size of this figure is sufficient witness to the importance of the question.

On the whole, Prof. Gregory is optimistic, though he appreciates more than many writers the Australian case against wholesale immigration, and he does not hold out the extravagant hopes that are sometimes indulged in by politicians anxious to find an easy way out of their difficulties.

Altogether, this is a most readable and informative book.

Politics and Education. By L. Nelson, late Professor of Philosophy at the University of Gottingen. Translated by W. Lansdell. (Allen and Unwin. 7s. 6d.)

This is a very clear argument against a certain view of democracy. The author contrasts "the right end" with the end arrived at by the vote of the majority. He says truly that it is mere scepticism to oppose that any end voted by the majority is the right end. He is therefore opposed to democracy as a form of Government. But he argues in the air. He is a Houtian philosopher writing in 1919 in Germany and impatient at certain politicians who, in his opinion, are not the right leaders for public life. We are to educate a new type of true leaders.

The argument is interesting and should be considered, but only after reading George Meredith's "Beauchamp's Career." The "Politics of Reason" is Professor Nelson's. The only successful organisations for social ends are, according to him, the Catholic Church and the Military Staff, but he does not approve of the ends which these institutions have actually achieved. It is to be feared that the Professor has not had success in influencing political tendencies to take the direction of which he approved.

C. D. B.

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Industrial Developments

Wage Movements in November

In the industries for which statistics are regularly compiled by the Ministry of Labour, the changes in rates of wages reported to have come into operation in November, resulted in a reduction of £570 in the weekly full-time wages of 10,000 workpeople, and increases of £4,400 in those of nearly 69,000 workpeople, according to figures quoted in the *Ministry of Labour Gazette*.

During the eleven completed months of 1928 the changes reported to the Ministry in the industries for which statistics are compiled have resulted in net reductions of £166,000 in the weekly full-time wages of 1,638,000 workpeople, and in net increases of £21,100 in those of 211,000 workpeople. In the corresponding period of 1927 there were net reductions of £383,350 in the weekly full-time wages of 1,857,000 workpeople, and in net increases of £29,850 in those of 276,000 workpeople.

* * *

Statistics of Trade Disputes

The number of trade disputes reported to the Ministry of Labour as beginning in November, was 18. In addition, twelve disputes which began before November were still in progress at the beginning of the month. The number of workpeople involved in all disputes in November (including workpeople thrown out of work at the establishments where the disputes occurred, but not themselves parties to the disputes), was about 7,000, and the aggregate duration of all disputes during November was about 64,000 working days. These figures compare with totals of 7,000 workpeople involved, and 59,000 working days lost in the previous month and with 10,600 workpeople involved and 51,000 days lost in November, 1927.

* * *

Kent Coalfield Strike Settled

A strike at Snowdown Colliery, Kent, which began on November 16, and involved some 1,200 men, ended on December 1.

Trouble arose concerning rates of wages, and it has now been agreed by representatives of the men and of the employers that until the end of the year wages shall be paid on the same basis as that in force before the stoppage. If no general district wages agreement has been arrived at before January 1, the men agree to continue at work, the percentage payable on the basis rate of wages being then 32 and 37 per cent.

* * *

Railway Clerks' Progress

It is reported that excellent progress has been made by the Railway Clerks' Association during the past year. The total reserves of the general fund of the union have increased by £22,000, which is equal to more than £3 per member. The membership is now 52,271, which shows an increase of 2,063.

Oxford University Scholarship

The General Council of the Trades Union Scholarship have accepted the invitation of the Committee of Oxford University Delegacy for Extra-mural studies to recommend suitable candidates for the scholarships provided by the Committee.

These scholarships allow qualified working-class students to attend a two years' course of study at the University. The amount of the scholarships is not fixed, owing to the fact that the circumstances of individual students differ, and the Committee fix the scholarship at a sum which will meet the actual need of the particular student, so that he or she can meet all the expenses incurred in undertaking a two years' course of study at Oxford without financial anxiety.

Students must not be less than 23 years of age, and must have followed a systematic course of study over a period of not less than two years in a University Tutorial Class or Extension Course, or have been full-time students at a University College or approved college for adults for not less than three terms.

* * *

Distressed Mining Areas

The Prime Minister announced in the House of Commons on December 17 that the Government proposed to take steps to relieve distress in the coalfields as follows:—

A grant of £100,000 for facilitating the transfer of families, and the organisation of special schemes to train up those physically impaired by long unemployment so as to make them fit for employment outside the distressed areas.

A contribution of £1 to the Lord Mayor's Fund for every £1 privately subscribed. This meant an immediate grant of £150,000.

Mr. Baldwin said that all mining areas would be covered.

* * *

Electricity Supply Workers' Wages

Wages in the electricity supply industry were discussed by the National Joint Council for the industry at a meeting held in London on December 7.

At this meeting an agreement was reached by which the wages are to be stabilised for twelve months at the existing rates, subject to negotiations to be entered into immediately for the improvement of the wages and conditions of certain grades, namely, senior and junior engineers engaged as switchboard attendants and assistants, sub-station charge engineers, sub-station attendants and their assistants in both rotary and static sub-stations.

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International Trade Union Notes and Labour Abroad

(Specially contributed to the LABOUR MAGAZINE by the International Federation of Trade Unions.)

Zones of I.F.T.U. Influence

There are many organisations belonging to the International Trade Secretariats which take the standpoint of the I.F.T.U., but whose national centres are not affiliated with the I.F.T.U. Such organisations are of great importance for the I.F.T.U. The bonds which link them up with the I.T.S. constitute a real strengthening of the I.F.T.U. itself.

These organisations are, so to speak, advance guards of the "Free" Trade Union International Movement in the countries not affiliated with the I.F.T.U. The latest official membership figures of the International Trade Secretariats may therefore be regarded as contradictory of the assertion that the influence of the I.F.T.U. is confined to the countries of Europe. Apart from the friendly relations with non-European countries and the propaganda done by the I.F.T.U. in these countries, these relations through the International Trade Secretariats serve as a direct means of extending its sphere of influence.

On January 1, 1928, there were 88 unions belonging to the International Trade Secretariats in countries not affiliated with the I.F.T.U. These organisations are distributed over twelve countries and have an aggregate membership of 2,068,234.

* * *

Distribution of "Secretariat" Unions

The distribution of these unions over the various continents is as follows:—

Europe: In six countries not belonging to the I.F.T.U. there are 64 unions, with a total membership of 655,933, these countries being Finland (seventeen unions, with 69,982 members); Greece (which affiliated with the I.F.T.U. after January, 1928); four unions with 12,000 members; Ireland (four unions with 20,000 members); Iceland (three unions with 1,406 members); Norway, (35 unions with 100,682 members); Russia (one union with 451,853 members) as the Russian union joined its competent trade secretariat, the food-workers' international, solely for the sake of combating the "free" trade union movement in its case, the argument of extending the sphere of influence of the I.F.T.U. does not apply.

In *America* the position is as follows: three countries, with fifteen organisations, and an aggregate membership of 1,286,736 are affiliated with the International Trade Secretariats, these being Brazil (one union, 1,800 members); Cuba (one union, 1,173 members), and the United States (twelve unions, 1,283,763 members). *Asia:* Two countries with five unions and 92,162 members, i.e., India (three unions, 87,000 members); and the Dutch East Indies (two unions, 5,162 members).

Australia: Four unions with 33,403 members.

* * *

Growth of Affiliations

The International Trade Secretariats which are the most strongly represented in countries not affiliated with the I.F.T.U. are the Clothing Workers, the Food Workers, the Metal Workers, the Miners, the Painters, the Transport Workers, and the Wood Workers.

In comparison with the position in 1925, there has been very rapid growth of affiliations. On January 1, 1925,

the number of unions affiliated with their international trade secretariats in countries not affiliated with the I.F.T.U. was 71, with a membership of 1,366,087. There has, therefore, been a gain during the three years of 19 unions and 712,207 members.

* * *

"Industrial Peace" in Sweden

The conference convened by the Swedish Government to discuss the possibilities of permanent co-operation between employers and workers for the promotion of industrial peace has now met at Stockholm. It has fulfilled expectations in so far as it has discussed very thoroughly all the points brought forward, but, of course, under present circumstances, no immediate practical results could be looked for. The conference was attended by about 200 delegates, representing employers, workers, the Government, and other "neutral" sections of the population. It was opened by the Minister of Social Affairs, who traced in broad outlines a sketch of future co-operation.

His plan for the congress was that it should "side by side with the usual Trade Union disputes concerning collective agreements and wages disputes and disputes in questions of legislation, investigate hitherto untried avenues for voluntary co-operation based on mutual confidence."

* * *

Labour Views Explained

After the opening speech of the Minister, introductory papers were read by representatives of the employers and workers. The principles held by the Labour Movement on the subject were set forth by Sigfrid Hansson, editor of the journal of the Swedish national centre, who pointed out that if the unions lend their aid to efforts to secure industrial peace, this does not mean that they renounce the class conflict; in doing so, they are merely following the lines already adopted at the time of the recognition of freedom of association and freedom of bargaining, and the introduction of collective wage agreements.

It is of secondary importance whether economic democracy is founded *by law* or not; the chief thing is that it should *exist*. If rationalisation is to be properly organised, close co-operation between both parties is absolutely essential.

* * *

Delegation to be Appointed

Finally, the conference carried unanimously a resolution providing for the appointment of a delegation which should be instructed to compile the views of the conference on points on which it was in general agreement, and to propose measures for the promotion of co-operation and industrial peace which would further industrial prosperity and the good of the community.

The conference requested the Employers' Association and the National Trade Union Centre to nominate five members each to this commission, while the Government is also to appoint an appropriate number of members, among whom there must be representatives of engineers and foremen.

International Labour Office Notes

Progress in 1928

The speed of ratification of Conventions adopted by the International Labour Conference of the League of Nations has shown considerable acceleration during the past year. The following are comparative figures at the end of 1928 as compared with the three previous years:—

	1928.	At end of 1927.	1926.	1925.
Ratifications formally registered.....	333	249	215	185
Ratifications of White Phosphorus Convention since Washington Conference, 1919	14	14	14	13
Ratifications authorised but not yet communicated	26	30	38	37
Ratifications recommended by Governments	148	174	146	123
	* * *			

Countries which Ratified

The following States ratified Conventions in 1928: Luxemburg, 25; Cuba, 16; Hungary, 12; France, 6; Germany, 4; Japan and the Netherlands, 3; Austria, Belgium, Latvia and Portugal, 2; Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, Esthonia, Finland, India, Italy and Poland, 1.

* * *

Conventions Ratified

The Conventions obtaining the largest number of ratifications were: the Convention concerning equality of treatment for national and foreign workers as regards workmen's accident compensation, 11; the Convention concerning workmen's compensation for occupational diseases, 7; the Convention concerning the compulsory medical examination of children and young persons employed at sea, 5; the Convention concerning the simplification of inspection of emigrants on board ship, 5; the Convention fixing the minimum age for the admission of young persons to employment as trimmers and stokers at 18, 4; and the Convention concerning workmen's compensation for accidents, 4.

* * *

Native Labour Problems

The committee of experts from all parts of the world which advises the Office on all questions connected with native labour met at Geneva during December. Among those present were Sir Selwyn Fremantle, who has played an important part in social legislation in India; Mr. H. M. Taberer, Chief Native Adviser to the Transvaal Chamber of Mines; and Mr. J. P. Chamberlain, of the United States.

One of the first duties of the committee was to examine the "grey" report prepared by the Office for the next Session of the Conference (May, 1929) on the question of "forced labour," and the series of questions included in it, which, it is suggested, might be put to Governments on the practicability and scope of an international agreement on the subject.

"Forced Labour"

In the course of their discussions, the experts exchanged views on the definition of "forced labour"; the abolition of all legalised "forced labour," except for essential public services; the immediate abolition of "forced labour" for private individuals; the definition of the conditions which would make it permissible for recourse to be had to "forced labour" for public services; the regulation of conditions of work on those engaged on "forced labour," such as salary, hours, compensation for accidents, sickness, death, board and lodging, medical care, transport to and from home, the fixing of a maximum period for such labour, and the like, and the classes of people to be exempted from any "forced labour."

* * *

"Contract Labour"

The experts also studied the questions of "contract labour," indentured labour, and "long term contract labour" and particularly examined the problems of the recruitment of native workers engaged in this manner.

* * *

Unemployment of Intellectual Workers

Following a request from the Advisory Committee on problems connected with intellectual workers at its meeting in Geneva in October the Office, in collaboration with the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, is preparing a report on unemployment among this class of worker. The report will contain a survey of the importance of unemployment to the intellectual worker, both individually and socially, the causes of unemployment, and the remedies which are proposed.

The information will be collected with the help of the most important intellectual workers' organisations in each country.

* * *

Correspondent's Office in India

The International Labour Office has just opened a Correspondent's Office in India. This action was decided upon by the Governing Body for the purpose of tightening the existing bonds between that country and the Organisation. This new office, which will be in Delhi, will facilitate relations between Geneva and the public services and industrial associations of India. It will also serve as a permanent centre for information and documentary material.

There are already Correspondents' Offices in London, Paris, Berlin, Rome, Washington, and Tokyo.

* * *

Czecho-Slovakia and Accident Prevention

In execution of the resolution adopted by the eleventh session of the Conference held last year relating to methods of preventing industrial accidents, the Czecho-Slovak Minister of Social Welfare has informed the Office that the principles embodied in the resolution are already applied to a great extent in that country.

The Government is also considering setting up a committee for the safety and health of the workers which will consist of representatives of accident insurance institutions and employers' and workers' organisations, experts on the subject of "safety" and industrial hygiene, and delegates of the Ministries concerned. This committee will undertake inquiries and propose any appropriate measures for accident prevention.

Co-operative Activities

Politics and Progress

London Co-operative Society makes no attempt to hide its political activities, and, at the same time, makes wonderful progress in respect of its trading operations and increase of membership.

And it is certainly not being ruined by politics. The Political Committee of this society recently held its second annual conference, and claimed in its annual report that the Co-operative Movement has 6,000,000 potential Parliamentary voters, which should have the effect of making the Government sit up and think about it.

In the enfranchisement of 5,500,000 women, a deal of weight should be thrown on the Co-operative and Labour side of politics, particularly as women are mainly responsible for co-operative trading progress.

* * *

The People's Year Book

This valuable annual publication, edited by Mr. James Haslam, has now reached its twelfth year. In 1918 it took the place of the old annual of the two Co-operative Wholesale Societies (English and Scottish), and, whilst representing those organisations, it contains a wide survey of co-operative activities throughout the world.

The 1929 edition, which is now ready for sale, is equal to any of its predecessors, and this is saying a great deal. Besides world-wide labour and co-operative affairs, its pages include special contributions on a variety of subjects of special interest to every citizen. There is a series indicating the service that the British colonies might be to the co-operative movement in Great Britain and the Empire. Sir George Paish writes on the danger of a financial breakdown, Mr. E. L. Poulton on the Washington Hours Convention, and Mr. W. M. Citrine on Trade Unionism. In fact, Trade Unionism and the world of labour are well represented, as well as art, literature, science, etc. There are 24 pages of superior photogravure illustrations of topical incidents.

The price of this remarkable publication is 3s. 6d. (cloth, post free), and 2s. 6d. (paper, post free). The publishers are the Co-operative Press Agency, 1, Balloon Street, Manchester. Writers, students, and speakers in particular will find "The People's Year Book" invaluable.

* * *

International Congress, 1930

The Co-operative Union is already making arrangements for co-operators who wish to attend the triennial congress of the International Co-operative Alliance, which will be held in Vienna, 1930, no doubt in September.

A special week's itinerary is being offered to these and others from London for £27 first class and £23 second class fares and hotel accommodation; or the Continental visit may be extended to 16 days, including travelling and hotels, for £43 (first class) and £37 (second class). A programme has been issued by the Central Education Committee of the Co-operative Union, and co-operators who now begin to save for this Continental round will get a treat of a lifetime—historic, intellectual, and picturesque.

Milk Supplies

It is estimated that the milk trade of co-operative societies in England and Wales consists of about one million gallons per week, or less than one-fifth per gallon per member of the movement. There is, therefore, a deal of room for improvement, although societies are a long way ahead of municipalities in providing the family supply of milk.

* * *

C.W.S. in Spitalfields

At the opening of the Spitalfields new market the C.W.S. came in for a deal of attention and was awarded the silver cup for the best stand on the opening day. The display was admired by the Queen, who performed the opening ceremony, and since, Major F. H. Bowater, Chairman of the Central Markets' Committee, has written to the C.W.S. expressing the grateful thanks of the Committee and congratulating the society on its wonderful show of fruit and decorations.

* * *

A Big Society

The Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society (Woolwich) has just celebrated its diamond jubilee. It had a hard struggle in the beginning, but is now one of the largest local co-operative organisations in the world. It has over 200,000 members, with an annual trade of nearly £7,000,000, and employs over 5,000 members. Of recent years remarkable progress has been made.

* * *

Fight for Director's Seat

Keeness to gain a seat on the board of the C.W.S. grows. There is at present a vacancy owing to the retirement of an old director, and nearly 30 candidates have come forward to fight for the one place.

There has been an election for this seat before (a few weeks ago), but it was rendered void owing to a charge of canvassing laid against the successful candidate. Canvassing is not permitted, but there are so many ways in which it can be done that it is difficult to stop it.

In one or two cases, however, vote begging has been done too openly, and the best way to check it is to penalise candidates who indulge in it.

* * *

Political Organisation

The annual conference of bodies affiliated to the Co-operative Party in that part of the country included in the Southern Section of the Co-operative Union was recently held in London. We learn from a speech made by Mr. A. Barnes, M.P., that in the south of England 700,000 people are affiliated to the political party. In the whole of the country 54 per cent. of co-operative societies and 64 per cent. of societies' members are affiliated to the Co-operative Party. Respectively, the figures in the south are 59 and 69.

The Labour Library

(These notices do not preclude a fuller review in the pages of the LABOUR MAGAZINE or its allied publications.)

Public Health Law. By Sydney G. Turner, Second Edition by John Hodson, B.A., LL.B. (St. Bride's Press).

This book was originally published in 1911, and the present new edition has been revised and brought up-to-date, to include the various Local Government statutes which have been enacted and the important cases decided since the publication of the first edition. It is an explanation of the various Acts of Parliament which govern all matters dealt with by Public Health Authorities. In the Preface to the first edition, the author states that the book was designed primarily to meet the requirements of those who are practically interested in Local Government work, either as members or officers of local authorities, but it will be found of great use to all interested in questions of public health and desirous of seeing an extension of the activities of public authorities in this connection.

The book is very well arranged and clearly written, and the various subjects are dealt with under headings, which makes reference an easy matter. In the new edition are two chapters dealing with Housing and Town Planning, which contain much useful information on a topic of great importance to everybody.

The Human Habitat. By Ellsworth Huntington. (Chapman and Hall Limited. 15s.)

This volume is one of a series devoted to the popular treatment of scientific subjects, and deals with what has come to be known as "human geography," that is the adaptation of man to his physical environment. It contains a study of the nature of each geographic zone and the characteristics of the people who inhabit it, and an attempt is made to give a true idea of human geography as interpreted by the American school of geographers. In his preface the author states that he makes no attempt to cover the whole field, but has selected certain main phases of the subject as illustrations, and sets them forth as fully as possible.

The author is to be congratulated on his achievement. His story is a fascinating one, and is told in such a way as to appeal even to those who have not any previous knowledge of the subject. The book is attractively printed and contains many delightful pictures, which add considerably to its interest.

Official Statistics. By A. L. Bowley. (Oxford Press. 2s. 6d.)

Although the price is too high, this new edition of Prof. Bowley's little book in "The World of To-day" series is enormously useful and should be in the hands of every serious student of industrial and political questions. It is one of the most difficult tasks in the world for the beginner to thread his way through the maze of official statistics without falling into any of the numerous pitfalls that lie in his way.

Difficulties of definition, of comparability, and of incompleteness constantly arise, and Prof. Bowley's wise cautions and pleas for alertness are sorely needed.

The student desiring statistics on economic and industrial questions is shown just how far they exist and where they may be obtained. It is to be hoped revisions will be published regularly, and in more extended form, in future, though this is a work that should be commissioned by the Government and not left to the enterprise of the Oxford Press.

Some Contributions to the Economic History of Wales. By Evan J. Jones. (King. 9s.)

Though not a consecutive history, this collection of studies of special topics in Welsh economic development is a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of the subject.

Every chapter is full of learning and whets our appetite for a more detailed treatment. The Welsh industries receive special consideration, and the accounts of the growth of the woollen and metal industries are of considerable value. Most interesting of all, perhaps, are the chapters on Chartism in Wales, and on the changes in the distribution of the population.

We shall hope to see further studies from Mr. Jones's pen, and meanwhile English as well as Welsh students will get much profit and enjoyment from the present work.

The Theory of the Cost Price System. By A. J. W. Keppel. (Allen and Unwin. 6s.)

Mr. Keppel sets out with earnestness and lucidity a novel scheme for avoiding the evils of the "Profit system" without any headlong plunge into Socialism. He wishes to establish the process of exchange of commodities on the basis of cost-price, no element of profit or rent or interest entering into the price as which goods are exchanged. At first blush this appears to be a decidedly socialistic proposal, but Mr. Keppel argues with much force that it need not involve the institutional aspect of Socialism, the public ownership and control of capital. It would involve, however, so much enthusiasm for co-operative endeavour and for communal welfare, that the scheme he outlines must be regarded as but one more Utopia.

As Mr. J. A. Hobson's introduction says, Mr. Keppel's book is stimulating and thoughtful, and is well worth reading.

A B C Guide to the Companies Act, 1928. By H. W. Jordan and Stanley Borrie. (Jordan and Sons Limited, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. 2. 5s.; post free, 5s. 6d.)

The Companies Act, 1928, resulted from the activities of a committee set up in 1925 to consider what amendments were desirable in the Companies Act, 1908 to 1917, contains a large number of interesting, if complicated, features, notably with reference to redeemable preference shares, the issue of shares at discount, and offers for sale of shares and debentures. Section 92, which prohibits share-hawking, came into operation on August 3, 1928; but the remaining provisions will not become operative until they are embodied in a Consolidating Act, which it is intended to introduce early next year.

The present book is both prompt and useful. In addition to the full text of the Act, it gives an A B C guide to the various provisions, while there is also a full index. The authors are well-known writers of textbooks on company law and practice, and their accuracy can be relied upon. In so far as it is possible to judge such a technical work by examining a few representative sections, it can be said that a clear and valuable exposition of the Act is given.

THE LABOUR MAGAZINE

Incorporating The British Trades Union Review and the Labour Party Bulletin

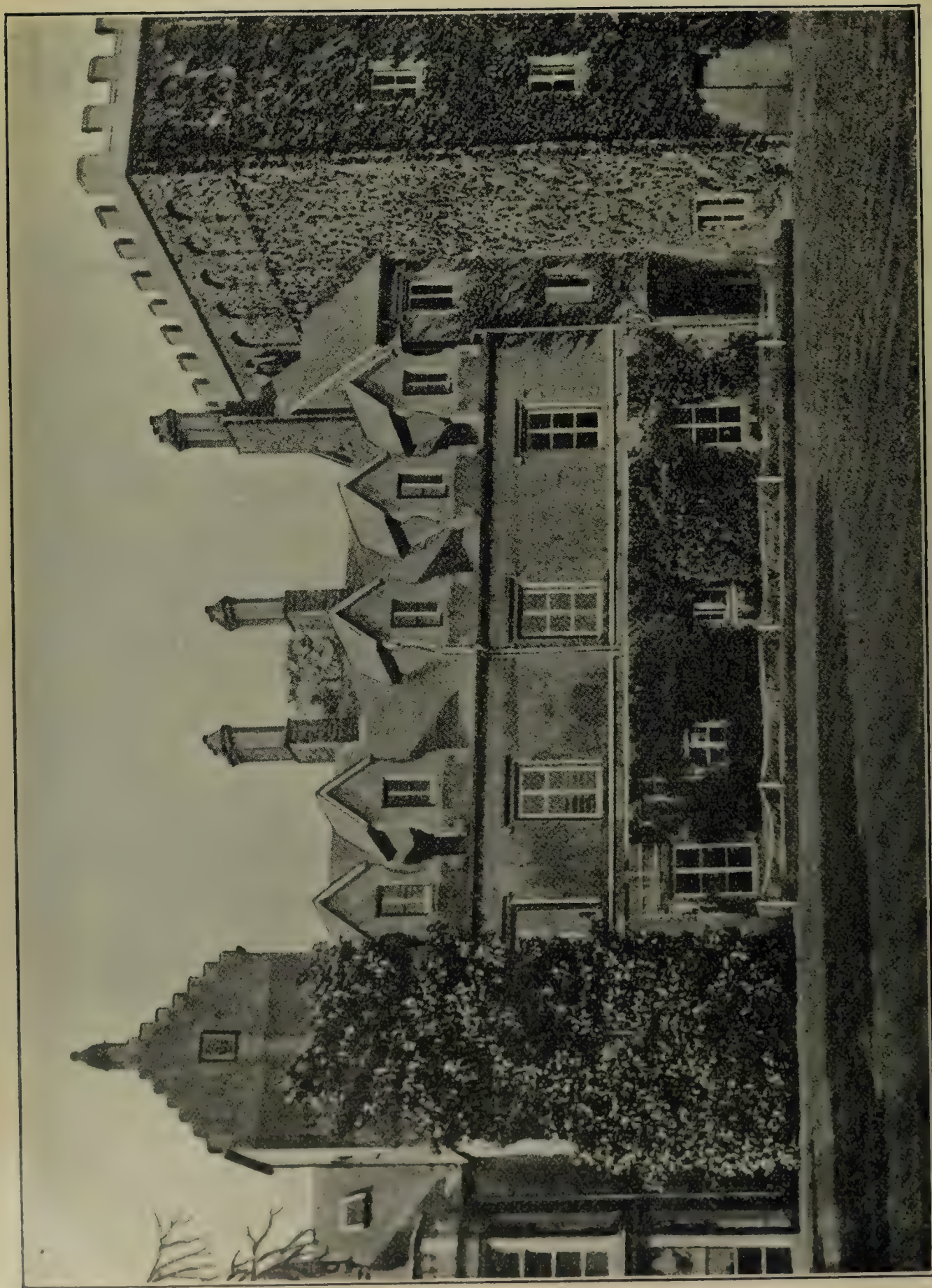
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"TALYGARN," SHOWING PART OF SOUTH FRONT

"Talygarn": The Miners' Convalescent Home

IMPRESSIONS OF A RECENT VISIT

By

RT. HON. ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P.

A VISIT to the coalfields affected by the present awful depression in the mining industry is a heartbreaking experience. It has been my lot to visit many industrial areas, in good times and bad, but in my lifetime I have seen nothing to compare with the state of affairs existing in some parts of the coalfields, where unemployment and destitution are rife as in the case of South Wales. Once prosperous, communities in this area now present a spectacle of desolation. There is little to relieve the gloom which envelops the mining population. Apart from measures which are being taken for the relief of distress, practically the only feature of life in these mining areas which has any quality of inspiration is the evidence that the Miners' Welfare Fund, the outcome of one of the recommendations of the Sankey Coal Commission of 1919, has been productive of material results.

It is saddening to reflect that the Miners' Welfare Fund is almost the only positive benefit which has accrued to the mining population as a consequence of the labours of the Sankey Commission. But those benefits are not to be despised. They have a very real significance, and their value is increased under existing conditions. It may be recalled that Mr. Justice Sankey and his colleagues recommended that a levy of one penny on every ton of coal raised should be applied to the improvement of social conditions in the mining areas. In the Mining Industry Act, 1920, it was laid down that the penny levy should be applied to purposes "connected with the social well-being, recreation, and conditions of

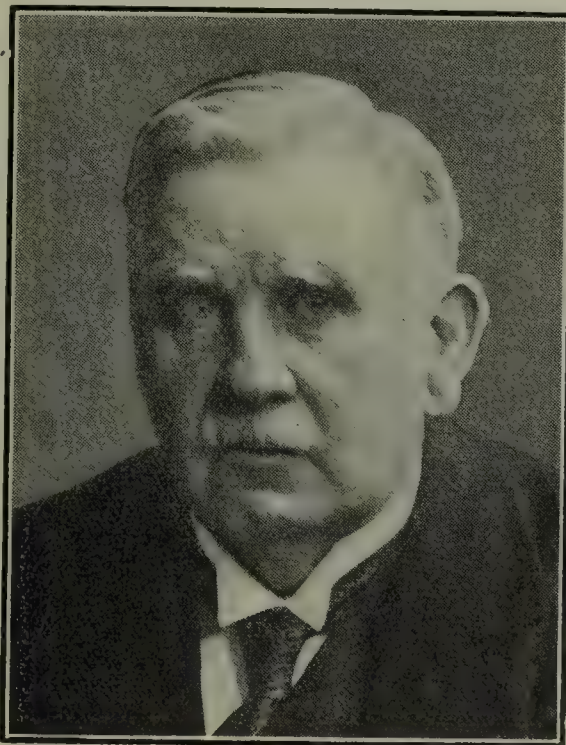
living of workers in or about coal mines, and with mining education and research." Under normal conditions the income of the fund from the levy on output amounts to about £1,000,000 a year—to be increased in future years by a levy on royalties, which was

calculated to add another quarter of a million a year to the fund. It was decided that the levy was to be divided into two parts: four-fifths of it was to be spent on local purposes in the colliery districts, and one-fifth was to be applied to any purposes within the Act as the committee administering the fund might think fit. These arrangements have produced some remarkable improvements in the colliery districts, and have likewise added some inspiring examples of what can be done to increase the happiness and comfort of sick or injured mine workers when resources are available.

During a recent visit to South Wales I ac-

cepted with pleasure an invitation to visit the convalescent home for the South Wales mining industry known as "Talygarn." This fine institution exists for the benefit of mine workers who are recovering from illness or accident, and it affords a striking illustration of the uses that can be made of the great mansions and country houses that have been too long the private property of a few extremely wealthy people.

"Talygarn" is a magnificent mansion, standing on a gentle eminence overlooking the beautiful Vale of Glamorgan. It was purchased by the Joint Committee of the Miners' Welfare Fund in South Wales, and the photographs accompanying this article give an



MR. TOM RICHARDS

inadequate impression of its architectural and other beauties. It is surrounded with delightful gardens and pleasure grounds, backed by an ornamental wood, providing a wonderful frame for the lake, which covers an area of nearly nine acres, fringed with a profusion of rhododendrons that in the summer time must be a perfect blaze of bloom.

The mansion, I was informed, was originally the property of Mr. George Clark, and two generations of the family have occupied the place, spending upon it in this period close

English and Welsh is an inscription commemorating the great work which both these gentlemen have accomplished in establishing the institution. The Home is in charge of Major P. H. Linthune, and he and his staff have received frequent commendation from the Board of Management, as well as the gratitude of every patient, for the work they have done.

Under Major Linthune's guidance I was shown all over the house and grounds, passing through the main corridor from the entrance



THE RECEPTION HALL AND MAIN CORRIDOR

on a quarter of a million pounds. I do not profess to be able to discuss its architectural features according to the strict canons of art, but I can bear testimony to the fact that within and without there are many beautiful aspects of the place to charm the eye. In many of the rooms there are costly panelling and carvings, elaborate candelabra, and massive fireplaces of Carrara marble, as well as painted ceilings, frescoes, and rich and costly tapestries. In the entrance hall there is a large bronze tablet worked in the Italian style showing the familiar features of Mr. Tom Richards, the veteran secretary of the South Wales Miners' Federation, and of Mr. Finlay Gibson, Joint Honorary Secretaries of the Home. Upon the tablet in

hall to the panelled and tapestried smoke-room, with its wonderful decorative friezes and painted ceiling; thence into rooms, each with its heavily ornamented ceiling and richly-gilted shields, to the spacious and luxurious lounge, which is used also as a reading-room, and where a rare example of a mosaic picture is embedded in the end wall, into the winter garden, with its flowers and mimosa trees, which brighten this light and airy retreat. There is a theatre with seating accommodation for 500, fitted with a stage, and equipped with lighting effects of the most modern and efficient type. The kitchen throughout is tiled in black and white, and the most up-to-date oven and kitchen equipment for the preparation

of food for convalescents are installed. Meals are served in the large, oak panelled dining-room, and the fare provided is equal to that served in a first-class hotel.

The furnishing throughout the Home adds to its attraction. The place is equipped for 100 patients. Since the Home was opened in October, 1923, approximately 17,000 patients have been given accommodation. It is a remarkable tribute to the spirit in which the institution is conducted and an evidence of the pride and respect which the miners feel for

concern of both the employer and the employee. The workers' representatives are entitled to nominate up to 80 per cent. of the accommodation available (namely 100 men) and the colliery companies nominate for the remaining 20 per cent.; the deciding factor in this matter being the number of workmen employed in each of the eight areas in which, for the purposes of the Home, the coalfield of South Wales has been divided. Rail fares of patients are paid by the board of management both to and from the Home. Arriving patients are met at the



LOUNGE SHOWING MOSAIC PICTURES AT END OF ROOM

their beautiful Home, that during the whole period of its existence not one patient has proved in any way recalcitrant to the necessary rules and regulations, or to have been guilty of any conduct calling for drastic disciplinary action. Generous provision is made for the entertainment of the patients, and the Home has been equipped with billiard tables, wireless installation, musical instruments, and the apparatus for many recreations.

As to the administration of the institution, provision is made for joint management. At "Talgarn" the representative of the coalowners and the miners occupy a common platform. Its existence is indeed testimony to the fact that employers and workers have realised that the health and comfort of those who toil is the

station by the saloon car attached to the institution. They remain as a rule for a fortnight of rest and recuperation, and when they leave the Home the car conveys them to the station. Provision has been made for the maintenance of the institution as a permanent convalescent home for the South Wales miners. An endowment fund is now in process of creation, which will provide a sum sufficient to maintain adequately the full number of patients which the house can accommodate.

It is pleasing to think of the name of my old colleague and friend, Tom Richards, being associated permanently with this magnificent institution. He has said many times how glad he is that he has lived to see the Home established.

The Bank and the Nation

LESSONS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES

By

T. DUNSMORE

"If the nation is to be master in its own house, it is essential that it should bring the larger issues of banking policy under its own control. . . . The Labour Party proposes, therefore, that the government of the Bank of England shall be vested in the hands of a public corporation, and shall contain representatives of the Treasury, the Board of Trade, Industry, Labour and the Co-operative Movement."

"Labour and the Nation."—P. 25.

WHEN the next Labour Government sets to work to bring the Bank of England under the effective control of the nation, it will have many precedents to help it. In fact, apart from the Bank of England, there is only one other Central Bank of any importance, the constitution of which does not reflect in greater or less degree the principle of national control. That one case is the German Reichsbank, which is outside the control of the Government. But the constitution of the Reichsbank was dictated by Germany's creditors as part of the Dawes Plan for the recovery of Reparations, and involved an independence of the State which would not have been considered necessary or desirable by Germany herself. Nevertheless, the President of the Republic has a limited right of veto over the selection of the President of the Reichsbank.

America, the paragon of the individualists, adopted the Labour principle of national control when she reorganised the whole of her banking system in 1914. The Federal Reserve Board at Washington, the American equivalent of the Bank of England, consists of eight members. The Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller of the Currency are members *ex-officio*. The other six members are appointed by the President of the United States with the approval of the Senate. In making the appointments, the President must ensure that not more than one member comes from any one federal reserve district, and must have regard to the adequate representation of the different geographical regions of the country, and of financial, agricultural, industrial, and commercial interests. The Secretary of the Treasury is *ex-officio* chairman of the Board. The President designates one of the six appointed members as

Governor, "the active executive officer," and one as Vice-Governor.

The Federal Reserve system thus embodies the two main principles on which British labour is insisting: the directors of the Central Bank are appointed by the State, and are selected in such a way that every part of the country and all the important economic interests of the country are adequately represented on the Board. It is true that no provision is made for the representation of the workers, but it would have needed a miracle to achieve that in a country which has not yet developed a strong working-class political movement and is still dominated by the farmers and big business. The principle is, however, established in the Federal Reserve system that the State shall control the Central Bank and that the Board shall have a national and not a sectional basis. This does not mean that the State interferes in the actual operations of the bank. The broad lines of the bank's policy are laid down in the Federal Reserve Act of 1913, and the Board is left a free hand in the practical application of the statutory policy. Labour proposes a similar course in the case of the Bank of England. The bank would not be run by a Government Department, like the Post Office. It would be an independent corporation in the sense in which the B.B.C. is independent, but would be responsible to the Government, and through the Government to Parliament for the efficient carrying out of the policy laid down in its charter.

The United States has not been alone in adopting the Labour principle of national control. Readers will find information regarding the constitutions of most of the Central Banks in an admirably informative work, "Central Banks," by Kisch and Elkin (Macmillan and Company, 1928. 18s.). It is an expensive book, but it ought to be in every public library.

The following particulars of the governing bodies of other Central Banks show that we have a good deal to learn from the rest of the world:—

Australia.—The Commonwealth Bank is a State institution. The Board consists of a Governor and seven other directors, namely; the Secretary of the Treasury and "six persons who are or have been actively engaged in

agriculture, commerce, finance or industry." The Governor, Deputy Governor and directors are appointed by the Governor-General. The Governor is the chief executive officer of the bank. There is a London Board of Advice consisting of three members appointed by the Governor-General on the advice of the Board of Directors. The Board makes periodical reports to the Government.

Austria.—The Austrian National Bank was reconstructed in 1926 under a scheme drawn up by League of Nations experts, who were anxious, as the Allied experts were in the case of Germany, to ensure that the bank should be independent of the Government. But even here the chairman of the bank is appointed by the Federal President on the nomination of the Federal Government. The remaining 13 members of the Board are elected by the shareholders, with the important proviso that the Board must include a representative of each of the following: Banking Institutions, Savings Banks, Industry, Trade and Commerce, Agriculture, Labour. Furthermore, the Government appoints a State Commissioner and Deputy, "with powers of supervision to ensure that the bank acts in accordance with its statutes." The principles of the Labour Party's proposals have thus received, to a substantial extent, the endorsement of the League of Nations.

Belgium.—The National Bank of Belgium is administered by a Council composed of the Governor (who is nominated by the Crown) and three directors and nine Regents (who are elected by the shareholders). Three of the Regents are nominated by the Council of Industry and Commerce, the industrial workers' representatives on the Trades Council and the members of the Council of Agriculture respectively. The remaining six Regents must be leading men in commerce, industry, or banking. The State has the right to oppose any measure which is considered contrary to the laws, statutes, or interests of the State. A Government Commissioner supervises all operations of the bank.

Bulgaria.—The National Bank of Bulgaria is administered by a Council, composed of a Governor and Assistant-Governors, who are nominated by Royal Decree on the recommendation of the Minister of Finance, four members nominated from the heads of departments of the bank, and four elected by the Chambers of Commerce, the Sofia Bourse, and the General Councils. One of the four elected members must be experienced in agriculture.

Chile.—The Central Bank of Chile is controlled by a Board of ten directors, of whom

three are appointed by the Government, two by the national banks, one by foreign banks, one by other shareholders, one by the National Agricultural Society and the Society for the Encouragement of Manufacturers, one by the Association of Nitrate Producers and the Central Chamber of Commerce, and one by the General Board of the Federation of Labour.

Czecho-Slovakia.—One-third of the capital of the National Bank of Czecho-Slovakia is held by the State. The Board consists of a Governor appointed by the President of the Republic, six directors elected by the shareholders and three appointed by the Government. The President of the Republic appoints the Vice-Governor from among the six elected directors. The bank is supervised on behalf of the State by a Government Commissioner.

Estonia.—The Bank of Estonia, like those of Austria and Greece, was established under a scheme of financial reconstruction prepared by the experts of the League of Nations. The Board consists of a President appointed by the Government, two members of the management nominated by the President of the bank, and seven directors elected by the shareholders. The elected directors must include nominees of bodies representing industry, commerce, agriculture, co-operative and organised workers.

Finland.—The Bank of Finland is State-owned, with a Board appointed by the President of the Republic.

France.—The Bank of France is controlled by a General Council, which consists of a Governor and two deputy-governors, who are appointed by the President of the Republic on the nomination of the Minister of Finance, 15 Regents, and three auditors elected by the 200 largest stockholders. Three of the Regents must be chosen from the Treasury disbursing agents, five of the Regents and the three auditors must be chosen from the commercial and industrial stockholders, and one Regent from the agricultural stockholders.

Greece.—The Bank of Greece is another example of a re-organisation carried out by the Financial Committee of the League of Nations. The Board consists of a Governor, Deputy-Governor and nine directors. At least three of the directors must have been actively engaged in industry or commerce and three in agriculture. The directors are normally to be elected by the shareholders, but the first Board was appointed by the Government in agreement with the National Bank of Greece, which was superseded. The choice of Governor must be approved by the Government. A Government

Commissioner nominated by the Minister of Finance has the right to attend all meetings of shareholders and directors, but has no vote. His duty is to see that the bank does not act contrary to its statutes or other laws of the State.

Hungary.—The board of the National Bank of Hungary consists of a Governor, nominated by the Finance Minister and appointed by the head of the State, and thirteen members and four supernumerary members elected by the shareholders. The elected members must include representatives of agriculture, industry, commerce, and banking institutions. Two Deputy-Governors are elected by the board from its own members, subject to the approval of the head of the State. Government commissioners are entitled to attend meetings to ensure compliance with the bank's statutes and other laws.

Italy.—The supervision of the Bank of Italy as a Bank of Issue is vested in the Treasury, and is effected by a permanent commission under the presidency of the Finance Minister.

Japan.—The Bank of Japan is controlled by an Administrative Board, which consists of a Governor and Vice-Governor, who are appointed by the Government, and four directors, who are appointed by the Finance Minister from eight candidates elected by the shareholders. Casual vacancies are filled on the nomination of the Finance Minister. "The Government shall control all the operations of the Bank of Japan, and shall prevent not only any operation which is contrary to the Act of By-Laws, but also any measure that the Government may deem disadvantageous to the State. The Government has the right to revise or amend the present by-laws of the bank whenever such revision or amendment is deemed necessary at the convenience of the Government."

Latvia.—The Bank of Latvia is a State institution with a Board appointed by the Government from candidates nominated by the Minister of Finance.

Lithuania.—The Governor of the Bank of Lithuania is appointed by the President of the Republic and the directors by the shareholders. Resolutions of the General Meeting of shareholders must be ratified by the Minister of Finance, Commerce, and Industry. The agreement of the Minister is also required for certain other purposes.

Norway.—The shareholders of the Norges Bank have not even nominal control over policy. The bank is directed by a Supervisory Council appointed by Parliament.

Poland.—The Bank of Poland is controlled by a President and Vice-President, who are

appointed by the President of the Republic, and twelve members elected by the shareholders, subject to veto by the Minister of Finance. The President of the bank has the right to veto decisions of the Council if he considers them contrary to the laws, the articles of association, or the interests of the State.

Russia.—The Russian Bank is State-owned and controlled, but is conducted on self-supporting lines, under the People's Commissary of Finances.

South Africa.—The Board of the South African Reserve Bank consists of eleven directors, of whom six are appointed by the stockholders and five by the Governor-General. Of the six who are appointed by the stockholders, three must have been actively engaged in commerce or finance, one in agriculture, and two in other industry. The five who are appointed by the Governor-General include the Governor and Deputy-Governor.

Sweden.—The Riksbank is a State institution. The Board is responsible to Parliament, and consists of a President appointed by the King and six directors appointed by Parliament.

Switzerland.—The Swiss National Bank is controlled by a council with 40 members, of whom fifteen are elected by the shareholders and 25, including the President and Vice-President, are appointed by the Federal Council. "The Council should include, besides representatives of finance, representatives of commerce, industry, trade, and agriculture."

Bank of England.—The independence of the Bank of England is, therefore, in sharp contrast to the varying degrees of national control which is imposed on the Central Bank of almost every country. The constitution of the bank has remained unchanged for 234 years. It was established by charter as a corporation in 1694. The board consists of a Governor, Deputy-Governor, and 24 directors, of whom at least thirteen, including the Governor or Deputy-Governor, shall form a court of directors for managing the affairs of the Corporation." A Court is held at least once a week. Mr. Snowden stated during the debate on the Currency and Bank Notes Bill, 1928, that he understood the duties of the directors were not very onerous, but consisted mainly of meeting at lunch once a week to decide on the Bank Rate. The Governor, Deputy-Governor and directors are elected at General Courts, which are held at least twice a year. At a General Court each holder of bank stock of not less than £500 may give one vote (and no more) if he is present at the meeting.

In practice the directors hold office permanently and become Governor in rotation according to seniority.

There is thus no public control over the choice of the men who have the power of dictators over the industry and commerce of the country. Why has this anachronism survived so long? The main reason, no doubt, is the complete secrecy of the bank's deliberations and the slowness of the public to realise the immense importance of the bank's operations. There is not the same indifference to-day. The bank is no longer regarded as a holy of holies—too mysterious to be understood or criticised by the laity. One fact which stands out too clearly to be ignored is that the trade of the country has been depressed since 1920, when the policy of credit restriction was put into force, but there has been no depression in finance, including banking. The bank appears to have been anxious at all costs to maintain the position of London as the chief money market of the world. That policy may have been wise or not, but it was decided upon without any consultation of the people who have had to pay the price in low wages and unemployment. The bank in its constitution is no more representative of the nation than any other trading company. Apart from the exceptional appointment recently of Sir Josiah

Stamp, the directors are detached from industry. And they are completely detached from the life of the workers, who are the overwhelming majority of the population. Yet they control the price of credit, and within very wide limits they control the total quantity of credit available in the country. No other single factor has so important an influence on our economic welfare as the policy of the bank.

Economists, leaders of business, and responsible politicians of all parties have declared that the policy pursued by the bank in the last eight or nine years has contributed to our economic troubles. When men like Lord Melchett, Mr. J. M. Keynes, and Mr. Reginald McKenna, the chairman of the Midland Bank, assert that economic recovery will be impossible without a change in our monetary policy, there is an overwhelming case for Labour's demand for a change in the constitution of the controlling body of the bank. By the establishment of the bank as a public corporation with a board composed of representatives of the Treasury, the Board of Trade, Industry, Labour, and the Co-operative Movement, there would be an assurance that all the important economic elements in the nation would have their fair share of influence in determining the manner in which the vital powers of the bank should be exercised.

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The League of Youth

By

W. ARTHUR PEACOCK

THE first national conference of young people to be called under the auspices of the Labour Party was held at Transport Hall, Westminster, on January 12. It was a wonderful gathering—a gathering such as no other political Party, and probably no religious organisation has ever held. It comprised 150 delegates, all of whom were under the age of 25 years. The Advisory Committee, which had convened the conference, was composed of young people subject to the same age qualification. In the chair there sat Maurice Hackett, of the Southgate Labour Party, junior section, whose persistent propaganda and work was partly responsible for the formation of the Provisional Committee.

As I looked upon those 150 delegates, who had travelled from all parts of the country, who had held socials and dances, who had collected subscriptions week by week in order to attend this first national conference, as I heard Maurice Hackett tell that they had come from places as far distant as Pontefract in the North, and Glamorgan in the South, my mind went back to a conference held at Clapham seven years ago.

The meeting place was a small café, and the conference consisted of only twenty delegates. They were met to discuss plans for organising a national young Labour Movement. The major part of them had been associated with the local Party, in attachment to which they had built up a young people's group.

It was their wish to extend the activities of the group so that what had been accomplished in Clapham might also be achieved elsewhere. The National Young Labour League was formed. Funds were collected from members, an appeal to youth published, circulars sent out to local Labour organisations, and vigorous effort made to organise the young life of the nation for service in the Labour Party.

Here and there an interested individual or local Labour Party made response, and steps were taken to form a league. Members of the Executive visited Labour Parties in the London area, and urged the necessity for a Socialist organisation which would combat the activities of the Primrose League. Lack of

funds prevented visits to the provinces, but when inquiries were received information regarding experiences in London was sent with the result that quite a number of leagues were established in the provinces. The interest of the Labour Party organiser for London, Mr. R. T. Windle, was gained, and attendance at conferences convinced him that there were great possibilities for a Labour youth movement. This caused the league to approach the Labour Party headquarters with a view to gaining the official support of that body.

The Labour Party Executive, however, did not feel that it could give support to a youth organisation that was not an integral part of its machinery, and while expressing both sympathy and appreciation with the work, it nevertheless felt it could not encourage action upon the lines suggested by the League Executive.

In addition to the Young Labour League, a number of other young people's Socialist societies came into being up and down the country, and these urged the Labour Party to develop some form of organisation for young people. The women's movement of the Labour Party saw the developments that were proceeding, and while appreciating the good work that was being done, also realised how feeble those efforts were when compared with the organisation of the rival societies. The Annual Conference of Labour Women passed a resolution urging the Labour Party to give consideration to the problem of youth organisation, and from this there resulted a small sub-committee which was instructed to submit a scheme for consideration by the Executive.

The sub-committee considered the proposals submitted by the young people's organisations, and at the same time bore in mind the form of organisation which had been adopted in developing the men and women's sections of the Party. The committee came to the view that the young people's movement must be an integral part of the Party machinery. It therefore outlined a scheme for the organisation of junior sections of the Party to which young people between the ages of 14 and 21 years would be eligible for membership, and

which would seek to foster young people's interest by means of social intercourse and recreational and political activity. It provided for the young people to be represented on the local management committees of Divisional Parties, and for the committee of the adult party to be represented upon the committee of the junior section. It was thought that by the adoption of this scheme the youth organisation of the Party could be best developed.

The scheme was accepted by the Annual Conference of the Labour Party in 1924. It was also considered by specially convened conferences of the Young Labour League. The members of the Y.L.L. were not at first very impressed with the scheme. It was a matter of considerable regret to them that no representative of their body had been asked to give the youth point of view to the committee. They were also rather displeased with the fact that the young people were not to have a separate independent organisation, but were to become junior sections of the Party. But on second thoughts it was realised that "half a loaf is better than none," and that the best interests of the movement would be served by accepting the new scheme, and by helping in its furtherance. It was realised that it was futile for the League to carry on seeking "to unite youth to the aid of the Labour Party," when that Party was forming youth sections as integral parts of its machinery. The Executive therefore met representatives of the Labour Party, and gave their views regarding the scheme. The young people were anxious for a national committee, but the Party were of the view that this should not be established until such time as the sections were established on a more firm foundation. A compromise was, however, agreed upon, and in counties where a sufficient number of sections existed, it was agreed that county federations should be formed.

The first of these federations was formed in London where a young people's advisory committee in connection with the London Labour Party was organised. Several members of the old League took a keen interest in the formation and development of this committee, and helped in the formation of new sections.

From this time the youth movement made vigorous steps forward, and sections were organised in all parts of the country. A considerable number of Labour Parties organised sections on the lines of the Party scheme, and everywhere young people were

found eager to engage in the work of the movement.

But the idea of the youth organisation just bearing the name of "junior section" did not please the young people, and the desire for a change of name was pressed. The Labour Party once again showed its readiness to meet the wishes of the youth movement, and the title of "Labour Party League of Youth" was agreed upon. The Party also considered the convening of a national conference in 1928, but decided to refrain from doing so in view of the state of the finances of the Party. This decision was communicated to the Birmingham Conference where the question of youth organisation was raised.

The Birmingham Conference marks an importance stage in the story of the youth movement. Important because it was the first occasion that a young member had been able to state the League's view at a national conference. At previous gatherings the members had had to rely upon friends putting forth their point of view, but at Birmingham, Maurice Hackett, the enthusiastic leader of the Southgate section, was present, and urged the need for national machinery for the 200 branches of the League. The matter was referred back to the Executive, and at a later date Mr. Hackett and his friends met representatives of the Executive with a view to discussing the future of the youth movement.

The outcome of these consultations was that a Provisional Committee was set up comprising representatives of the Southgate Labour Party, Junior Section, the London Labour Party Young People's Advisory Committee, and Surrey Federation of Youth, Mr. R. T. Windle, of the Organising Department to Labour Party Headquarters, and myself.

The committee lost no time in getting to work. At the first meeting Maurice Hackett and Eric Fisher, of Southgate sections, were elected to the positions of chairman and secretary respectively, while to the positions of vice-chairman and treasurer, Mr. Leonard Ford and L. Hoffman, of the London Advisory Committee, were appointed.

The first step taken by the Provisional Committee was to issue a circular to all divisional parties calling attention to the necessity for a national youth movement in connection with the Labour Party. This was followed up by a second circular to those parties which failed to make response to the previous one. Encouraging replies were,

however, obtained, and much useful information gathered. Members of the committee addressed meetings of Labour Parties and Leagues in and around London. Publicity was obtained both in the local, national, provincial, and Labour Press, and a considerable correspondence engaged in by the secretary. Weekly meetings of the committee met at Transport House, which was placed at its disposal, and throughout the work engaged in was done on an entirely voluntary basis.

The most important decision made by the committee was that a national conference to elect a national advisory committee, and to discuss ways and means of furthering the League organisation should be held. All Labour Parties were notified of the decision, and invited to send three delegates under the age of 25, should they not have formed a League of Youth. Existing Leagues were also invited to send a similar representation.

Considerable interest was aroused in the conference, and at the opening hour on Saturday, January 12, every seat in Transport Hall was occupied. One hundred and fifty delegates assembled, and from the very commencement of the proceedings showed they were keenly interested in the business of the conference and equally anxious to participate in its discussions.

The Labour Party sent Mr. Herbert Morrison, Mr. George Lansbury, and Mr. J. S. Middleton to represent them, while the organising department was represented by Mr. G. R. Shepherd, Mr. R. T. Windle, and Dr. Marion Phillips.

Following the chairman's address and the report of the provisional committee, there were brief speeches from Mr. Morrison and Mr. Lansbury. Delegates were anxious to ensure that the chairman applied the same limit to these speakers as was to apply to the delegates from the League branches. The time limit of five minutes was particularly useful for it enabled a large number of delegates to speak, and helped to increase everybody's knowledge of the movement.

Mr. G. R. Shepherd opened up a discussion on organising youth nationally and locally, and this was followed by five minute speeches by members of the advisory committee, who dealt with various aspects of the question. Eric Fisher spoke on speakers' classes and study circles; Len Ford outlined methods to be adopted in forming sections and in maintaining the interest of members; Arthur

Peacock introduced the subject of Press and propaganda.

These speeches gave the delegates full opportunity to express their views on the problems which were confronting the local organisations. Delegate after delegate rose, and in brief, pithy speeches, sometimes amusing, but always deadly sincere, told of their experiences in organising, their difficulties in gaining members, and the help and assistance they were anticipating from the Advisory Committee. There was no sign of nervousness. Throughout the proceedings there were quite a number of delegates anxious to catch the chairman's eye. The young women were a little shy in the first place, but after Dr. Marion Phillips had pointed out that the "League of Youth" would be a "League of Men," if they did not take an equal share in the work with the young men, they quickly rose to the occasion and made some of the best contributions to the debate.

Particularly amusing was the speech of one young girl who told how her branch had experienced difficulties in gaining national speakers for a public meeting. She related how for four months she wrote letters to Labour M.P.s. "First," she said, "I wrote to all the young M.P.s, then to all the middle-aged M.P.s, and lastly to the old ones. Now we have a National Advisory Committee," she went on, "I shan't expect to waste four months finding a speaker, but shall expect them to tell me who is, and who is not willing to come and speak for us."

The speech was typical of many. Questions of organisation, Press, and propaganda, Labour Party representation, and Trade Union membership were raised, and plans for a national youth rally discussed.

It was a magnificent and inspiring gathering—a real conference of youth—a conference all the more inspiring because, as this brief history has shown, it was the outcome of the young people's own work.

The League of Youth is not an organisation that the Party has established and invited youth to join. It is not a society officered by adults, and open to young people for membership only. It is an organisation of youth, started by young people, built up by young people, and to be carried on and developed by them. For these reasons it differs from the organisations that seek to draw young people towards the other parties, and for these reasons it is certain to play an important part in the future work of the Labour Party.

The Broadcasting Corporation and the Newspaper Combines

A COMEDY OF CONFLICTING MONOPOLIES

By

HERBERT TRACEY

WITH the publication of *The Listener*, the new weekly journal of the British Broadcasting Corporation, the curtain has fallen on the first act of an amusing comedy, in which the B.B.C. on the one hand, and the associations representing the London and provincial Press, the periodical and weekly newspapers, and the master printers on the other hand, have played

appealed to the Prime Minister. In their letter to Mr. Baldwin, they stated that they were much perturbed at the action of the B.B.C. in entering the publishing business.

The Prime Minister, possibly intimidated by the knowledge that the Newspaper Proprietors' Association (representing the London morning, evening, and Sunday newspapers), the Newspaper Society (representing the Provincial



LORD BEAVERBROOK



VISCOUNT ROTHERMERE



SIR WILLIAM EWERT BERRY, Bart.

interesting parts. The comedy opened with a request from the newspaper proprietors that the Postmaster-General should receive a deputation which proposed to offer objections to the publication of *The Listener* by the B.B.C., the ground of objection being that it was an undesirable incursion by the Corporation into the newspaper and magazine publishing business.

Dissatisfied with the Postmaster-General's reply, the Press proprietors made a second application, urging the necessity of a deputation being received. But the Postmaster-General proved obdurate. He stated that he had examined a specimen copy of the proposed publication and was quite satisfied that it came within the powers of the Corporation. He could therefore see no useful purpose that would be served by the reception of a deputation. Thereupon the Press proprietors

newspapers), and the Periodical Trade Press and Weekly Newspaper Proprietors' Association, with the Federation of Master Printers, constituted a formidable combination of interests which might use its influence against the Tory Party, consented to receive the deputation. Nothing came of this interview, however, except a snub for the Postmaster-General, and an understanding that the Prime Minister would consider further the case submitted, and possibly a further interview might be arranged. Meanwhile, the new journal of the B.B.C. has made its appearance. It promises to be a journal of surpassing dullness.

Naturally the newspapers, from a disinterested love of freedom in intellectual discussion and in economic enterprise, have made the most of this quarrel with the B.B.C. The protest of the newspaper proprietors and master printers, we are given to understand, is a protest against

the encroachment of monopoly upon the rights and privileges of the free and independent Press. Competition from the B.B.C. as a Government-controlled organisation is more than the newspapers can tolerate. It is regarded as an illegitimate invasion of the field which the newspapers consider to belong exclusively to themselves. But there are other aspects of the dispute between the B.B.C. and the newspaper proprietors which have received less attention than they deserve.

It is possible that a premonition of the importance of the part that the Government-controlled broadcasting organisation may be called upon to play, in counteracting the effects of newspaper monopoly, dictated the protest of the Press proprietors against the extension of the B.B.C.'s publishing activities. The rapid concentration of newspaper properties in the hands of a small group has created a new problem.

It has been said that a dozen men sitting around a dining table have it within their power to decide what the millions of newspaper readers shall see, or not see, in the newspapers to-morrow morning. Information which it may be vitally necessary in the interests of democracy to make public may be thus suppressed. False or misleading information might with equal facility be broadcast. Against this possible suppression or distortion of news no effective barrier exists in the present state of newspaper organisation. The independent newspaper has practically disappeared. The number of daily newspapers that remain as the custodians of the great traditions of British journalism can be numbered on the fingers of one hand. Within the last twenty years there has been, despite a large increase of population, a check in the increase of newspapers. There are fewer morning and evening newspapers published to-day in the principal centres of population than there were 20 years ago. Since 1906 no new national newspaper has been started, with the exception of the *Daily Citizen* and the *Daily Herald*, both of them representing an effort on the part of the organised Labour Movement to secure a free and independent organ of the press. In London where, not so many years ago, no fewer than nine evening newspapers flourished, there are now only three.

The principal morning and evening newspapers of the country are controlled by a few extremely wealthy groups. Individual ownership of newspapers has been replaced by corporate ownership, and in these corporations the controlling influence is in the hands of half-a-dozen men. How rapidly this process of concentration has proceeded may be appreciated when it is realised that 20 years ago the

London Stock Exchange list did not contain a single newspaper corporation. To-day there are a considerable number of newspaper limited liability companies. These developments of the last two decades have been transcended in importance by the remarkable growth of newspaper amalgamations within the last six years. The present position may be presented in tabular form, as it was set out in a recent remarkable series of articles dealing with the contemporary British Press published in the *Economist*. The outstanding feature of the process was shown to be the establishment of three dominant newspaper combines. The following particulars relate to the principal groups, with their chief constituent newspapers and periodicals:—

(1) The Berry Combine

<i>London</i> —	<i>Glasgow</i> —
Daily Telegraph	Daily Record
Daily Sketch	Evening News
Financial Times	Sunday Mail
Sunday Times	
Sunday Graphic	<i>Sheffield</i> —
	Daily Telegraph
	Evening Telegraph
<i>Newcastle</i> —	<i>Bristol</i> —
North Mail Chronicle	Bristol Times and Mirror
Evening Chronicle	
Sunday Sun	<i>Middlesbrough</i> —
	North Eastern Gazette
<i>Manchester</i> —	<i>Darlington</i> —
Daily Dispatch	Darlington and Stockton
Evening Chronicle	Times
Empire News	
Sunday Chronicle	<i>Derby</i> —
	Express and Mercury
<i>Cardiff</i> —	<i>Aberdeen</i> —
Western Mail	Aberdeen Press and
South Wales Evening	Journal
Express	Express
South Wales News	

In addition, the Berry Combine controls over 100 weekly, fortnightly, and monthly magazines; 18 annuals, and ten "libraries" of cheap sensational fiction, novelettes, and detective stories. Several publishing houses, printing plants, and paper mills are controlled by the Berry Combine. It is organised in a dozen different companies, including Allied Newspapers, with a paid-up capital of £7,770,750; Allied Northern Newspapers, with a capital of £4,000,000; Associated Scottish Newspapers, with a capital of £900,000; the Amalgamated Press, with a capital of £9,200,000; Daily Sketch and Sunday Graphic Ltd., with a capital of £1,548,700; Financial Times Ltd., with a capital of £392,129; Graphic Publications Ltd., with a capital of £123,200; Newcastle Chronicle Ltd., with a capital of £1,400,000; Western Mail Ltd., with a capital of £156,200.

The Rothermere Combine does not compare with the Berry Combine in respect of the geographical distribution of its property and

the number of newspapers and periodicals it controls. Its capital, however, is very much larger. The following list sets out its principal journals:—

(2) The Rothermere Combine

<i>London</i> —	<i>Gloucester</i> —
Daily Mail	Citizen
Daily Mirror	
Evening News	<i>Cheltenham</i> —
Sunday Pictorial	Gloucestershire Echo
Sunday Dispatch	<i>Swansea</i> —
<i>Derby</i> —	Cambrian Daily Leader
Derby Telegraph	South Wales Daily Post
<i>Lincoln</i> —	<i>Plymouth</i> —
Lincolnshire Echo	Western Morning News

The Rothermere interests are concentrated in a number of companies which include Northcliffe Newspapers Limited, a new concern established quite recently for the purpose of acquiring evening newspaper properties. It has a capital of £3,000,000, and as the list of newspapers published above indicates, it has already begun to exploit the possibilities of evening journalism, coming into conflict in the process with the ambitions of the Berry Combine. The latter has stolen a march on more than one occasion in the acquisition of provincial evening newspaper properties. Other companies in the Rothermere Combine include Associated Newspapers, with a capital of £3,350,000; the Daily Mirror Newspapers with a capital of £1,750,000; the Daily Mail Trust with a capital of £1,510,875. In addition, the Rothermere Combine are interested in very large pulp and paper properties, and in newspaper manufacturing concerns, including the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company, which produces over 85,000 tons of paper a year, and the Empire Paper Mills, which manufactures more than 45,000 tons of paper a year.

Another newspaper group which is assuming formidable proportions is the one of which the Inveresk Paper Company, whose chairman is Mr. W. Harrison, LL.D., is the centre. Its position may be thus tabulated:—

(3) The Inveresk Combine.

<i>London</i> —	<i>Edinburgh</i> —
Sunday News	Evening News
<i>Weeklies</i> —	<i>Leeds</i> —
The Sphere	Yorkshire Evening News
Graphic	
Illustrated London News	<i>Doncaster</i> —
Tatler	Gazette
Sketch	<i>Hull</i> —
Eve	Hull Daily Mail
Bystander	<i>Preston</i> —
Drapers' Record	Lancashire Daily Post
Men's Wear	Preston Guardian
Britannia	

The Liberal group of newspapers, in comparison with these mammoth combines, are

much smaller in capitalisation, and are more loosely organised. They include the following:—

(4) The Quaker Group.

<i>London</i> —	<i>Bradford</i> —
Daily News and	Yorkshire Observer
Westminster Gazette	
<i>Birmingham</i> —	<i>Sheffield</i> —
Gazette	Sheffield Independent
Evening Dispatch	Evening Mail
Sunday Mercury	
<i>Nottingham</i> —	<i>Darlington</i> —
Journal	Northern Echo
Evening News	Northern Evening
	Dispatch

These are the principal newspaper groups. There are other amalgamations controlling important series of newspapers and periodicals, but the significant point about the Combines described above is that they control the newspapers in nearly every city and district of any size in the country. Under such conditions it is ridiculous to talk about freedom of the Press. The modern newspaper proprietor has not embarked in newspaper enterprise from a disinterested love of freedom of opinion, or from any attachment to political principle. His motives are purely commercial. Huge masses of capital have been attracted to newspaper enterprise by the possibility of making substantial profits from the exploitation of the advertising facilities of the newspapers. It is these commercial influences which have undermined the freedom of the Press, and has made almost untenable the position of the independent newspapers.

But developments of this character, so far from lessening the social and political significance of freedom of discussion, have made it more than ever necessary to safeguard that freedom. As things now stand, the only apparent alternative is the extension of wireless broadcasting, on the largest possible scale and with the utmost latitude of expression. From the point of view of public policy, the ban on the broadcasting of controversial discussions is sheer folly. With proper arrangements to ensure fair-play and absolute impartiality as between the B.B.C. and the parties in matters of current controversy, the dangerous consequences of newspaper monopoly can be counteracted. The broadcasting monopoly may conceivably be, in some conspiracy of silence on the part of the Press, the only means of guiding and informing public opinion in a period of national crisis. And in any event, the very last people who are entitled to complain about the expansion of Government-controlled monopoly in broadcasting are the handful of millionaires who have acquired a strangle-hold upon the newspapers.

Those Three October Days

SIR OSCAR WARBURG AND "A MATTER OF URGENCY."

By

J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

IN a document of date October 26, 1928, Sir Oscar E. Warburg, Chairman of the Special Committee on Traffic, in the conclusion of the Report of that Committee to the London County Council, stated:—

"We recommend:—

"(a) That the following recommendation (b) be deemed to be a matter of urgency within the meaning of Standing Order 226b.

"(b) That legislation be promoted in the Session of Parliament, 1929, to enable the Council to enter into agreements with the Underground Electric Railways Company of London Limited, and others, with regard to the passenger transport undertakings owned by them"

Such a measure of unification, having for its aim and object to eliminate competition and to prevent the cutting of fares, has been demanded by the Underground Electric Railways Company of London Limited and its associated and allied interests as a *sine qua non* for the undertaking by it or them of further schemes of electric railway development in the London and Home Counties area. Subject to this being conceded, the Underground, the Metropolitan, and the four main line railway companies are prepared to consider the promotion of new tubes and the electrification of existing suburban steam services. The banking, investment, and kindred financial corporations, holding so large a proportion of the voting stocks and shares of the electric railway, electric tramway, and motor omnibus companies, have evidently not been long, under the strong stimulus of the new legislation with which the proprietors of the old technique of the steam railways have provided themselves in 1928—i.e., the Railway (Road Transport) Acts—in arriving at an accommodation with the older elements in the financial world who control the policy of the L. M. S., the L. N. E. R., the G. W. R., and the S. R. The municipal corporations were not, we were assured whilst the Railway (Road Transport) Bills were going through, to be prejudicially affected thereby. That was so. What was to be the next step, entailing new legislative action, was, however, not stated. The Tory Party, whether in Parliament or at the County Hall, believes in taking a step at a time.

Those persons, not being Tories, who are watching the putting through public authorities, national or local, of piecemeal measures of reactionary legislation or administration would do well to observe that disjointed as these seem to be they follow one another at ever shorter intervals, and always they tend in the same direction—not forward to Socialism, not backward to Private Enterprise, but aside, away from both—to the system of the Public Utility Corporation.

In the "*Financial Times*" of date October 27, 1928, i.e., the very day after that of the issue of the report signed by Sir Oscar E. Warburg (some-time director of the dear departed Electric Traction Company Limited, promoted to construct the Central London Railway), there was announced the formation of a "Big British Electrical Combine" with assets to exceed £15,500,000, and to merge into one concern the several businesses of the Metropolitan-Vickers Electrical Company, the British Thomson Houston Company and its two subsidiary concerns—the Edison-Swan Electric Company Limited and Ferguson Palin Limited.

Said the writer of this *Financial Times* Special:—

"British Thomson Houston is one of the largest manufacturers of electrical machinery and appliances in Great Britain. . . . It manufactures all classes of electric power and lighting apparatus from the largest turbo-generator down to the Mazda lamp. The Company supplied all the electric motors and control apparatus for the District Railway, Central London, Bakerloo and other Tube Railways, besides all the train equipment and part of the locomotives for the electrified portion of the North-Eastern Railway and a number of other railways. . . ."

Further recorded the *Financial Times*:—

"Appended are the balance-sheet figures of British Thomson Houston, which is a subsidiary of International General Electric"

The *Financial Times*—and others!—may care to contend that "control will be in British hands," but the fact that the chairman of the new company, to be known as *Associated Electrical Industries Limited*, is an American citizen and former chairman of the British Thomson Houston, "a subsidiary of International General Electric," fools no one who does not wish to be fooled.

Reference to the agreement entered into on November 28, 1928, between the Metropolitan

Vickers Electrical Company and the International General Electric Company makes the actual position perfectly clear :—

Metropolitan Vickers Electrical Company Ltd. will forthwith allot and issue to Barclay's Nominees (Lombard Street) Ltd., as nominees of International General Electric Company Incorporated, £1,154,000 ordinary shares of £1 cash of Metropolitan Vickers Electrical Company Ltd., credited as fully paid-up . . . in satisfaction of the said sum of £1,152,084 so due from Metropolitan-Vickers Electric Company Limited to International General Electric Company Incorporated and International General Electric Company Incorporated accept such allotment in satisfaction and discharge of the said sum . . . so due as aforesaid."

And what may be the International General Electric Company Incorporated?

It is the foreign holding and operating subsidiary of the *General Electric Company of America*!

This enormous undertaking, the General Electric Company of America, controlling the Radio Corporation of America, and, through this, closely co-operating in the Canadian Marconi Company with the Marconi Wireless Telegraphy Company, now in process of being merged with the cable companies in the Communication's Company, is a concern which has no parallel for potential economic dominion anywhere within world capitalism. A year ago its own assets amounted to more than £85,000,000. Advisedly, I say, its own assets, because the General Electric Company of America has evolved a system of control and of custom such as is seldom understood outside of the ranks of those especially intimate in the economics of electricity and its attendant industries. And, if it is the General Electric Company of America that has brought this system to its present high, but not yet by any means final point of perfection, it has only been enabled to assume this role of leadership because so immeasurably greater are the resources at the command of its financiers in New England and in New York than anything now or at any period of whatever seeming prosperity at the disposal of the big German banks which enabled originally to adopt and to develop this method, the wonder enterprise of the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft of Berlin.

The General Electric Company of America, formed in 1894 to take over the companies manufacturing electrical equipment under the patents of Edison and Thomson-Houston, has since the war as for long years previously interchanged patents and otherwise closely collaborated with the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft. The latter has, all along, operated as a manufacturer of equipment upon the basis of the Edison technique.

The two companies have been, in technique, twins. Separate in the sources wherefrom the engineers of the two enterprises drew the capital essential to elaborate their tremendous plans, they have a sympathy if not a community of interests, and still more of ideas, in their *personnel* of management and of operation, which is of no mere post-war growth. Since 1919 the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft has had much financial assistance from the General Electric Company of America, and rumour runs that some 25,000,000 marks of the capital of the former are held by the latter. That, personally, I think, is something above the ever-falling level of German dependence—at any rate in the key industries—upon American capital.

But the A.E.G., having founded about 1895, at Zurich, the *Gesellschaft für elektrische Unternehmungen*, and in 1898 at Brussels, the *Société Financière de Transports et d'Enterprises Electriques* (Sofina), to be followed later by the *Bank für elektrische Unternehmungen* and the *Deutsche Überseeische Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft* (German Overseas Electrical Company), the latter operating in South America, lost control of these during and after the war.

Meanwhile, even more rapidly had been expanding similar subsidiaries of the General Electric Company, such as the Electric Bond and Share Company, whose business became less that of a holding, and ever more that of a financing and finance supervising company. Its purpose was to secure control of, or to promote electricity supply companies which would obtain their equipment from, and have all their maintenance done for them, by the General Electric Company. Formed in 1905, it has attained huge proportions, controlling the *American and Foreign Power Corporation* and, recently, taking over the extensive holdings in Mexico and South America of the *Whitehall Electric Investments Limited*.

This latter concern is completely controlled by the Pearson interests, who hold one half of the share capital of Lazard, Brothers, and Company Limited, of London, who, in their turn, exercise so powerful an influence in the Canadian and the British houses of the Marconi Company.

Before me lies another significant document, being entitled the *Annexe au Moniteur Belge* du 25 Octobre, 1928. *That day the reader will note is the one immediately preceding the issue, over the signature of Sir Oscar Warburg, of the Report of the Special Committee on Traffic, recommending the "merger" of the L.C.C. tramways with the properties of Baring Brothers, Kuhn Loeb and Company, and divers others in the Underground Electric Railways of London Limited.*

This document presents us with the full text of the constitution of the *Trust Financier de Transports et d'Enterprises industrielles*, of Ixelles-Bruxelles, the full list of directors and for whom they are acting, and the full list of shareholders, as well also as the aims and objects of the company.

These latter are:—

“to take shares or interests under whatever form they may be in all companies, Belgian or foreign, existing or to be formed, especially in companies having for their object the production and distribution of electric energy, the exploitation of public transport services, or the manufacture of chemical products.”

The registration of this “Trust” marks not the formation of a new company so much as the reinforcement of the already existing and established firm of the “Sofina” by the accession to its list of financiers of a whole concourse of bankers, so numerous and so divergent in their interests—Dannie Heineman, the managing director, himself told me that he had now 62 corporations at his back—that its real organiser and directing genius will be able to regain completely his freedom of initiative.

The reaction of sentiment in the entente countries after the war had made it necessary for the “Sofina” to ally itself—indeed, almost to subordinate itself—to the Belgian interests represented by the Bank of Brussels. The President of the latter replaced Dannie Heineman, American citizen, it is true, but, also, formerly engineer, representative and director in Brussels of the A.E.G. of Berlin, as President of the “Sofina.”

So long as the late Captain Loewenstein was there, aided by hidden financial forces, including Sir Basil Baharoff, and, it would seem, for a time, Schroeders and F. A. Szarvasy, to dispute the hegemony of electrical enterprise, not only in Brussels, but from Brussels all over the world, the path of Dannie Heineman had to be one of caution.

Having formerly for an associate in business Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, now President of the Board of Trade and then at the Department of Overseas Trade, his links with British electrical interests were not difficult to renew.

In December, 1921, was formed the *Electric and Railway Finance Corporation Limited*. The chairman was F. Dudley Docker, head of Metropolitan Vickers and famous as the founder of the F.B.I.

The Whitehall Securities Corporation Limited, subsidiary of S. Pearson and Sons Limited, the holders of half the shares in Lazard Brothers and Company Limited, was the next largest shareholder. The “Sofina” and Dannie Heineman were both participants.

In 1923, the “Sofina,” the “Chade” (Compania Hispano-Americana de Electricidad, another Heineman holding company, formed at Madrid in 1920, to take over ex-German properties in Latin America), and the Bank für Elektrische Unternehmungen, secured the financial backing of Baring Brothers, Schroeders, and others for the “Sidro” (Société d’Energie Hydo-Electrique), to take over electricity interests in Mexico and Brazil. Enormously influential Canadian financiers were also involved, and an ex-Canadian and Cabinet Minister, Sir Hamar Greenwood, was added to the board.

Recently the “Chade” took back to its board a great number of directors of German banks and of its old promoter, the A.E.G.

Finally, in October, 1928, the “Sofina” was recapitalised, and registered as the “Trust.”

Amongst the participants are Lazards, Rothschilds, Kuhn Loeb and Company, the International General Electric Company, Vickers Limited, and Baring Brothers and Company Limited. Individual participants are very few, but amongst them are E. R. Peacock (Canadian), from Toronto, managing partner of Baring Brothers and Company Limited and director of the Underground Company, and F. Dudley Docker, both represented by Dannie Heineman.

Baring Brothers, be it noted, figure as trustees for the £4,000,000 first mortgage debenture, registered at Somerset House, October 10, 1928, for the Underground Railway Company of London Limited.

F. Dudley Docker has been the real inspiration and promoter of the great electrical equipment combine, and his colleague, Sir E. Wyldbore Smith, appears on the boards of the “Sofina,” the “Chade,” the Gesellschaft für Elektrische Unternehmungen, and the Associated Electrical Industries Limited.

Such is the super-capitalism which, to-day, reaches out to take the L.C.C. tramways as, to-morrow, it will take into one great and—let me say it since I believe it—economically essential rationalisation coal, steel, electrical, gas, and chemical industry.

The Census of Production of 1924

A CRUSHING CRITICISM OF CAPITALISM

By

R. B. SUTHERS

A CENSUS of Production is a very different thing from a Census of Incomes. The first British Census of Production, which was made in 1907, occurred at a time when after-dinner orators were wont to wax eloquent about the vast total of the national income, that is to say, the total of all the incomes of all the people. When the Census figures were published, they revealed an astonishing and disturbing fact. They showed that the production of wealth amounted to scarcely half the total of national income. They proved to all who dared to accept the truth that the outstanding feature of the capitalist system is its poverty of production.

Then there came a trade boom, and the well-to-do quickly forgot the writing on the wall. Next there came a world war, and the after-dinner orators once more waxed eloquent about the national wealth and our marvellous productive powers. Brilliant new inventions and discoveries, in chemistry, electricity, and metallurgy, advances in organisation and administrative technique had been going on, and at the end of the war our industrialists and financiers announced that our powers of production had been raised to such colossal heights, that our future was assured. Indeed the new boom began Then there came the slump, and during the slump, in 1924, a new Census of Production was made. What does it tell us?

The industrialists and financiers, who have been scratching their heads so fruitlessly during the last seven years, must surely have been driven to despair by the facts recently published in the Board of Trade Summary of Preliminary Reports on the Census. The result of the 1907 Census was discouraging enough, but after seventeen years of "progress" (actually stimulated in some directions by the war), it must be bewildering to them to find that their industrial system is still not delivering the goods. For such was our poverty of production in 1924, that the income per head of the population was actually *3 per cent. less than it was in 1907.*

I should perhaps mention that the Census of 1907 was followed in 1912 by another, but this was not completed, so that the figures are not

comparable with those of the last Census. Now, let us look at some of the broad facts disclosed, remembering that strict accuracy is not possible in respect to many of the figures, which are based frequently on estimates subject to exceptions and reservations of all kinds. The Census, it must be noted, deals only with mining and manufacturing, and in calculating total national output, estimates for agriculture and fisheries have to be made.

One of the most amazing facts revealed by the Census of 1907 was the smallness of the number of persons engaged in productive industry. We all live on production, yet in that year only about 9,000,000 of the 17,500,000 persons gainfully employed were engaged in direct production, including agriculture. In mining and manufacturing the number was less than 7,000,000. The Census of 1924, as might be expected, shows little change in this respect. The following figures show the numbers for both years employed in mining and manufacturing :—

	1907		1924	Increase %
Males.....	5,064,000 ..	5,746,100 ..	13'47	
Females	1,623,500 ..	1,866,700 ..	14'99	
Total ..	6,687,500	7,612,800	13'84	

According to the estimates, there were in 1907, just over 17,500,000 of persons "Gainfully Occupied," while in 1924, the number had risen to nearly 20,000,000. This is an increase almost identical with the percentage increase of the numbers in mining and manufacturing, so that the proportions are practically the same. It is suggested, however, that the increase in the number engaged in mining and manufacturing is slightly greater than the increase in the total number "Gainfully Occupied," and this is supposed to disprove the assumption commonly adopted, that the distributive trades have been increasing at the expense of the productive.

Another popular assumption is somewhat discounted by the figures quoted above. Particularly since the war, it has been common talk that female labour was displacing male labour over large fields of industry. It is a fact, as disclosed by the detailed tables of the Census, that in some industries, the proportion of female employees has increased considerably, and

sometimes at the expense of male employees. But over the whole of the industries included in the Census, the proportion of males to females is roughly as three to one, as it was in 1907. The exact figures, however, show a slight gain for females, the proportion having risen from 24.3 to 24.5 per cent.

The increase in the number of female employees is greatest in the clerical and administrative staffs. The male employees in this section increased from 354,100 to 524,700 (over 18 years of age), while the female employees increased from 56,900 to 142,100. In 1907 the percentage engaged in clerical and administrative work was only 8, but by 1924 it had risen to 11½. This remarkable increase is attributed partly to the growth of merchandising services by certain manufacturing firms, and to the more careful and accurate keeping of cost accounts. Another reason advanced for the increase in the employment of females in the operative departments is that in several of the newer industries, such as electric lamps and thermionic valves, and in cigarette making, an expansion of production has taken place, which inevitably extended the range of female employment without encroaching on male employment.

Having obtained an idea of the number of persons employed in industry, the next question of interest is, what was the value of their product? It must be remembered that owing to the variations in the value of currency between the two dates, and to changes in methods of production, calculations have been very difficult, and there may be in some cases wide margins of error. With respect to the difference in prices, the Board of Trade authorities have adopted the figure of 100 per cent. increase for 1924. On this basis, it would appear that the increase in the volume of goods produced was round about 19 per cent. The money values are set out in the table below.

	1907 Million £		1924 Million £
Gross output	1,698.2	..	3,853.1
Cost of materials and of work given out ..	1,009.1	..	2,155.6
Net output.....	689.1	..	1,697.5

It will be seen that the money value of the net output of 1924 was 146 per cent. greater than in 1907. There are, however, certain deductions to be made, which reduces the percentage increase to 128. Then we have to take into account the increase in the persons employed in the latter year, which was 13.8 per cent., and in the end it appears that all that can be said about progress in production per head is that there *may* have been a very slight and almost negligible increase.

This very amazing result, this very discouraging result for capitalism, has been emphasised by a further calculation as to the amount of the total national income, that is to say, the amount of all the incomes of all the people. In this calculation all industries were included, agriculture, mining and manufacturing, and all ancillary industries, transport, wholesale and retail distribution, together with estimates of the incomes of every kind of employee, including, domestic servants, doctors, musicians, artists, and even journalists. Export and import values were of course not forgotten, and deduction was made for depreciation. In the end it was estimated that the total of all the personal incomes for the year 1924 amounted to £3,975 millions.

Now comes the comparison with the year 1907. Prices for 1924, as we all know, were very much higher than in 1907. How much higher is a matter of dispute. In this case the statistician assumed an increase of, not 100 per cent. but only 87½ per cent. On this basis, a total national income of £3,975 millions in 1924 would be equal, at 1907 prices, to £2,100 millions only. Now mark. This sum of £2,100 millions is an increase of 7 per cent. on the total national income of 1907. A remarkably small increase if it were a real increase. But remember, there was an increase of 10 per cent. in the population. . . . If your population increases from 100 to 110, and your income increases from 100 to 107 only, there is less per head to divide. About 3 per cent. less . . .

Is not this a mysterious and disquieting result of the system of private ownership during a period of activity in invention and advance in knowledge?

The matter becomes all the more mysterious when we consider another factor in the sum. There was an old jingo song, "we've got the ships, we've got the men, and we've got the money too." Let us adapt it to industry. We've got the mines, we've got the mills, we've got the machines, we've got the horse-power, but we haven't got the production too. As to horse-power. It would perhaps be absurd to argue that production per head ought to increase in proportion to the increase in mechanical power equipment, but one would naturally expect a decisive increase in production where horse-power is multiplied abundantly. Let us see.

Between 1907 and 1924, power equipment of our mines and factories increased from under 8,000,000 to somewhere about 15,000,000. Very nearly double. What has the increased horse-power to show for itself? Apparently nothing, or next to nothing if the estimates given on the

basis of the Census are reliable. According to official statistics, similar industries in the United States increased their horse-power by 64 per cent. during the period 1904 to 1925, and as a result, the output per head increased in exactly the same ratio. What is the explanation of this mystery? It is almost unbelievable that our industrialists could double their power equipment, and then make no use of it. Who has stolen 5,000,000^{or} 6,000,000 horses? Further investigation may be able to throw light which will enable someone to solve these mysteries of stagnation in the industries of the nation. As a matter of fact the light has been cast on the tangle for a generation or two, and it is no mystery to a Socialist that the devil-take-the-hindmost system of industry which seemed on the surface to be so efficient, in 1850, should in 1924 reveal itself as a self-

strangling lunacy. It is an ironic commentary on this awful muddle that the Census should show, amidst the general stagnation, a striking advance in the industry responsible for the Printing and Publication of Newspapers. The net output per person employed in this industry in 1907 was £190. In 1924, the net output per person was £546. Allowing for the increase in prices, this is an increase of 50 per cent. It is pointed out, however, that persons not on the regular staffs are not counted in the number of employed. If, for example, my own brilliant contributions and immense emoluments were included, the figure of net output might be reduced by .00000009 per cent. But the statistician has ignored me, and my similar colleagues I am trying to make him sorry for it by writing this exposure of the inefficiency of capitalism.

WEEKLY NOTES FOR SPEAKERS

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Why a Cotton Inquiry?

By

T. H. RICHARDSON

HISTORY was made at the Annual Labour Party Conference held at Birmingham last year, when the Labour Party and the United Textile Factory Workers' Association agreed upon a common line of action for meeting the crisis in the cotton trade. The Labour Party is committed to the introduction of factory legislation when next Labour holds the seals of office, and also to a "searching investigation" into the cotton trade "with a view to working out a policy for the restoration of the prosperity of the trade."

To give life and shape to these declarations the Cotton Trade Unions have summoned a Special Delegates' Conference for February 2 to meet in Manchester, when Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., Mr. Arthur Greenwood, M.P., and Mr. Tom Shaw, M.P., will address the delegates—another historical event in our movement to join the great Lancashire cotton Trade Unions and the Labour Party in united action. Hard on the heels of this Conference will follow a series of regional conferences and public meetings under the auspices of the Labour Party when the cotton trade will be the sole subject discussed, so that by the time of the General Election the voice of the whole Labour Movement will have been heard on the cotton problem throughout the cotton constituencies. When the yellow rocket was sent up at Ashton, announcing that Labour had captured the seat, Lancashire more than turned in its sleep.

Since the Labour Movement announced its intention of holding an inquiry, when Labour assumed power, there has been no lack of vigour put into the speeches of Liberal and Tory speakers, who are as one in attacking the demand for a Government inquiry; and the newspapers that represent these two parties have been equally as vigorous in attacking the proposal. This is rather difficult to understand unless it be that those who are inspiring the hostility to a Government inquiry are afraid of the disclosures that would follow. But there have been Government inquiries into the coal, building, and the transport industries since the war, and from each of these inquiries valuable lessons and authoritative information have been provided for those who were interested in the progress of the industries concerned. Why the cotton trade should be

singled out for exemption from a Government investigation no one has yet been able to say, for the needed enlightenment that would come from a Government inquiry has not, and cannot be supplied, from any Committee of private inquiry.

The cotton industry is amongst the largest and most important of British industries, and it is also one of the most depressed. Its exports are easily larger than any two other British export industries combined. Last year cotton exports accounted for over £145,304,000 of Britain's export trade total of about £723,427,000, which is equivalent to accounting for 4s. out of every £1 worth of goods sent abroad. Yet enormous as this trade is, it is little better than one half of pre-war trade when viewed from a yardage view point, and since the life-blood of the British cotton industry is its export trade, the decline that has set in since the Armistice is not only of the utmost gravity, but prompts immediate national action.

When in office the Labour Government realised the importance of the export trade, and set up a committee of inquiry, which had already published many valuable reports, and is about to make some striking recommendations for the recovery of our overseas cotton trade, as well as the other export trades. It is, however, with the object of examining the state of affairs at home, as well as abroad, that the Trade Unions and the Labour Party are now concerned about. Special reference was made at Birmingham to the over-capitalisation of the mills and to "speculation, the excessive cost of distribution and defective organisation." This is a pretty strongly implied indictment of the cotton masters who have for so long accepted credit for knowing their business. But the truth is that Lancashire business men have been guilty of wearing laurels which they would have some difficulty in justifying, for there is no gainsaying the fact that modern industry stands or falls upon its power of organisation.

Now Lancashire has been given great natural gifts in the way of climate and soil; its ports and transport system are ideally placed; its workpeople are masters of their calling; and its inventors have been amazing and many. But there has been a dearth of organisers in the Lancashire industry, and it is because of this

defect that other countries have been able to score over Lancashire, and neutralise her many natural advantages and the tremendous start she gained over other countries in the last century.

It is not the purpose here to dwell upon this defect, but to make a short examination of the over-capitalisation of the industry referred to above. Each year is making plain the damage that the boom speculations of 1919-1920 are working upon the cotton operatives. The evil of short time was the product of over-capitalisation, and the attempt made upon wages and hours, last year, received its impetus from the refloated mills of the industry. There is no doubt but that the clamour for cleaning to be done in the operatives' time, which is now threatening the industry with war, is coming from this pecuniarily embarrassed section of the trade.

It is an economic truism that where invested share capital is out of harmony with real values the improvement in the status of the workpeople is not to be expected. When economies are to be effected in industry the most mobile factor is dealt with first, and this is usually the labour factor which suffers in reduced employment, in wages, and often in both. The cotton operatives have had ample opportunities in the past nine years of testing this truth.

A closer examination of cotton mill finances is not without profit. Recently the Oldham Master Cotton Spinners' Association reviewed the financial position of as many spinning companies as they could obtain particulars of. Put in a convenient and comparative way this is what their review amounts to—

	March, 1926.		July, 1928.
Total spindles ..	35,000,000	..	33,920,500
Subscribed share capital ..	£80,000,000	..	£77,316,781
Called up share capital ..	£55,749,287	..	£60,493,781
Uncalled share capital ..	£24,941,015	..	£16,822,862
Market value ..	£25,491,780	..	£9,862,378

The market has written down the value of the mills with a pretty heavy hand. It will be noted, for example, that there is a wide difference between 1926 and 1928 market values, though the amount of called-up share capital had been increased by nearly £5,000,000. There has apparently been a loss of £50,000,000, or enough to give every man, woman, and child in the country a £1 note apiece, or to give each cotton operative in the industry £100. That is what the financial muddle in Lancashire amounts to. Surely the community is entitled to be told about this by people not directly interested in the scandal and very likely anxious to hush it up.

During the share bubble something like £4,000,000 was made in share premiums. Who got it? And have they paid anything to the Inland Revenue on their excess profits? It is stated in the *Manchester Guardian* that £2,000,000 is to be returned shortly to some of the refloated mills by way of drawbacks, owing to an error in profits' assessments made at the time of the refloatations. Unless the money is handed over to the banks this will be a timely and welcome disbursement, for at the close of last year no less than 60 mills were working under schemes of arrangement with their creditors which included the banks. Upwards of 115 mills were having their shares quoted at a discount when the end of the year came. Such are the evil days upon which the spinning companies of Lancashire have fallen.

Now schemes of amalgamation have been brought into being to give the mills a financial breathing space. A feature of some of the proposed amalgamations is a five year moratorium in regard to uncalled share capital. So far as the small investor is affected, this moratorium has probably come too late. At any rate £3,500,000, approximately, of uncalled share capital was called in last year, over £4,500,000 in 1927, and about £4,700,000 in 1926, some £13,000,000 in the last three years, all to keep the banker and other creditors at bay, with scarcely a sovereign to refresh the exhausted coffers of the mill companies. It is difficult to see how the working-classes, who so enthusiastically invested their all in 1919 and 1920 in spinning mill companies, can find any more money. It is also questionable whether the full amount of unpaid share capital, perhaps £17,000,000, now outstanding, entirely concerns the needy companies. Huge aggregate sums of uncalled share capital concern highly prosperous spinning companies who have ample capital at their service.

To those who still see no need for a searching Government investigation the prospects of the operatives may make some appeal. There is, to-day, an estimated surplus of 80,000 to 100,000 cotton workers in the industry. This in spite of the change in hours in 1919 from 55½ to 48 a week, and the decline of 104,284 in the total number of workers between 1912 and 1924, and to the fall from July, 1927, to July, 1928, of 8,160 in the number of insured cotton operatives registered at the Labour Exchanges. So poor are the prospects of the cotton trade that last year the Oldham master cotton spinners reported that there was a shortage of some 3,000 juvenile workers. If population is the test of an industry's health, here, then, is something decidedly unwholesome.

THE

LABOUR MAGAZINE

*Official Journal of the Trades Union Congress
and the Labour Party*

Editorial Offices: TRANSPORT HOUSE (SOUTH
BLOCK), SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W. 1.

Telephones: VICTORIA 8016-7-8

Telegrams: LABREPCOM, CHURTON, LONDON

SIXPENCE MONTHLY, by post 7d.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION 7s.

THE by-election season has begun again, and the first fruits of the crop have gone to Labour. North Midlothian, which the Tories won at the last election with the aid of a pact with the Liberals, has been wrested from them by the Labour candidate, who has turned a Tory majority of 2,147 into a Labour majority of 952. The Liberal, as usual, is some thousands behind—his poll is considerably less than one-half of the Labour poll—and the freak Nationalist candidate has had to forfeit his deposit, with a miserable poll of 842. Once again the electors have given unmistakable indication of their desire to turn the present Government out and get back to Labour rule, an indication that is likely to be repeated—if we are not very much mistaken—before the series of by-elections now occupying the attention of the country has run its course.

* * *

MR. BALDWIN is back at his old game, telling the people that better times are coming, that prosperity is just round the corner, and that the election of a Labour Government to power this year might prejudice the trade recovery and all the other good things that are supposed to be waiting for the people. The Big Bankers are echoing his parrot-cry, and it looks as though a concerted attempt is being made by this tactic to throw dust in the eyes of the electorate at the General Election. "Prospects to-day throughout the country," said Mr. Baldwin to a Tory audience at Newcastle on January 24, "if I except certain districts, are brighter, and the maintenance of that

improvement which has already begun must depend to some extent upon the result of our election." And three weeks earlier, on January 5, to his constituents at Worcester, he said, "At a time like this . . . we might more reasonably hope for better times than for long past." No significance at all can be attached to these prophecies and promises of Mr. Baldwin's. He has been saying the same kind of thing for the last four years, mechanically repeating his "optimistic" clap-trap—which is not "optimism" at all, but deception—while unemployment has been leaping upward and upward and while the great basic industries of coal, iron and steel, agriculture, and cotton have been sinking into lower and lower depths of despair as a mocking echo to his pious phrases.

* * *

WHAT are the present "improved" circumstances of which he boasts? We may well be excused for asking.

In seven months recently there has been a rise of 350,000 in the number of unemployed. In the mining industry there are more than one out of every four workers unemployed; in the steel industry more than one out of every five; in the pig-iron industry more than one out of every six; in the shipbuilding industry one out of every three; and in the cotton industry one out of every eight, in addition to thousands who are working short time. Like Mr. Baldwin the Big Bankers are harping on the same tune. Prosperity, they keep on chanting, is waiting round the corner. But they, like him, have been saying the same thing for the last four years, although the stark horrible facts have as regularly reared their ugly heads each year to contradict them. Sir Harry Goschen, the Chairman of the National Provincial Bank, for instance, said in 1925, "The prospects for increased trade throughout the world are, I believe, favourable, and confidence is gradually returning. Sentiment on all sides is more optimistic . . ." Then in 1927 he said: "I do not remember a time when, throughout the industries of the country, there has been such a feeling of expectation, and, indeed, optimism." And again in 1928 he repeated: "Altogether signs are not wanting of improved trade at home and abroad." His colleagues of the other big banks have been

singing the same old song, and the more persistently they have repeated their refrain about the return of prosperity the higher the unemployment figures have risen and the deeper the workers have sunk into the depths of distress and poverty.

* * *

MEANWHILE Mr. Baldwin tries to scare the electors by telling them that if they return a Labour Government to power this year, all the "improvements" that have taken place under Tory rule will be negated, and trade will be ruined. "I fear that in those circumstances," he told his Bewdley constituents on January 5, "you might have such a shock to the credit of the country that at a time like this it might retard this long-looked-for and long-expected improvement in trade and throw it back." *Long-looked-for* is the right expression for Mr. Baldwin to use. The country has been "looking for" this improvement in trade ever since he took up office, but so far it has looked in vain. And he really might have given the electors credit for being able to see that it is under Tory rule—not Labour rule—that the present ruination of trade has taken place, and for remembering, on the other hand, that there was a considerable improvement in trade and employment when the Labour Government was in office. Unemployment went down by more than 117,000 during the ten months of Labour rule, and exports went up by over £49,000,000. Yet while the Tory Government has been in office many of our export industries have been languishing, and the number of unemployed has risen until—according to the Government's own figures for the end of 1928—it stands at over 1,500,000.

* * *

ANOTHER bogey that Mr. Baldwin dragged into use during his speech also deserves a moment or two's attention. He tried to make his hearers' flesh creep by telling them harrowing stories of the huge sums of money that various Governments at the other end of the earth were supposed to have lost through nationalising various industries. One country had lost £10,000,000, he said, on its nationalised shipping service; another had lost £14,000,000. He did not say over how many years these losses had been spread; he did not

explain what counter gains the communities concerned had had through protection from the profiteering ramps of private shipowners; and he did not give any detailed figures in order that his figures might be checked. In the absence of such information the figures are not worth much, but even if they be taken at their face value even Mr. Baldwin himself must know that they do not represent the last word on the question of State versus Private Enterprise. There is another side to the picture, too, the details of which Mr. Baldwin could have found much nearer home had he chosen to do so. Look at the record £7½ million profit that the Nationalised Post Office made last year. Look at the surpluses of our Municipal Trading undertakings. And on the other hand look at the millions that the British coal industry—under private enterprise—asserts that it is losing! Look at the millions that the Lancashire cotton industry—under private enterprise—is losing! And look at Mr. Baldwin's own firm—one of the classical examples of private enterprise, including among its shareholders and directors some of the Highest Priests in the whole hierarchy of private enterprise—which only a few months ago lost so much money that it had to write down its capital by nearly £4,000,000! When Mr. Baldwin attempts to base an argument on a few questionably calculated losses, alleged to have been sustained on State Enterprises 10,000 miles away, and overlooks the huge losses sustained by private enterprise on his own doorstep, he must not complain if we accuse him of talking with his tongue in his cheek—a performance, by the way, at which he is becoming something of an adept, as his pious platitudes about the "prosperity that has been round the corner for the last four years" also show.

* * *

THE Tories have altered their policy. At the last election it was "a positive remedy for unemployment" that they offered, and on the strength of that they polled votes which would otherwise have been cast against them. Now, with increased unemployment staring them in the face, they execute a right-about turn and not only tell the workers that they must not expect a remedy for unemployment, but actually warn them that they must be prepared to see

unemployment go higher still. It is in the *Conservative Clubs Gazette* that this surprising declaration is made. This journal is the official organ of the Association of Conservative Clubs, and is published from Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster, the same address as the headquarters of the Tory Party Organisation. In its issue of September last it has an article on the question of unemployment, and it heads it—"Why the Number of Out-of-Works Will Continue to Increase." That in itself is a bad enough admission of the barrenness of Tory policy, but the article goes on to emphasise this by asking "Is there a solution to the unemployment problem in this country?" and by answering, "In existing circumstances—No! The number of out-of-works will continue to increase in proportion to the growth of the population." But even that is not a complete enough confession of their incapacity, for they go on to remove any doubts that might exist by saying: "The gravity of the unemployment problem is admitted No remedy for it, in existing circumstances, exists. The problem will not only remain unsolved, but, on the contrary, the number of unemployed will continue steadily to increase. Nothing short of an earthquake or a decimating plague can prevent the out-of-work figures mounting week by week. It is unpalatable to write thus, but that the canker which is eating into the vitals of the nation will grow is as certain as the rising of the sun to-morrow." There is the Tory message to the unemployed. In effect, it means—Vote Tory if you want more Unemployment.

* * *

IN the restrained phraseology of the *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, "employment in 1928 was not maintained at the level reached in the previous year," which is as if someone should say of a drowning man that he did not appear to be feeling up to the mark. The figures produced by the *Gazette*, however, are more realistic; they reveal the dismal fact that during 1928 the average percentage of insured workers who were unemployed rose to 10.9, and although this does not disclose the full dimensions of the tragedy (outside the "suburban" regions the proportion of unemployed rises in some cases as high as 22 per cent.), it sheds an uncomfortably

bright light on the incompetence of the Government in their handling of the most urgent of the problems with which they have been called upon to deal. They have, in fact, been fatally lackadaisical and irrelevant in their approach to the situation except where there was anything to be done to make matters worse, when they have displayed a mischievous alacrity which suggests either an inability to understand what they were doing, or a desire to exploit national difficulties for party purposes. Nobody could act more briskly than Mr. Baldwin and his camp followers when it was a question of putting through the Trade Union Act, which, while it had anything but a helpful effect on the employment situation, was expected to come in handy as an offensive and defensive weapon against the political enemies of the Government. But when it is a question of doing something on an adequate scale either to relieve the distress of the unemployed, or to afford them a fair opportunity of coming back into useful employment, the Government become the prey of a strange languor; like the sailor in *Punch*, they eat well, and they sleep well, but when they see a job of work they are all-of-a-tremble.

* * *

THE fact is, of course, that the Government do not intend that anything shall be done which appears to impair the comfort and sense of security of the moneyed classes. The drastic remedies which alone can repair the grave damage already inflicted on the industrial and economic life of the nation call for a readjustment of burdens which at present fall most heavily on those least able to bear them. Yet the Government are tying themselves in knots in their anxiety to make life easier for the people who can be relied on for contributions to the Party war-chest; the De-rating Bill owes a good deal of its incomprehensibility to the fact that the Cabinet do not wish it to be too clearly understood that under this peculiar measure prosperous industries are to be assisted generously at the expense of those which are suffering from the effects of four years of mis-Government. It is not very likely that an Administration pre-occupied by such considerations should be inclined to give serious thought to the economic position and prospects of the workers, and there is no evidence that Mr. Baldwin and his friends,

despite the fact that a momentous General Election lies less than six months ahead, really understand the nature of the deep anxiety which possesses the public mind. By the time that they receive full enlightenment their repentance will be considerably overdue, and the destinies of the country will, we trust and believe, be in the hands of people who understand the obligations of Government towards the whole of the community, and will not be deterred from fulfilling its functions by any fear of annoying pampered but insignificant sections.

* * *

THE work of recruiting members for the Trade Unions goes on apace and the General Council have been considering what fresh methods can be adopted to assist in the Trade Union Recruitment Campaign. Propaganda naturally plays an important part in this question of recruitment, and the General Council's decision to inaugurate an annual Trade Union Propaganda Week will meet with universal approval, as such an event will undoubtedly stimulate further interest in the Unions and be a great help to those whose task it is to organise. An intensive campaign, consisting of dinner-hour and evening meetings and canvassing within the works, culminating in a large mass meeting to be addressed by prominent national speakers, should do much to awaken the interest of the workers in Trade Unionism, and if this campaign is followed up by the Unions themselves, it should result in a substantial increase in membership. The hearty co-operation of the Trades Councils, who are to undertake the organising of the campaign, in the various localities, in conjunction with the Trade Unions, has also given great satisfaction, as being yet another proof of the usefulness of the joint working arrangements which have been in operation for some time.

* * *

MISLEADING reports concerning the interpretation of the resolution on Trade Union recognition, adopted by the "Mond-Turner" Conference, have been

circulated in some quarters. The attempt made by one of the daily papers to show that Lord Melchett holds the view that the adoption of this resolution involves recognition of the Miners' Non-Political Union as a bona-fide union, is a grave misrepresentation of the facts. Lord Melchett has assured the General Council that this report was not only entirely unauthorised, but essentially inaccurate and incorrect, and that the whole idea it conveyed was misleading. Lord Melchett has also made it perfectly clear that the Miners' Non-Political Union has not been and cannot be regarded as a bona-fide union within the terms of the agreed resolution. These assurances have been accepted by the General Council, and so far as they are concerned the matter is at an end, but the fact should be remembered that the resolution lays down the ruling that it is for the Trades Union Congress General Council to decide which unions are or are not to be recognised.

* * *

MUCH interest has been aroused by the Trades Union Congress Social Insurance Campaign, four highly successful conferences having already been held. This subject is of the utmost importance to the workers, and one which has not hitherto received the attention which it merits. It is essential that the workers should realise the necessity of taking some active part in the control of social insurance to prevent its being used as a further means of their exploitation. The discussions at the conferences have shown that many are already aware of the difficulties confronting them in dealing with these problems, and some valuable suggestions were put forward for dealing with them. One of the greatest difficulties at the present time, and under the present regime, arises in connection with Courts of Referees, and it was suggested that the representatives on these Courts should meet periodically to compare notes, so that information could be obtained and a uniform policy be adopted. This is a very valuable proposal and one which should receive every consideration.

In the "Eight-fifteen"

THAT MAZE OF CONTRADICTIONS CALLED THE TORY PARTY

By

T. S. DICKSON

"THERE'S one thing," said Mr. Hardphace; "there's one thing about the Conservatives—we know where we are. We may be right or we may be wrong, but we have a certain principle on which we believe the affairs of the nation should be run, and we stick to it, consistently!"

"Yes?" came the encouraging tone from the Man with the Briar Pipe, who laid down his *Daily Herald*, more than ready to pursue the political battle which was the normal feature of the "Eight-Fifteen" as it rumbled its morning way to Grubtown.

"We believe in private enterprise, in trade competition, in individual freedom, the maintenance and development of the Empire, a fair field and no favour, and let the best man win. That means hardship for some, no doubt," conceded Hardphace with an assumption of regret, "but in the end it works for efficiency and progress."

"Do you know any more funny stories?" inquired the Man with the L. M. S. Badge, innocently.

"Don't mind him," counselled the Young Man with the Purple Socks. "Everybody knows what to expect from ignorant Reds" he sniffed.

"Gawd bless ye," smiled the Badge, "I don't mind what colour ye call me—so long as it's red."

"That's strange," said the Man with the Briar, reverting to the pronouncement by Hardphace, "for the exact opposite of what you say had struck me as being the truth. The Tory Party strikes me as the most inconsistent box of tricks one could meet in a year's travel—a maze of contradictions so far as principle is concerned—and, you'll pardon me saying so, but a laughing-stock to any man who has the least regard for consistency."

"That's a bit stronger than you can prove," asserted Hardphace, confidently.

"I think not," returned the Briar. "Let's take it gently. You believe in private enterprise?"

"We most decidedly do," asseverated Hardphace.

"And in soap, cement, coal, steel, tobacco, chemicals, and the lord knows what you are busy eating up private firm after private into combine after combine, with Lord Melchett, your foremost industrial Tory, leading the band; and, not content with combines that will control a home market, he is linking up with America and Germany to stifle private enterprise abroad as well as at home."

"But that doesn't kill competition in trade," protested Hardphace.

"If it doesn't entirely kill competition in trade it is only because the process isn't as complete as the industrial and commercial chiefs would want it, and are striving for. And have you forgotten the cement rings, the brick rings, the light-casting rings—to mention only a few that existed purely to maintain price and wipe out competitive pricing? It's the same with the tobacco trusts, who tell their customers they must charge a certain price or have their supplies stopped. And have you never heard of the Proprietary Traders' Association, which, it is estimated, controls something like eight thousand articles of all sorts and conditions, and lays down fixed prices. So much so that the great co-operative societies have been refused supplies because, though they charged the dictated price, they dared give back to their customers dividend on their purchases. That's competition for you."

"Never heard of it," commented Hardphace as if his ignorance were a virtue.

"Things you've never heard of would educate a lot of people, wouldn't they?" inquired the Man with the L. M. S. Badge, serenely.

"Order, order," came the pacificatory voice of Mr. Hesitant, one of the last of the Liberal Mohicans.

"There is still competition, I admit," said the Briar, "but it is only when it cannot be avoided. Don't make a virtue of what you try to wipe out. And if you like competition so much why is it the Tories are so anxious to kill foreign competition, and are yelling for more 'safeguarding' alias tariff protection?"

"Ah" interposed Hardphace, and a ray of relief lit up his countenance, "that refers to

unfair competition. I'm all for competition so long as it's fair—but long hours, low wages, sweated conditions against British conditions is unfair, most unfair, sir."

"Hear, hear," said Purple Socks.

"I was coming to that as another contradiction of the Tory. They are continually squealing about sweated conditions abroad, as if Germany, Belgium, or Japan were the only places where sweated labour existed—as if such conditions automatically shrivelled up and vanished into thin air immediately the shadow of the Union Jack fell upon them. Where is there the greatest sweating—in India under the British flag, or in Germany under the Republican flag? There's consistency for you—howling about sweated conditions in Germany, but silent about immeasurably worse conditions within your own Empire."

"But you cannot compare India with Germany," protested Hardphace, without very well knowing why.

"No?" queried the Briar. "And why, pray?"

"Well, it's obvious." This because it was not the least obvious.

"You see," he continued, "they live differently."

"Quite so," said the Briar; "on the wages they get they have to. But there is a bigger difference in the manner and standard of life between India and Germany than between Germany and ourselves, and yet you direct your denunciation to Germany and defend the position in India. Frankly, your reasoning beats me."

"Anyhow," spluttered Hardphace, desperately, "with all its faults, the Tory Party stands for the development of individual freedom and the equal right of the citizen. That, at least, cannot be denied."

"Can it not?" inquired the Briar, quietly. "You might as well say that a gardener who plants one flower in a prepared bed, and another on a refuse heap of tin cans and broken delft stands for the equal chance of flowers to grow."

"What in heaven's name have tin cans and delft got to do with it?" broke out Hardphace, who was always beyond his depth in metaphor and analogy.

"I'll tell you in a moment," obliged the Briar. "The Tory Party not only stands for, but fights to perpetuate, a system which produces millionaires at one end of the social scale and, as inevitably, poverty-stricken millions at the other end. That means, as an inescapable result of the system you uphold, that one child is born into a mansion, is ensured every care

and nurture, is reared in the specially-prepared bed of education, culture, and opportunity; but it means also that another child is born into poverty, into a poor home, is poorly fed, is denied culture, higher education, and equal opportunity. To talk of equal rights of citizenship and individual freedom in those circumstances is the veriest claptrap. The only freedom that 999 out of a thousand children born into working-class conditions have is the 'freedom' to be hewers of wood and drawers of water to a few others."

"But they have the freedom to rise—there is no law prohibiting them."

"No," snapped the Man with the Badge sarcastically, "an' there ain't no law against me smoking half-crown cigars—but that don't get me many cigars."

"Freedom to rise!" repeated the Briar. "A travesty of words and meaning! I've sketched the conditions affecting one class and affecting the other—is that what you call a fair field and no favour? Man, don't you see, the dice are loaded against the poor from the day they are born."

"Well, well," said Hardphace, complacently, "things have been like that for a long time, and are likely to be so for a good time longer."

"But it is not only in big issues of that sort that the Tory beliefs run counter to their parrot-cries. It is to be seen in almost every move they take, every piece of legislation they force through the House of Commons."

"More assertions!" twittered the Purple Socks lightly, as he flicked the ash from his cigarette.

"Assertions capable of abundant proof, unfortunately for the Tories," answered the Briar. "Your moral sense was shocked because Labour fought its elections with coppers taken in a political levy from men who had never protested against the levy, and who had never taken the trouble to fill in a form which granted immediate exemption; but you feel perfectly righteous fighting elections on funds supplied by beer, whisky, and food lords who were willing to pay the market price for 'honours.' You prate of the class legislation favoured by the Labour Party, and vaunt your impartial concern for the welfare of the whole community, irrespective of class, and yet during the past four years you have touched nothing affecting the working millions that you have not impoverished—touched nothing affecting the rich that you have not deliberately made richer. For a generation you have ranted and raved that if Socialists had their way they would impose bureaucracy upon the people; and now come

along, not the Socialists, but the Tories, with the 'Local Government Reform Bill,' which will wipe out parochial and educational authorities by the hundred, eliminate the direct vote, impose co-option, and centralise the administration of huge territories in a few hands."

"There is surely room for a difference of opinion as to how the new form of administration will work out," suggested Hardphace.

"Maybe," conceded the Briar, "but there is no room for denial that the Tories are now doing what they accused other people of aiming at. Nor is there any doubt of this—that while Stanley Baldwin speaks with a sob in his throat of the sufferings of the mining community, and admits the clamant need for relief, he limits Government assistance in accordance with the measure of private charity. In other words—the less that private charity gives, the less will the Government give to stay the famine. But when dealing, not with famine-stricken people in the mining areas, but with the super-tax gentry, who have an average income of eighty pounds per week, he left *their* relief to no such haphazard methods. He used the law to ensure that they would get their sure twelve millions per annum. I could go on for hours——"

"For years!" sneered the Young Man with the Purple Socks.

"And it would have to be for centuries," rapped in the Badge, "before some of ye got any sense in yer top-knots. A party of strict principle!" he scoffed. "More concerned with interest than with principle, if ye ask me."

"And consistent only in their inconsistency," added the Man with the Briar Pipe.

"It is very hard to be consistent in politics," ventured Mr. Hesitant, the Liberal. "And I think where you both make the mistake is that the Tory stands for vested interests of ownership and property, and the Socialists stand for the class interests of what they call 'the working-class.' The Liberal Party, on the other hand, is tied neither to the one nor the other, and is free to represent the best interests of all classes."

"Now I've got it," shouted the L. M. S. Badge, jubilantly, as he brought the palms of his hands together with a resounding smack.

"Got what?" inquired Hesitant in mild surprise, glancing at the Badge's hands, as if he expected that a buzzing blue-bottle had been squashed.

"Got the explanation of that voting record of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons," explained the Badge. "The Liberals represent all classes! Twenty-five per cent. of 'em go into one lobby to represent the class that think one way on a partikler subject; 25 per cent. go into the other lobby to represent them what thinks the opposite, and 50 per cent. stay out of the lobbies altogether to represent them what don't think one way or the other."

Hesitant seemed hurt. "I would have you know," he said, with a flicker of that flame which burned brightly in Gladstone's day, "I'd have you know——"

And just then the "Eight-Fifteen" bumped into the station buffers at Grubtown.

"Tell us about it to-morrow," advised the Badge gaily as he popped out.

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Russian Writers

By

R. M. FOX

TOWERING among the writers of Europe are the Russian giants—Dostoevsky, Turgenev, Tolstoy, Chekhov, Gorky—men whose fame has long extended beyond the borders of Russia. Together they have helped to stamp Russian literature with that blend of realism and mysticism which the West has found so attractive and original. But it must not be supposed that the Russian literary outlook—that outlook which prepared the ground for the revolution—was one of homogeneous uniformity. Although national and racial characteristics are shared by all writers and literature in Russia, as elsewhere, was largely shaped by circumstance and tradition, the writers differed quite as much as their contemporaries in England. Dostoevsky, the pro-Slav, the inspired epileptic who hankered after a mystical Holy Russian idea, which in his mind was perfectly compatible with submission and ignorance, stands out in contrast to Turgenev, a cultured artist, living in Paris, influenced by Flaubert and De Maupassant, a “Westerner” in his critical analysis of Russian types, though quite national in his stories of Russian life. Tolstoy, with his passion for moralising and his sweeping canvases, presents just as big a contrast to Anton Chekhov, whose stories were said to be no longer than a sparrow’s nose, and who absolutely declined to moralise about his characters. Then Gorky—the voice from the depths—scornful, defiant, with a ringing note of revolt new to Russian literature came, upsetting all the stereotyped talk about the “gentle melancholy of the Slav.” He does not fit into the background of Tolstoy, the pacifist; Dostoevsky, the mystic; Chekhov, the disillusioned, or Turgenev, the calm, unruffled artist.

For all that there is something which binds these Russians together with the rest of their countrymen and separates them in thought, in literary ideals and methods from English writers. This difference in outlook throws light not only upon literature but upon the wide differences in history and politics between the two peoples. The key to Russian thought is well stated by Edward Garnett when he writes:—

“ . . . it is a fact that many English popular idealistic writers, to Russian

eyes, seem either hopelessly childish or hopelessly immoral. There is in fact this natural difference between the two attitudes to life. The English-speaking world honestly favours those writers whose pictures show the ultimate triumph of the moral law. . . . The Russian-speaking world, on the other hand, is quite intolerant of cheap idealism and finds its satisfaction largely in those analyses of men’s motives which show the insufficiency of ‘the moral law’ to dictate to nature and dominate it; the difference being that, to the Russian mind, it is immoral to conceal or falsify the seamy facts in a world so constantly dominated by ugliness, while, to the English mind, it is immoral not to let fine character and conscience have the final word in the battle of life.”

This difference makes Russian books paint life in colours of sombre realism. Why the Russian writers reject the idea of books as a mere entertainment and demand from them a serious study of life is a big question. To answer this we want to know how far they share the brooding, meditative calm of Asia and the wild savagery of the Tartar encampments, both alien to the spirit of Europe. The “melancholy of the steppes” can be accounted for not so romantically by considering the starved and desolate life of the country under the despotism of the Czars. The same melancholy note, reflecting the miserable life of the people, is found in Gaelic literature when Ireland was a land of famine, of oppression, of exile. For generations the intellectual life of Russia was stifled and writers were at the mercy of an ignorant, brutal bureaucracy. Read any of the histories of Russian literature—for example, Kropotkin—and note the number of times writers were imprisoned or exiled. Of the five great writers mentioned one only—Tolstoy—escaped, because the Czar’s advisers were intimidated by his aristocratic connections. Two of the earliest Russian writers were Nikolai Norikov (1744-1818) and Alexander Radishchev (1749-1802). Catherine the Second was so scared by the French Revolution that she put the first in prison and sent the second to Siberia. On his return, broken in health, he committed suicide. They have been described as the first

victims on the Golgotha of Russian literature. No wonder the writers of Russia struck a melancholy note!

With Pushkin (1799) the rise of Russian poetry began. He was exiled for writing some political parodies and, later, another period of exile prevented him from being involved in the Decembrist rising in which several writers took part. Ultimately he was pardoned by the Czar, who became his protector. Pushkin was influenced by Byron, but later outgrew this romantic phase and plunged into Russian realism. His poem *The Bronze Horseman* (1833), dealing with the flooding of St. Petersburg and the tragedy of a clerk who becomes insane when his sweetheart is drowned (a typical Russian theme), has been described as the most powerful poem in the Russian tongue. His statue stands in Moscow not far from that of Gogol. Following Pushkin came Lermontov, who wrote Shelley-like lyrics. He, too, suffered banishment, Czardom's war on intellect saw to that.

Gogol (1809-52) was an early prose writer. He is known outside Russia chiefly by his books, *The Inspector-General* and *Dead Souls*. A rumour is spread in a small town that an inspector-general is going to examine its affairs. Immediately the local officials, in a panic, set themselves to bribe the stranger when he appears, only to find after his departure that he is not the inspector! *Dead Souls* turns on the Russian custom of making the proprietor pay taxes on serfs, even if they have died since the last census. A traveller goes from estate to estate buying these dead souls, and on his journey observes all that is ugly and ridiculous in Russian country life. Gogol escaped the Czar's lash because the "Little Father" himself was not above laughing at his petty officials. But for an appreciation of Gogol, written after his death, Turgenev was banished to his estate and not allowed to leave it.

Turgenev, whom some consider the finest Russian novelist, wrote *A Sportsman's Sketches*, under which innocuous title he gave such sympathetic portrayal of the Russian serf that his writing is said to have helped in getting serfdom abolished. After he left Russia his literary output was prolific. His books provoked a storm of criticism in his own land. In *Virgin Soil* he poked fun at egotistical anarchists who made a world out of their emotions. But though his work was denounced on the revolutionary side, the reactionaries were not sure of him. He aimed at holding the mirror up to all. His *Fathers*

and *Sons* is a masterly picture of the conflict of ideas between two generations, giving us a whole section of troubled Russian life. One type recurs in his book, a familiar Russian figure, the "superfluous" man. He even wrote a short story of that name. Under the Czars all men of culture and exceptional ability were superfluous. They could not use their energy in the direction of social progress, and intellectual life was severely limited. The censorship of the knout and Siberia stifled thought. So the intellectuals drank and philosophised, trying to forget the hopeless wreck of life surrounding them. Turgenev gives us such characters in abundance—men whose brilliance sank into the all-embracing futility of a land governed by men whose minds were as dark as the impenetrable Russian forests. His typical women are to be found in *Rudin* and in *Spring Floods*, which contains a charming study of a Russian girl. The resolution, devotion, and loyalty of these Russian women present an admirable foil to the weak, vacillating character of his men. Whether they endure nameless prison horrors or lead more conventional lives they never fail to leave the impression of strong, deep, emotional natures. Influenced by French naturalism, Turgenev brought to Russian literature gifts of technique, literary genius, and fidelity to nature.

Tolstoy was a worker in the same field. His *Anna Karenina* and his *War and Peace* are masterpieces covering whole cross-sections of Russian life. When you have read them you feel that you are familiar with this stultified life on the Russian estates and with the official class whose only escape from tedium lies in dissipation. The emptiness of their lives made them demand the same relief as the Russian peasant secured in vodka. Tolstoy, an aristocrat and an ex-officer, knew this life from the inside. He was part of it till he turned from it out of sheer revulsion. In his latter years he was torn between his ascetic denial of life as a moral teacher and his acceptance of it as a great artist. He was a man of contradictions. In some moods he wished to destroy his finest novels. He glorified the peasant, preached non-resistance, and divested himself of his possessions. In his struggles and torments we see many of the contradictions and problems tearing and rending the pre-revolution life of Russia. Tolstoy held up Ivan the Fool (the Russian peasant who did not resist oppression) as an example to men. To suffer, in the eyes of the Slav school, was more important than to

achieve. But Tolstoy was led by the logic of events to protest against oppression, and his social writings such as *The Hanging Czar* are almost miraculously outspoken when we reflect that he was living in the shadow of the tyrant. *Sebastopol* is a wonderful study of the Crimean War, and gives us Tolstoy's measure as a literary artist. But his enigmatical life was as full of interest as anything he ever wrote.

Dostoevsky had his taste of Siberia and prison. His first novel, *Poor People*, was written at the age of 24, when he was already familiar with suffering and privation. But the books which made his reputation as a world writer were *Crime and Punishment*, *The Brothers Karamazov* and others, in which he strove to reveal human feelings under strange and horrifying conditions. The hero of *Crime and Punishment* is a young student, who decides to kill a rich old woman in order to take her money. He works it all out in the Russian manner. But though he commits the crime he is too terrified to get the money and is tortured by remorse. All Dostoevski's characters are tortured. As Upton Sinclair remarks, "they are feverish and hysterical, they stare and glare and moan and cry and leap and tremble, their knees shake and their teeth chatter, and they have nightmares filling whole chapters." This to Dostoevski was the "true Russia," a land of inspired idiots ruled over by the Czar. Such an epileptic vision of a civilisation would hardly be possible in another land. The tragedy is that for all intents and purposes it did represent the real Russia of his time.

Chekhov brought a keen intellectual mind to the study of morbid Russian society. The combination of idiocy and tyranny had no charm for him. He was sympathetic to suffering and had an eye for whimsicality and beauty. His short stories reveal a familiarity with every side of Russian life, while his fertility of invention is illustrated by his picking up a matchbox from the table and offering to write a story about that. But it is upon his plays that Chekhov's reputation is chiefly based. In *The Cherry Orchard* he gets old-world beauty together with that sense of futility which was never lacking in old Russia. His characters seem bored and their lives are empty. Chekhov is now played in Russia to show the emptiness of aristocratic life before the revolution. "We used to hate them," a peasant is said to have commented after seeing the life of the estate owners depicted, "but now I see how they lived I pity them!"

We come now to Gorky, in some ways the most striking figure. Russian literature and Russian intellectual life seemed dying of inanition when Gorky came and breathed into it the fierce spirit of energy and revolt. He would have nothing to do with the cult of the idiot, of the passive sufferer, of the Holy Czar. Patience, he declared, was the vice of slaves, a quality belonging to dogs, horses, sticks, trees, and stones. Bitter and scornful, with a love of beauty as overwhelming as his hatred of wrong, Gorky rose to the front rank of Russian writers. A vagabond himself, free as the wind, he would not tolerate restraint. He loved strength and assertion though he wrote of the suffering of the weak and poor with tenderness. He began to read while working as a boy on a Volga barge, rummaging in a chest of books belonging to the cook. The Volga forms an undercurrent to much of his work, in which there is a rolling note like the "Volga Boat Song," rising and falling in the distance, speaking of toil, of endurance and the promise of freedom. He writes of the roving vagabonds, outcasts like himself, who wandered about Russia, living as best they could. Korolenko, a leading Russian writer, discovered Gorky and helped him.⁽¹⁾ Gorky writes also of the peasants. *The Orloff Couple* and *Malva*, two stories issued together, are a good example of his style. One is a story of unrelieved sordidness, drink, and misery, the other is an impression of dancing, sunlit waves set against a background of gay, careless life. His *Masters of Life* is a grim presentation of his anarchist views, for the masters of life are the dead whose rules still dominate the brains of the living. His finest book, apart from his autobiographical writings, is *The Mother*, translated under the title of *Comrades*. Here we get a complete picture of pre-revolution agitation activities in Russia told with sympathy and understanding. The film version of this book is one of the triumphs of the modern Russian cinema. Gorky does not invent a story. His method is to catch life on the flow and reflect it with its dark depths and dancing lights of beauty. You have to read Gorky before you know how much poetry can be written in prose. No other writer could have penned the sentence, "On the golden domes of churches rose the lazy Russian sun." Nor could many utter the defiant cry, "I did not come into the world to comply with it!"

No sketch of Russian literature, however fragmentary, would be complete without

mentioning Andreyev (1871-1919). His book *The Red Laugh* is probably the finest anti-war book ever written. It is a record of horror—of a defeated army, of insufficient supplies, of no medical service, of an army going mad and the wounded wailing in the frozen fields. Anyone who believes in the glory of war should be compelled to read it. Other stories, as, for example, *The Seven Who Were Hanged*, enable Andreyev to display his remarkable psychological gifts.

Merezhkovsky broke away from the realist tradition and turned to symbolism. His historical novels *The Forerunner*, *The Death of the Gods*, and *Peter and Alexis* are concerned with the struggle between Paganism and Christianity, the flesh and the spirit. *The Forerunner*, written round the life of Leonardo Da Vinci, has a tranquil philosophy which is strange in Russian literature.

With the coming of the revolution the epoch ended. It is too early to say what new figures will rise. Modern Russia is experimental. Everything in the arts is yet in ferment. Workers and peasants, poets and writers are being encouraged. But the times are too

unsettled for their work to be widely recognised. Progress appears to be greater in the theatre and the cinema than in literature. One book of note is Boris Pilnyak's *Bare Year*, a description of starving Russia which carries on the gloomy Russian tradition.

Janko Lavrin writing on Russian literature speaks of—

“ . . . a new spirit, a kind of youthful energy and a strong will to face the adversities of fate and life. The only hero who is superfluous in the new Russian fiction is the former ‘superfluous man’—that canonised type of the intelligentsia literature. Among the recent literary devices, the attempts to do away with individual heroes and to replace them by masses are as conspicuous as they are symptomatic. . . . On the whole the present state of Russia is that of transition towards a complete transvaluation of values. It looks as if the planetary function of her restless spirit were to prevent the world from becoming petrified in dull capitalist civilisation with its cinemas, its revue stars, its bankers and boxers.”

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A Diary of Parliament

January 22.

Parliament reassembled, with five by-elections pending, i.e., Wansbeck (death of George Warne, Labour); Bishop Auckland (death of Ben Spoor, Labour); North Midlothian (death of Sir George Hutchison, Tory); Battersea South (transference of Viscount Curzon to House of Lords in succession to his late father, Earl Howe); and Londonderry (elevation of Sir M. M. MacNaghten, K.C., to Judicial Bench).

Minister of Labour, in reply to a Labour question, said that the number of unemployed on the "Live Register" had increased from 1,336,303 on January 2, 1928, to 1,520,730 on December 31, 1928, an increase of 184,427 on the year.

Transfer of workers: The Minister of Labour said that under the Government's scheme for making grants to local authorities in connection with schemes prepared by them for employing labour from the depressed areas, the number of men for whom work had so far been found was 36 (thirty-six). "It necessarily takes a considerable time to prepare these schemes," he said.

Channel Tunnel: Mr. Ernest Thurtle (Labour) asked the Prime Minister whether he was prepared to provide an early opportunity for the discussion of the motion which he (Mr. Thurtle) had tabled regarding the Channel Tunnel, i.e., "That, in the view of this House, the construction of a Channel Tunnel would be advantageous both to this country and to Europe as a whole, and the labour and material needed for the tunnel would increase productive employment in this country; therefore, having regard to the changed circumstances arising from diplomatic developments in Europe in recent years, the House invites the Government to take an early opportunity of reconsidering its attitude towards the project."

Mr. Baldwin, in reply, said: "The Government have come to the conclusion that the time is ripe for a comprehensive re-examination of the question. We are anxious that a very thorough examination should be made of the economic aspects of the matter, in order that these may be weighed with Imperial Defence considerations, and a decision reached on broad grounds of national policy. In view of the time that would be required to carry the project through all its stages to the completion of the tunnel, we are convinced that it would be in the public interest, if possible, to deal with this important question outside of the party atmosphere and by agreement, so that the decision of one Government may not be upset by another. If the course adopted by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in 1924 should again commend itself to him and to Mr. Lloyd George, I should like to proceed on similar lines, but obtaining their co-operation from the outset of the inquiry."

At their meeting the following day the Parliamentary Labour Party adopted a resolution declaring that they were in favour of an investigation being begun without delay into the matter, and that in this investigation the military consideration should not be allowed to exclude the economic considerations and such political considerations as the signing of the Kellogg Pact.

Local Government Bill, Committee stage (continued).

January 23.

Question to Minister of Labour by Rev. Campbell Stephen (Labour), elucidated the fact that during the four weeks ended December 10, 1928, the number of

Unemployment Insurance claims disallowed by the Insurance Officers was 60,364, as against only 20,814 in the corresponding four weeks of the previous year, an increase of 200 per cent.

Parliamentary Secretary to Ministry of Health, in reply to a Labour question, said that the number of people in receipt of Poor Relief in England and Wales on January 5 this year was 1,260,000.

Local Government Bill, Committee stage (continued).

Parliamentary Labour Party appointed Mr. Wilfred Paling, M.P., as Junior Whip in the place of the late George Warne, M.P. Mr. Paling had been performing the duties during Mr. Warne's illness.

January 24.

Mr. Robinson (Labour) drew attention to the fact that a number of old people over 65 had had their Health Insurance Disablement Benefit taken away from them under the operation of the Contributory Pensions Act, although they had not yet become qualified for the Old Age Pension, and asked the Minister of Health to introduce legislation to continue the payment of Disablement Benefit to them until they became entitled to the Old Age Pension. The Minister refused.

Minister of Health, in reply to Mr. Robinson, admitted that during the year 1928 there were 67,525 old people between 65 and 70 years of age whose applications for Old Age Pensions were rejected.

In reply to Mr. C. L'Estrange Malone (Labour), Minister of Health said that the combined contributions of employers and workers to the Contributory Pensions Scheme up to December 31, 1928, for England and Wales were £59,443,000, while the disbursements in pensions, etc., were only £34,381,000. In addition to the employers' and workers' contributions, there is also an Exchequer contribution of £4,000,000 yearly. This began with the financial year ending March 31, 1927, and about £11,000,000 from this source has to be added to the "Contributions" side of the account, increasing the discrepancy between contributions and disbursements by this amount.

January 25.

Local Government Bill, Committee stage (continued).

January 28.

In reply to questions by Labour Members, the President of the Board of Education, who is answering for the Government in connection with the Mining Relief Fund, made the astounding admission that although £570,000 had so far been subscribed by the public, only £197,127 had been disbursed from the fund, and not a single penny of the "pound-for-pound" grant that the Government were supposed to be making had been handed over to the fund. This would be handed over, he said, as required.

Mr. J. H. Thomas, in view of this astounding statement, asked if the House was to understand that, in spite of the terrible distress existing in the coalfields and the fact that Parliament had sanctioned the payment of money, none of this money had been paid.

Lord Eustace Percy agreed that this was so.

Mr. Joe Batey (Labour) urged that the money should be paid over to the Treasury as quickly as possible, and said that it was a disgrace that only £197,127 should have been paid out when miners' wives and children were starving.

Local Government Bill, Committee stage (continued).

Labour Continues its Fight Against the Higher Rates Bill

CHOP! chop!! chop!!! goes the Guillotine. With clocklike regularity it falls as prescribed by the Government's pre-arranged time-table, cutting off unfinished discussions and unconsidered amendments with a ruthlessness that almost reduces some of the debates to the level of a farce. Valuable and important Labour amendments and new clauses are swept into the basket without even having been called—let alone considered, and proposals involving millions of pounds and the welfare of hundreds of thousands of people are airily disposed of with less consideration than a parish council would devote to the construction of a footpath across a field. The Government is making no serious attempt to reply to the devastating criticisms that are being directed against the Bill by Labour Members—it relies alternately on sarcasm, abuse, persiflage and the “gagging” imposed by the Guillotine. But despite all these considerations, the Labour Party is making a wonderful fight against the Bill, blowing the foundations of one after another of its clauses sky-high, in a way that is staggering and astounding the Government spokesmen. It is even persuading some of the back bench Tories of the justice of its point of view, but only a handful of these, unfortunately, have enough spirit in them to show the courage of their convictions and go into the division lobby with Labour against their own leaders.

One thing is certain. If an impartial judge and jury had been weighing on its merits the evidence adduced in favour of the Bill by the Government and that adduced against the Bill by Labour, they would have come to the conclusion long ago that Labour's case was far too strong for the Bill to be allowed to proceed. And only the chop-chop-chop of the Guillotine and the tread-tread-tread of the Tory hundreds as they march through the lobby with the Party Whip standing behind them, is now enabling the Government to get the measure through.

When Parliament reassembled after the Christmas recess, the resumed consideration of the Committee Stage of the Bill was the first item to come before the House, and it has monopolised most of the business since.

The first important clash came when the Labour Party, along with a few of the “rebel”

Tories, tried to secure the deletion of breweries, distilleries and tobacco factories from the list of “productive hereditaments” that are in future to have three-quarters of their rates paid for them by a Government subsidy out of the taxpayer's money. The Government, however, would not give way, and although a handful of the Tories mustered up sufficient courage to vote with Labour, the big battalions of the Tory back-benchers followed their leaders, and duly authorised a yearly State grant of £400,000 a year to the brewers and distillers, and £120,000 a year to the tobacco manufacturers. The brewers are already making £24,500,000 a year in profit, and some of the tobacco manufacturers are making profits at the rate of millions of pounds a firm—like the Imperial Tobacco Company with its £9,000,000 a year profit, and the British-American Tobacco Company with its £6,000,000.

It is not often that the words of Tory Members are worthy of quotation in a journal that concerns itself with the serious and sensible consideration of political questions, but Sir John Marriott, one of the Tory back-benchers, certainly did expose the utter indefensibility of his Government's action when he said that:—

“Not one of the industries of brewing, distilling, and tobacco is depressed to-day, and none of them contributes in any degree to the volume of unemployment.

“None of these industries is subjected to very heavy rating disabilities.

“Finally, not one of these industries has to face fierce competition either in the home market or in the markets abroad.”

And he might have added the fact that I have already mentioned, namely, that these concerns are making huge profits and paying huge dividends as it is, and the further fact that as the State subsidy will not be large enough to permit of its being passed on to the consumer in the form of a reduction in the price or in any other manner, it will simply flow into the pockets of the directors and shareholders, and go to swell their already ample profits. It cannot be passed on to the consumer because the subsidy to the brewers will only amount to about 4d. per 36 gallon barrel, far too small a sum to allow the price to be reduced or the specific gravity of the beer to be increased. But the aggregate sum of £400,000 which is to be spread over the

industry, and which is to be absolutely wasted so far as any benefit to the nation is concerned, might have been used to very useful purpose if the Government, as Mr. Arthur Greenwood suggested, had set it aside to reinforce the funds available for the extension of the Maternity and Child Welfare Services. Instead of doing that, the Government are actually altering the system of grants for the Maternity and Child Welfare Services in a manner that will almost certainly hamper their development. And moreover, the present recklessness and profligacy of the Government in bestowing this yearly £400,000 on the brewers becomes all the more noticeable and indefensible when it is remembered that only a few months ago the Government cut down by £12,000 the grants in aid of milk for babies and mothers on the ground that "economy" was necessary.

The next big tussle arose in connection with the Government's interference with the Maternity and Child Welfare Services. The Government proposes to abolish the "fifty-fifty" grant which it gives from Exchequer funds at present—and which grows each year as expenditure increases—and to substitute instead a block grant, based on the present expenditure—this block grant, by the way, being merged in with the Exchequer block grant for road and health services generally, without any portion of it being specifically earmarked for Maternity and Child Welfare purposes. The Labour Party took the view that the Government's proposal will hamper the development of Maternity and Child Welfare work. Everybody who has studied the question knows that this service is a growing one, that it still needs considerable expansion if the needs of the community are to be properly met, and that there is every possibility that without the pound-for-pound grant, increasing each year as the local authorities widen their services, this necessary work may not be undertaken. Many of the organisations interested in this work—including the National Council of Women, the Society of Infant Welfare and the Ragged School Mission—share this apprehension, and a few of the Tory M.P.'s also raised their voices along with Labour in appealing to the Government to permit the present system of Exchequer Grants to continue. But once again the Government sternly steam-rollered all opposition, and their hundreds of servile hacks dutifully tramped through the lobby to vote out the old and vote in the new regime.

A damning admission of the way the Bill will financially penalise some of the local authorities was made by the Minister of Health, when he refused to accept a Labour amendment to that

clause which pretends to reimburse local authorities from a Central Exchequer Fund for the losses that they are to suffer in consequence of the de-rating of factories and farms in their areas. The Labour Party has consistently pointed out—and in this it has been supported by the financial experts of the local authorities themselves—that the share of the Exchequer "pool" which many of the local authorities are going to receive is apportioned on such a topsyturvy basis that they will get back far less than they have actually lost by the de-rating of their hereditaments. The Labour Party, therefore, moved an amendment calling on the Minister to give them back, each half-year, *the exact amount that they are losing through de-rating*. He refused to do so, saying that if he did it would destroy the whole financial basis of his scheme, thus tacitly admitting that Labour's suspicions were quite justifiable. If the Government's apportionment of Exchequer "pool" to the local authorities had been going to give to each of those authorities not less than they were losing through de-rating, the Minister would have been able to accept the principle of the Labour amendment without the slightest quibble. That he could not and would not was highly significant.

How the underated ratepayers—the householders and shopkeepers—are going to have to pay heavier rates in future as a result of the de-rating of the farms and factories in their area, and the consequent reduction in the rateable value of the district, and in the yield of the rate, was shown by Mr. Arthur Greenwood on January 24. This is how he put the issue, and the Government, with all their subtilty and cleverness, were unable to find an answer. He took the question of expenditure on education first, and he said:—

"If you de-rate hereditaments in a county area, as a result of this scheme a penny rate will not bring in as much as it would otherwise. I think most hon. members accept that. Then it does mean that with an equal expenditure each year the education rate is going to rise."

Then he went on to show that what applies to expenditure on education applies equally to other items of expenditure. He continued:—

"Take the police, for instance. If you spend the same amount of money next year as you have spent in the standard year the rate for the police is going to be higher, because of the elementary fact that each penny of rate will not bring in what it used to bring in."

Expenditure on roads was another instance that he cited:—

"Those roads," he said, "may involve exactly the same expenditure in future years, but the rate poundage to meet the cost will be higher than it is this year."

That point should be clear enough for every ratepayer to understand.

As was pointed out in the *Labour Magazine* last month, the Government, in an endeavour to placate some of the local authorities, have promised that instead of their having to wait five years before their Exchequer Grant is revised (to bring it into line with their new scales of expenditure) and a further five years before the next revision, the first revision shall take place after three years, the next revision after four more years, and the next one after five years—the transitional period during which the authorities will receive a Supplementary Exchequer Grant to round off some of the sharpest corners of the scheme being extended at the same time from fifteen to seventeen years. In order that the local authorities should not be penalised by an unduly long lag between their increases of expenditure and the increases of their Exchequer Grant, Labour moved an amendment to make the first revision period two years instead of three. But the Government would not have it, and it was rejected.

The evidence that is coming to hand tends to confirm the prophecy that was made by Labour Members at the time of the introduction of the scheme—namely, that the remission of the

rates on agricultural land will ultimately find its way not into the pockets of the farmer, but of the landowner, through the latter increasing the rent by the amount of the rates that the farmer has been excused under the scheme. One of the Liberal Members, Mr. Tomlinson, showed the House on January 22 that this is actually happening already. He said :—

I have had instances brought to my notice where, during the past two or three months, when a tenant has applied for or taken a farm, he has been met with the statement, "Have you forgotten that after next year there will be no rates to pay?" In one particular case a farmer bid the old rent, and the land agent—in my judgment, very foolishly—said to the prospective tenant, "You will have to bid more rent, or you will not be the tenant." "But I bid the old rent," said the farmer; "this is no time for asking for an increase in rent." The agent replied, "Have you forgotten that there will be no rates after next year." That farm was let for £20 a year more than it was let for to the old tenant. That is a proof that the benefit is not always finding its way into the pockets of the occupier of the land.

No. As the Labour Party pointed out would be the case, it is finding its way into the pockets of the landowner. That is a gross injustice, but only one of the many gross injustices that abound under the scheme.

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Safeguarding the Health of the Children

A SOCIAL SERVICE THAT IS A FINE INVESTMENT

THERE are a good many disgruntled Tories who never cease to moan about the money which, they say, the country "wastes" on the Social Services. The recently issued Annual Report for 1927 in connection with one of these services—the School Medical Service—should prove to them that this money is not wasted, but that it constitutes one of the most profitable investments that the nation could possibly make. It is a fine example of Socialism in action—a collective effort on the part of the community to help one of its suffering sections, and in so doing to confer untold benefit on the nation. As a result of its work, a healthier race is being reared, much suffering is being prevented, and the country is being saved a great deal of the economic loss that it would otherwise suffer through sickness amongst its working population.

Nevertheless, admirable though the work of the School Medical Service is proving itself to be, much more needs to be done. More medical treatment of the children while they are at school needs to be undertaken, and some service needs to be devised to cater for them during the gap between their leaving school and coming within the purview of the health insurance scheme. At present the existence of this gap undoes much of the good work that is done while the children are at school.

Several of the School Medical Officers, whose regional reports are quoted in the General Report of the Chief Medical Officer to the Board of Education, pay tribute to the wonderful improvements that have taken place in the physique and general health of the school children as a result of the work of the School Medical Service. The School Medical Officer for Liverpool, for instance, records "a general and almost steady increase in both height and weight." The five year old child, he says, is approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ in. taller and over 1 lb. heavier than six years previously, and the school-leaver is more than 1 in. taller and more than 4 lbs. heavier than in 1921. Somewhat similar figures are given for Wallsend, and the same general tendency is shown over a period of six years in Crewe. In London a census is taken every November of all children who have been out of school for three months, and the numbers shown in this census have been steadily declining

during the past four years, every disease except infectious diseases sharing the decline. As the London School Medical Officer remarks, "the lessened number of children noted year by year as chronically absent from school is another proof of the improving health of the child population." The report of the previous year gave further examples, mentioning Chatham, where both boys and girls between the ages of 8 and 12 have increased in weight by an average of 3 lbs. between 1915 and 1926; at Torquay, where between 1914 and 1926 the 8 year old children have increased on an average 1 in. in height and 1½ lbs. to 2 lbs. in weight; and these are only a few of the many examples quoted,

The *inspection* side of the School Medical Service, as distinct from the *treatment* side, has now reached a stage at which it is reasonably complete. Every year somewhat more than one-third of the children in attendance at public elementary schools are submitted to a complete medical examination. During the year 1927 the number so examined in the ordinary routine way was 1,823,775, equivalent to 36.7 per cent. of the number in average attendance. In addition, 861,964 children were examined as "Special Cases," on account of some defect or ailment, suspected by parent or teacher. In all, therefore, 2,685,739 children, or 54.1 per cent. of the number in average attendance, were examined.

Every year approximately one-fifth of all the children submitted to routine medical inspection are found to be in need of medical treatment for physical defects, apart from dental disease. The proportion in 1927 was 20.6 per cent. Defects of eyesight constitute approximately one-third of the total sum of defects, and enlarged tonsils and adenoids a nearly equal proportion.

Of the 1,823,775 children subjected to routine inspections in 1927, 102,722 were suffering from defects of vision; 16,681 from squint; 16,167 from other eye diseases; 19,118 from ear complaints; 111,103 from enlarged tonsils and adenoids; 11,734 from other throat and nose defects; 3,275 from organic heart disease; 701 from definite and 2,088 from suspected pulmonary tuberculosis; 2,021 from non-pulmonary tuberculosis; 4,843 from deformities; 3,451 from nervous diseases; 24,211 from skin disease; and 16,474 from malnutrition.

Of the 861,964 children subjected to special inspections, 60,243 were suffering from defects of vision; 10,773 from squint; 45,505 from other eye diseases; 28,358 from ear complaints; 51,430 from enlarged tonsils and adenoids; 21,619 from other throat and nose defects; 2,234 from organic heart disease; 1,358 from definite and 3,808 from suspected pulmonary tuberculosis; 2,925 from non-pulmonary tuberculosis; 7,928 from deformities; 7,137 from nervous diseases; 181,622 from skin diseases; and 7,575 from malnutrition.

Progress was made by several local education authorities during the year in the provision of facilities for the treatment of the diseases and defects revealed by the school medical inspections, but the need is still far from being met. In his report of the previous year the Chief Medical Officer to the Board said, that "although the progress made during the year was satisfactory, *school treatment is still far from complete*. Of the 317 Education Authorities there are two who have not yet made any provision for dealing with defects of vision, 7 who do not provide for the treatment of minor ailments, 23 with no dental scheme, and 59 who have no arrangements for the treatment of enlarged tonsils and adenoids. Orthopaedic treatment is undertaken in less than one half of the areas. Moreover, the provision made by the education authorities is in many instances of a partial nature only."

Much of this need still exists, despite the progress made in the year covered by the Medical Officer's latest report, and he admits that many of the local authorities are "restrained from more rapid progress by financial considerations." That should not be.

The facilities for dental treatment are conspicuously inadequate. "There are still many areas," the report says, "in which the facilities for treatment do not correspond in extent with the provision for dental inspection," and the total number of children treated for dental defects during 1927 was 935,773 or only 58.1 per cent. of those who were found to be needing treatment.

Much more needs to be done also in the provision of nursery schools, open-air schools, and schools for exceptional children, whilst the report indicates that many of the elementary schools now in use are insanitary, improperly lighted, and generally unhealthy. "Not only is this defect a menace to the health of the children," says the C.M.O., "but it is inimical to the education they should be receiving in the school."

The Chief Medical Officer also puts his finger on another gap that exists and urgently needs to be filled. "Every year," he says, "more than

300,000 children leave the public elementary schools to enter employment. The State does not provide medical treatment for young persons between 14 and 16 who have left school, or dental treatment of those between 14 and 21," and he adds that there is a "need for organising a comprehensive medical service to cover young persons between 14 and 16."

"We have already said," he points out, "that one object of this service is to fit the child to receive the education provided by the State, but another is to secure his health and the national health—to make him a strong man, a healthy citizen, an efficient workman. Are we doing that? That is the crucial question for every school doctor and for every local education authority. Now I do not think it can be doubted that this is, in fact, what is happening. The physique of the leaving child is better; his health is better; and he loses less time from his work owing to sickness; his body is a cleaner body; certain of his maladies have been reduced—less malnutrition, less tuberculosis, less glandular disease, defective vision more corrected, hearing improved, better teeth, less liability to disease, a keener individual. In a word, and in the most sober terms, the work of the School Medical Service, though incomplete in the case of many individual children, has produced a measurably favourable effect on the health and physical condition when the time comes for them to leave school at the age of 14 years, and in all schools, though in varying degrees, a foundation of training in health habits has also been laid. But there is a breakdown. When he leaves school he tends to go backward in health. There is then an urgent need to continue during the difficult years of adolescence, the medical supervision and assistance afforded by the school in matters of health and general fitness."

The Chief Medical Officer makes a comparison between the health of the children in the elementary schools and the secondary schools, and although, for obvious reasons, he finds that the physical condition of the secondary school child is in advance of that of the elementary scholar, he adds that the latter "is improving physically at a greater rate than the secondary school child"—a fine tribute to the work of the School Medical Service when read in conjunction with his further statement that the School Medical Service provides greater facilities for the treatment of elementary scholars than of those in secondary schools. All the greater the pity, therefore, that the Chief Medical Officer has to record that many of the local authorities are "restrained from more rapid progress by financial considerations."

More Tory Pensions Injustices

TO the long list of anomalies and injustices already recorded against the Tory Government's Contributory Pensions Act another needs to be added. It came prominently to light a few weeks ago when the Unemployment Insurance Umpire decreed that although an old man of 65 may not be qualified to receive an old age pension, he must—under the Tory Contributory Pensions Act—automatically give up his right to Unemployment Benefit on reaching that age.

At the time of the passing of the Act, the Labour Party protested against the provision which proposed to take away from the old people of 65 their 18s. a week unemployment benefit and to give them instead a pension of 10s. only, a proposal which in itself is bad enough. The Government would not heed Labour's protests however, and already 30,000 old people have been deprived of their 18s. weekly, and given only the 10s. instead. *But the present case discloses an even worse injustice than the taking away of an 18s. unemployment benefit and the substitution of a 10s. a week pension. It takes away the 18s. unemployment benefit, and does not give even the 10s. pension in exchange. It leaves the old man or woman with nothing.*

The facts are quite clear and definite. They are given in Decision No. 3223/28 of the Umpire, which reads as follows:—

"Applicant has attained the age of 65 years, but is not qualified to receive Old Age Pension.—Question of eligibility for Unemployment Benefit. On the facts before me, my decision is that the claim for Unemployment Benefit should be disallowed. By Section 37 (1) of the Widows', Orphans', and Old Age Contributory Pensions Act, 1925, it is provided that 'as from the appointed day the right . . . to unemployment benefit under the Unemployment Insurance Acts, 1920 to 1924, shall cease if the person insured thereunder has then attained or on his attaining the age of 65.' This provision is definite and unconditional. It applies even though the insured has not qualified for the pension granted by the Act of 1925. Applicant attained the age of 65 on 11th July, 1928, and thereupon his right to Unemployment Benefit ceased."

Before the Government placed its Contributory Pensions Act on the Statute Book, this old man of 65 would have received 18s. a week Unemployment Benefit while he was out of employment. But under the Tory Government's Act he does not get a single penny—neither pension nor Unemployment Benefit.

It has already been pointed out in the LABOUR MAGAZINE that:—

47,000 women over 65 years of age have been unjustly refused pensions because their husbands were over 70 years of age at the beginning of the year 1928; and the Government have refused

facilities to a Labour Member's Bill to remedy this anomaly.

50 000 widows, on the Government's own admission, have been refused pensions

Many widows are having their pensions taken away from them as their youngest children reach school-leaving age.

The further revelation has also been made, in the course of a Parliamentary answer by the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health on November 20, that:—

In the first period of the operation of the Tory Government's Contributory Pensions Scheme the amount of pensions paid out is only just over one-half of that which was promised at the time of the introduction of the Bill.

And in that same period, the "surplus" that has accumulated on the fund (i.e., the excess of the contributions paid into the Fund over the pensions, etc., paid out of the Fund) is twice as large as the estimate of the Government Actuary foreshadowed it would be.

The Report of the Government Actuary, which was presented to Parliament at the time of the introduction of the Bill, and which forms the foundation on which the whole fabric of the scheme is based, stated that during the first three financial years (1925-26, 1926-27, and 1927-28, actually covering two and a-quarter years of time) the amount that would be paid out in pensions would be £33½ million. *The actual amount paid out in that period, according to this Government admission in the House of Commons, was £18½ million.*

The same report of the Government Actuary estimated that during these first three years of the scheme's operation there would be a surplus of ingoings over outgoings each year. The amount of this surplus for the three years the Actuary estimated at £16½ million. *Actually the surplus has amounted to £32½ million.*

Although the Actuary's figures in the two cases quoted above include Scotland as well as England and Wales, and the actual figures of pensions and surplus (as supplied by the Minister of Health, who does not have jurisdiction over Scotland) do not, the Scottish figure is a comparatively small one, and does not to any appreciable degree invalidate the general conclusions to be drawn.

Despite the fact, therefore, that the pensions being paid are less than were estimated, and despite the fact that the surplus on the fund is larger than it was supposed to be, the Government still refuse the Labour Party's repeated demands that the thousands of widows and old people who have been excluded from benefit or penalised under the scheme should have justice dealt out to them.

C. E. L.

The League of Nations

WHAT IT IS, MAY BE, AND MIGHT HAVE BEEN

By
W. GILLIES

THE League of Nations is the living embodiment of the troubled consciences of the world's statesmen. It is their act of repentance. It is the only memorial of the world war whose preservation is worthy of the most heroic efforts, and which time may not destroy. It is the juridical and political instrument through which the international mind may organise and maintain the good order of the world through co-operation, and thus prevent war.

Mr. C. Howard-Ellis has undertaken the formidable task of writing the one indispensable book about the League for the educated layman. He endeavours to guide us through the labyrinth of international law and relations, with the League as its guiding star. He has read and assimilated everything of importance which has been written on the subject. He resides in Geneva and has an intimate familiarity with its methods of work. In the midst of a logically-woven argument for the League as the organisation upon which the foundations of world peace may be well and truly laid, he quotes freely and aptly from the best authorities. He never fails to give a reference, and the book is well indexed. It promises to be the best handbook of the philosophy and practice of the League, a guide to the literature on the subject, and an indispensable work of reference. It ought to be available to the impecunious student in every public library.

Mr. Howard-Ellis will complete his task in three volumes. His first volume, *The Origin, Structure and Working of the League of Nations**, is now presented for our judgment. After a short introduction full of "retrospective wisdom," entitled "International Anarchy and its Fruits," he gives examples of the poisoning of even the best minds by the war temper, and shows how the League grew out of the post-war world and became the spear-head in the international field of a movement for recasting civilisation. The Covenant is explained historically as the residual outcome of an exceptional international political situation and conflicting policies and ideals. The Constitution and membership of the League, the Assembly and Council, the Secretariat General, the International Labour Organisation, the Permanent Court of International Justice,

are all adequately described in their constitutional aspects, and the way is prepared for the higher political argument in the second and third volumes by an illuminating chapter upon international law which will be especially valuable to the non-professional student.

The two volumes which are yet to come will deal with the constitutional evolution of the League. The peaceful settlement of disputes, security and disarmament, sanctions, the League in action, and the League and intervention. America, the Soviet Union, the Near East, and the League and the problem of Minorities, will be studied in detail in the third volume.

Mr. Howard-Ellis's general standpoint is best expressed in the statement that "the League of Nations is no less than the beginning of the last and greatest stage in social integration, the nucleus of a world policy." The clues to how it became what it is are unravelled in a lucid and efficient, if undistinguished style, as in the modern detective story. It is more interesting to read than many of these. Having read it, one marvels that we should have had the League of Nations at all. The actual text of the Covenant, as we know it, has been woven out of American strands spun by President Wilson and his advisers, and British strands, spun by Lord Robert Cecil and General Smuts. The neutral politicians contributed several of the threads. These men had, it is true, many intellectual progenitors. But *they* were the men who took time by the forelock, and deserve all honour for their wisdom in action.

All the drafts and counter-drafts epitomise the perennial controversy about the functions and policy of the League. Some of the paragraphs which are rejected may yet be resurrected. Under Article 19 of the Covenant the Assembly "may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the League of Treaties which should become inapplicable in consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world." But the Wilson draft was more specific. Territorial readjustment, he suggested, should be effected if at the same time they are demanded by three-quarters of the delegates to the Assembly and are agreeable to the peoples concerned. Even the British draft envisaged a possibility of the modification of boundaries, and if a League

* *The Origin, Structure, and Working of the League of Nations.* By C. Howard-Ellis. (George Allen & Unwin. 528 pp. 21s. net.)

recommendation upon such a matter were rejected, the Members of the League would cease to be under an obligation to protect the territory in question from forcible aggression by other States. Compulsory arbitration of judicial disputes, and a complete procedure for the pacific settlement of other disputes by arbitration were also in the first Wilson draft, although they are not found in the Covenant. On the other hand, both Wilson and Smuts were victims of the strange illusion that the mandatory principle might be extended over the territories of Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey, and all the Great Powers contemplated a League in which they would be the only Members of the Council. The League that we now know is a compromise between the official British project of machinery for promoting consultation among the Great Powers to avert the danger of war, together with a permanent organisation of technical and humanitarian co-operation, with the neutral's plan of a universal League and a true Court of International Justice. No substantial claim for modification of the Covenant in deference to American opinion was rejected. The clause which gives validity to the Monroe doctrines, and similar treaties of arbitration or regional understandings, has become the basis of many local agreements, some of which are in doubtful accord with the Covenant. The three power negative veto upon important decisions of the Council, proposed by Smuts and Wilson, became in the end a one power veto in deference to American opinion. This veto is held to constitute a danger which may impede the action of the League in a crisis. But an illustration of the value of Mr. Howard-Ellis's discussion of the League Constitution as something which is not made, but grows, may be quoted in this connection. The Council is in the habit of appointing a rapporteur or small committee from among its disinterested members. This habit, and the system of fact-finding expert commissions and resort to the Court on points of law, make it politically difficult to use the veto.

The "Outlawry of War" appears in one of Mr. Lansing's drafts and is defined. All treaties and all legal and economic relations with an outlawed State, one which resorts to war in defiance of its covenant, would be abrogated. Mr. Howard-Ellis cogently argues that the new Treaty for the Outlawry of War, known as the Pact of Paris, is of great psychological and political importance, but has no bearing on the legal position of war. The Covenant begins where the Treaty leaves off. The Covenant gives effect and legal binding force to the good intentions of the Treaty.

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LAB M. pp. 157

Book Reviews

Economics of Social Problems. H. A. Silverman.
(University Tutorial Press. 5s. 6d.)

The second edition of this deservedly popular work will be welcomed by many classes and by individual students, for whom it provides just what they need on some of the questions that are outside the scope of the ordinary textbook of economics, though they are of burning interest. Mr. Silverman writes sensibly of the current theories and investigations on poverty, wages, efficiency, Trade Unionism, unemployment, housing, social insurance, and other vital questions of the day.

He utilises the latest statistics and information, and incorporates recent developments in economic theory, without obtruding his personal views too much. For those who have worked through a course of "pure" economics this book will provide a most readable introduction to "applied" economics, and the extracts from original documents at the end should be a stimulus to a study of the official reports dealing with the subjects discussed. One criticism must be made—the bibliographies badly need weeding out, for they contain many titles of works that are of little or no serious value. A bibliography for the students who ought to read Mr. Silverman's book should be critically selected.

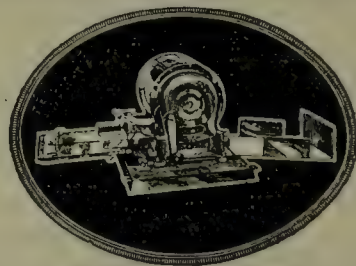
British Food Control. Sir William Beveridge.
(Oxford Press. 15s.)

Sir William Beveridge's long-awaited volume, in the Carnegie Foundation's Economic History of the War, has at last appeared, and while it is a worthy study of the Food Control period, and contains many wise observations, it is, perhaps, less good than one expected it to be. Perhaps that is because it did not appear earlier, when the pure mechanism of the "controls" was of more interest. Now that some years have elapsed, bringing new problems and a new outlook, we are more interested in the underlying philosophy and psychology of it all, and this Sir William Beveridge has treated in far too summary a fashion.

Nor is his brief treatment satisfactory in its drift. He comes to the conclusion, hackneyed enough in all conscience, that the war controls have little or no lesson for peace time, since the people of this country were ready to endure things while there was a war on that they would not stand in ordinary times. Not very profound, that, for it is evident enough that if they were prepared for the same measure of

co-operation and scientific organisation during "peace" as during war, Socialism would be an accomplished fact. Is not the task of Socialists precisely to educate people to see that in times of "peace" there is being waged an unceasing war against ignorance, poverty and disease, a war that can be won by the same kind of co-operation and organised effort that led to the amazingly ingenious and efficient devices of war-time control? Sir William Beveridge might with advantage have given some indication of the way in which modern capitalism itself is learning some of the lessons of "control" that were taught by the Ministry of Food and other Ministries, and of the way in which international action has developed and may develop further from the same experiments.

The actual account given of the policies and devices of the control period are most interesting and valuable, but the deeper significance of those experiments has perhaps been more appreciated by Sir J. A. Salter and Mr. E. M. H. Lloyd than by most of the other participants.



POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND ENTERPRISE

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Industrial Developments

Wage Movements in December

In the industries for which statistics are regularly compiled by the Ministry of Labour, the changes in rates of wages reported to have come into operation in December resulted in an increase of about £3,250 in the weekly full-time wages of over 33,000 workpeople, and in a reduction of £40 in those of 250 workpeople, according to figures quoted in the Ministry of Labour Gazette.

The changes in wages so far reported to the department for the year 1928 in the industries for which statistics are compiled, have resulted in net increases of £21,150 in the weekly full-time wages of 212,000 workpeople, and in net reductions of £163,050 in those of 1,608,000 workpeople. In 1927 there were net increases of £30,700 in the weekly full time wages of 282,000 workpeople, and net reductions of £388,500 in those of 1,855,000 workpeople.

* * *

Statistics of Trade Disputes

The number of trade disputes involving stoppages of work, reported to the Ministry of Labour as beginning in December, was 15. In addition, 12 disputes which began before December were still in progress at the beginning of the month. The number of workpeople involved in all disputes in December (including workpeople thrown out of work at the establishments where the disputes occurred, but not themselves parties to the disputes) was about 6,000, and the aggregate duration of all disputes during December was about 32,000 working days. These figures compare with totals of 7,000 workpeople involved and 64,000 working days lost in the previous month, and with 7,600 workpeople involved and 38,000 days lost in December, 1927.

The aggregate duration of all disputes in progress in 1928 was rather more than 1,400,000 working days, and the total number of workpeople involved in these disputes was about 124,000. The figures for 1927 were 1,174,000 days and 114,000 workpeople respectively.

* * *

Victory for South Wales Miners

About £25,000 in arrears of Unemployment Insurance Benefit is payable to the 2,300 miners at Nine Mile Pit Colliery, Mon., the Umpire having given his decision in their favour on the appeal brought before him by the South Wales Miners' Federation. An important issue was involved, as the colliery had been closed after the men had rejected terms which they claimed would have involved a breach of the Coal Mines (Eight Hours) Act.

* * *

T.U.C. Social Insurance Campaign

Area Conferences, arranged under the auspices of the Trades Union Congress General Council, with the object of awakening interest in questions of Social Insurance, are now being held. Up to the present, four conferences have taken place, in London, Exeter, Newcastle-on-Tyne and Glasgow, and arrangements have been made for four others in Manchester, Cardiff, Leeds and Birmingham. Delegates from Trade Unions, Trades Councils and Courts of Referees attended, and in all cases a keen interest in Social Insurance matters was shown.

Council for the Building Trade

At a conference held in London on January 10 it was decided to form a Council for the purpose of undertaking "a comprehensive review of the economic position and technique of the building industry and its associated interests."

The following interests were represented at the conference: Architects, surveyors, structural engineers, building contractors, building operatives, building material manufacturers and suppliers, building owners, and building educationists. Among those present were Mr. Thomas Barron and Mr. R. Coppock, president and secretary respectively of the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives.

Sir William Mackenzie, K.C., was elected as president of the Council, and an Executive Committee representative of the various interests was appointed, with Mr. A. C. Bossom, F.R.I.B.A., as chairman, and Mr. H. B. Bryant as secretary.

* * *

Workmen's Compensation in the Year 1927

From figures recently published in a Home Office return, it appears that compensation was paid in 458,419 cases under the Workmen's Compensation Acts in 1927 in respect of mines, quarries, railways, factories, docks, constructional work, and shipping, and the total amount paid was £6,315,803.

It is estimated that if all industries under the Act are included the total is about £12,000,000.

* * *

Engineers' Wage Inquiry

Provisional arrangements have been made for a conference of the unions in the engineering industry to be held on February 22 to consider the question of a new wage policy. The unions concerned, after last year's deadlock over the national application for an increase in wages, set up a special committee to investigate the circumstances of the various sections of the industry with a view to a possible change in policy. It is to consider this special committee's report that the conference has been called.

* * *

Cambridge University Scholarships

Information has been received from the Board of Extra-Mural Studies of the University of Cambridge to the effect that the Board are offering a number of bursaries to adult students to enable them to enter Cambridge University for a period of full-time study. The General Council understands that students from university tutorial classes and university extension courses, and from educational settlements and the Labour Colleges, are eligible to apply for these bursaries. They are available for the academic year 1929-30, and their value is sufficient to cover all reasonable expenses in Cambridge.

Students who obtain these scholarships will be able to choose their subject of study, and will, in fact, take part in the normal life of the university.

International Labour Office Notes

"Forced Labour"

The International Labour Office of the League of Nations has sent out to the Governments which are members of the International Labour Organisation copies of a report which has been prepared in connection with the discussion on "Forced Labour," which will take place at the next Conference, opening in Geneva on May 30.

* * *

A World Survey

This report is the first attempt to make a world survey of the question of "forced labour," a task of no small difficulty when it is realised, as the report itself explains, that this class of labour occurs for the most part in areas where administration has not reached the point of efficiency attained in more developed countries, and from which exact information is either non-existent or not easily obtainable. The Office has been collecting information for several years, and the final compilation of the report has been made with the assistance of the Committee of Experts on Native Labour. A final chapter studies the principles which should underlie the regulation of forced labour so as to remove any conditions which render it "analogous to slavery," to avoid the evils associated with it, and to provide for its eventual abolition.

* * *

Director in the Far East

During his stay in Batavia, Dutch East Indies, after his visit to Japan and China, the Director of the Office, M. Albert Thomas, spoke by wireless telephone to Mr. H. B. Butler, the Deputy Director in Geneva, thus gaining direct information of developments in Europe during his absence. It is also worthy of note that the news of this conversation was conveyed by telephone from Geneva to London.

* * *

Czecho-Slovakian Ratifications

Information has been received in Geneva of the ratification by the Czecho-Slovakian Government of two conventions regarding workers' sickness insurance adopted by the Conference in 1927. The first deals with the provision of compulsory sickness insurance for workers in industry and commerce and domestic servants, while the second applies the same principle to agricultural workers. The first Convention has already been ratified by Germany, Hungary, and Luxemburg, and the second by Germany and Luxemburg.

* * *

Wage Statistics

A conference, called at the suggestion and invitation of the Social Science Research Council of the United States, met at the International Labour Office in Geneva during January to study the best methods of preparing statistics of wages in the different countries, with a view to making them more easily comparable from the international aspect. Experts were present from the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy, together with members of the staff of the Office, and several resolutions recommending various developments were adopted.

* * *

Asiatic Labour Conference

The Japanese trade unions which take part in the election of the workers' delegate to the International Labour Conference have approved an agreement which

provides that an Asiatic Labour Conference is to be held annually in China, India, Japan, or another eastern country, in turn, some five or six weeks before the opening of the annual session of the Conference in Geneva. The Asiatic Conference will be attended by labour representatives from China, India, Japan, and other eastern countries, and its agenda will include any items coming before the Geneva Conference which present aspects of common interest to these countries, together with other labour questions which require co-operation of the countries concerned for their solution. The first meeting of the Asiatic Labour Conference will be held this year, preferably in India, under the chairmanship of Mr. Suzuki, (Japan). The secretaries of the first Conference are to be Mr. N. M. Joshi (India), Mr. Yonekubo (Japan), and a Chinese delegate.

* * *

The Coal Situation

A technical and economic consultation on the world coal problem took place in Geneva in January under the direction of a delegation of the Economic Committee of the League of Nations. Eleven persons were invited to the consultation, who, without being representatives of employers' organisations, nevertheless occupy positions enabling them to have an insight into all aspects of the coal question, whether in the matter of production, consumption, trade, or transport. Having heard a report of this consultation, the Economic Committee decided that a further consultation should be held with experts belonging to Labour circles. These will be nationals of the principal coal-producing countries of Europe, and will be chosen after consultation with the International Labour Office. The experts selected will be persons who, while belonging to the world of Labour, are in a position to have an insight into all the aspects of the problem.

* * *

Aliens and Workers' Compensation

The Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs has forwarded to the Office a copy of a Treaty concluded between the Argentine Republic and the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom with the object of establishing equality of treatment for the workers of both countries in the matter of compensation for industrial accidents. A Convention on this subject was adopted by the Conference in 1925 whereby a State which ratifies undertakes to give equality of treatment to the subjects of any other State ratifying. The Serb-Croat Slovene Kingdom has ratified, while the Argentine Government has recommended it for approval.

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Details of Labour Policy for the Care and Education of Children from the Nursery School to the University.

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International Trade Union Notes and Labour Abroad

(Specially contributed to the LABOUR MAGAZINE by the International Federation of Trade Unions.)

Old Age Pensions in France

Under the social insurance system which is now prevailing in France, insured persons who have attained their 60th year are eligible for an old age pension. The insured person may demand that the payment of this pension shall be postponed until he is 65. When the law operates normally, the pension will be 40 per cent. of the average annual wage, this wage being computed on the basis of the compulsory contributions as paid every year after the attainment of the age of 16. Furthermore, the insured person is only eligible for the pension if he can prove that he is over 60 or, as the case may be, over 65, and that he has paid in contributions for at least 30 full years (a year being reckoned as consisting of at least 240 days). During the interim period, that is, the period up to the date when the law will have been in force for 30 years (so that it can operate normally), the insured person is eligible for a pension amounting to at least as many thirtieths of the normal pension as he has paid annual contributions. If this condition is fulfilled and if at least five annual contributions have been paid, the law guarantees during the transition period a minimum pension of 600 frs. per year.

* * *

The International Steel Cartel

The belief was widespread that the mid-December meeting of the International Steel Cartel intended to carry out a big programme. What was expected was a decision as to the use to be made of the unfilled part of Germany's quota (not utilised on account of the iron strike), and the compilation of a programme of output for the first quarter of 1929, regard being paid to Germany's wishes in this respect. But the actual outcome of the meeting was very meagre. No changes were proposed in the quota agreement, and there was no discussion of German wishes or claims. The fact that the quota agreement remains unchanged means that the sacrifices imposed by the cartel upon the German home market for the sake of the allocation of higher export quotas have been in vain. The indefiniteness of the Cartel's attitude on all the questions discussed shows that the uncertainties of the present situation and of the market are already reacting upon the Cartel. (During the present month there are to be further discussions as to the final composition of the Cartel.)

* * *

Dawn in Roumania

At last there have been elections in Roumania which have been conducted without terrorisation. The result has been a great victory for the Labour Party and the Trade Unions. Of the nine comrades elected five are outstanding leaders of the Roumanian Trade Union centre and its unions, viz., Flueraș and Mirescu, respectively president and general secretary of the Roumanian Trade Union centre; Gherman, miners' secretary; Roznovan, departmental secretary of the Trade Unions of Bukovina; and Yumania, secretary of the Typographical Union. With new courage the I.F.T.U. may now resume one of its most important tasks, that of giving aid to backward countries and countries oppressed by reactionary governments. Present events in Roumania show that such efforts may lead to success even when the prospect has long been apparently hopeless and every effort vain.

German Trade Union Enterprise

Some of the German Trade Unions, under the leadership of the German Metal Workers' Union, have founded an electrical installation enterprise to be known as the "Berliner Elektro-Hütte" (Berlin Electric Works): the enterprise also supplies lighting, heating, and cooking apparatus, etc.

* * *

Social Insurance in Germany

According to the monthly survey of the German Sickness Insurance Centres, there were, at the end of January, 1928, 18,121,521 persons compulsorily insured against sickness, the number compulsorily insured against unemployment being 16,402,250. The latter number is smaller than the former, because certain categories of workers are exempted from unemployment insurance, i.e., land and forestry workers, employees engaged in inland and coastal navigation, and such small peasant proprietors or tenants as are employed as labourers for less than half the year. Other persons excluded are those with a labour contract in writing covering a year, those whose engagements are terminable by a six months' notice in writing, and also farm servants. Yet other groups which are exempt from insurance are apprentices with contracts in writing extending over two years (in the case of agriculture one year contracts), persons engaged in navigation if their salary exceeds 6,000 marks per year, and a few other groups of lesser importance. Salaried employees may, if they choose, continue to be insured even after their salaries have risen beyond the salary limit for compulsory insurance. Otherwise, however, there is no voluntary insurance which a worker or salaried employee may do for himself.

* * *

Collective Agreements in Germany

The latest Year Book of the German National Trade Union Centre (A.D.G.B.) gives an interesting survey of the growth of the collective agreement system in Germany. It will be seen from this survey that there was a considerable decrease in the number of collective agreements during the period 1919—1926; but this does not necessarily indicate any decline in the growth of the system, for the collective agreements often comprise increasingly large groups of workers. This conclusion may be drawn from the large numbers of concerns and persons covered by the agreements, and, in a more general sense, from the efforts of the Trade Unions to effect closer concentration (for instance, at the Breslau Congress held in 1925 there were 40 unions; at the end of 1926, 38; and at the close of 1927 only 35 unions). The statistics for the collective agreements are as follows: At the end of 1919 there were 11,009 collective agreements; at the end of 1922, 10,768; at the beginning of 1924, 8,790; at the beginning of 1925, 7,099; and at the beginning of 1926, 7,533. The number of concerns covered rose from 272,251 at the end of 1919 to 890,237 at the end of 1922; 812,671 at the beginning of 1924; 785,945 at the beginning of 1925; and 788,755 at the beginning of 1926. The number of persons covered was at the end of 1919, 5,986,475; at the end of 1922, 14,621,106; at the beginning of 1924, 13,135,384; at the beginning of 1925, 11,904,159; and at the beginning of 1926, 11,140,521.

Co-operative Activities

Political Conference.

The annual Conference of the Co-operative Party was held on January 25, 26, and 27, at the Grand Hotel, Bristol. The annual report of the Party shows that the membership, a few months ago, consisted of 444 co-operative societies, with a membership of 2,376,645. The total income from all sources was £7,250, and from the latest figures it is shown that the society has a balance in hand of £12,184.

* * *

Trading Figures

The Co-operative Wholesale Society has just issued its report for the quarter ended October 13, 1928, and this shows that for the 13 weeks the total sales amounted to £20,853,258, representing an increase of 4½ per cent. on the corresponding period of last year.

With regard to the supplies from the society's own productive works (amounting to £6,854,641) there was a decrease of 1½ per cent. The reason for this decrease is not stated, but if the society is to develop itself as a complete force, it is just as essential that its production of the necessities of life should be as great as its distribution.

The Newcastle branch of the C.W.S. shows a decrease practically in all its various sections of trade, but this is not to be wondered at when the industrial conditions of the area are taken into consideration.

* * *

New Director

Mr. Richard Robinson, of Bury, has just been elected a director of the C.W.S. The election was interesting owing to the fact that it had previously been held, and Mr. Robinson was elected, but was disqualified from taking his seat owing to an allegation that he had canvassed for votes contrary to the rules of the society. There was nothing, however, in the rules to prevent him offering himself as a candidate in the second spasm of the election, with the result that he has been elected with a greater majority than previously. This situation has never occurred before in the history of the society. Mr. Robinson has had experience of co-operative activities as a member of the Committee of the Bury Society, where he has also been President.

* * *

C.W.S. Management

In January of 1928 a special committee was appointed to consider the functions and method of management at present operating in connection with the C.W.S. The committee was empowered to make recommendations as to changes considered to be desirable in the working of the board of directors, district representation, and other conditions essential to greater efficiency. The duties, salaries, and expenses of directors were also to be dealt with by the special committee, which it is understood has now finished its inquiries, and it is expected that its report will be shortly issued. It will be circulated among retail societies, and a special general meeting of delegates held to consider it.

* * *

Distress Fund

The special Distress Fund recently initiated by the Central Board of the Co-operative Union for the purpose of relieving cases of acute distress in districts abnormally affected by unemployment and industrial depression now reaches over £23,000. The money is being distributed

through co-operative retail societies to families in need of ready assistance. Societies are supplied with vouchers to the value of 5s., and these are given to applicants who can exchange them for goods. In this way the distribution of the fund is carried on without id. being charged against it. The Co-operative Wholesale Society has so far contributed £3,500 to this appeal.

* * *

Labour Bust of Owen

Memory of Robert Owen has been kept alive mostly by his name and work being associated with the Co-operative Movement. This being so, the appeal recently issued by the Right Hon. G. N. Barnes should receive some attention from co-operators. It is proposed to procure a bust of Owen to place in International Labour Office at Geneva. Behind this is the Welsh League of Nations Union, which has subscribed £300 towards the £500 needed. With the proposal is an idea of travelling scholarships. The International Labour Office would be a most appropriate place for any object reminiscent of Robert Owen, for this organisation represents the fruition of one of his dreams for combining Labour on international lines. Already the town of his birthplace (Newtown) has presented a bust of him to the League of Nations.

* * *

South Wales Distress

In spite of the deep depression in South Wales coal-fields, a report recently issued shows that co-operation is stronger in South Wales than it was twelve months ago. Nearly 100 collieries have been closed, about 70,000 miners are unemployed, and wages are £250,000 per week less than in 1925. Yet taking South Wales as a whole, the membership and trade of the movement show increases. This is an indication also of the scope there still is for co-operative development, even in impoverished areas, where it thrives when it is most valuable to the economic state of the people.

* * *

Congress President

Mr. H. J. May has been elected President of the next Co-operative Congress to be held at Torquay during Whitweek. Mr. May is secretary of the International Co-operative Alliance, and he has perhaps had as wide an experience of the Co-operative Movement as anybody, and will be able to carry out his duties in a manner that will have a world-wide appeal to co-operative organisations.

DE-RATING

Two new Leaflets showing how the Tory Government hands out gifts to the wealthy and penalises the householder and shopkeeper.

No. 223. What De-Rating Means.

No. 224. The Tory Scheme and Labour Policy.

Price each 3s. per 1,000, carriage paid.

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THE LABOUR MAGAZINE

Incorporating The British Trades Union Review and the Labour Party Bulletin

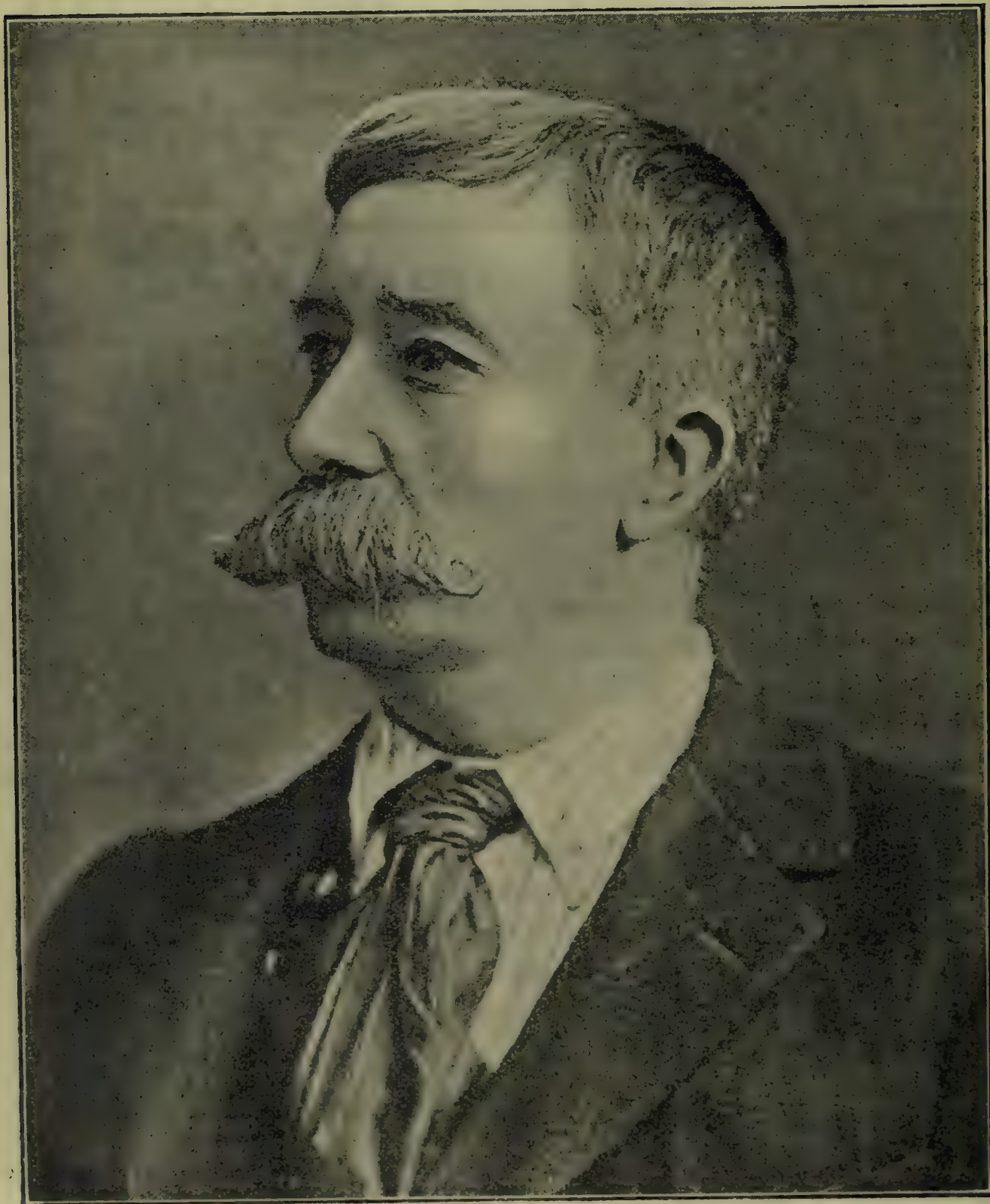
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JIM CONNELL

“The Red Flag”

The people's flag is deepest red ;
It shrouded oft our martyred dead,
And e'er their limbs grew stiff and cold
Their heart's blood dyed its ev'ry fold.

Look round, the Frenchman loves its blaze ;
The sturdy German chants its praise ;
In Moscow's vaults its hymns are sung ;
Chicago swells the surging throng.

It waved above our infant might
When all ahead seemed dark as night ;
It witnessed many a deed and vow—
We must not change its colour now.

It well recalls the triumphs past ;
It gives the hope of peace at last.
The banner bright, the symbol plain,
Of human right and human gain.

It suits to-day the weak and base,
Whose minds are fixed on pelf and place,
To cringe before the rich man's frown,
And haul the sacred emblem down.

With heads uncovered swear we all
To bear it onward till we fall.
Come dungeon dark, or gallows grim,
This song shall be our parting hymn.

CHORUS.

Then raise the scarlet standard high !
Within its shade we'll live and die ;
Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer
We'll keep the Red Flag flying here !

THE Red Flag was dipped on February 14, for the passing of Jim Connell, the author of the favourite song of our world-wide British Socialist and Labour Movement.

Despite the cavilling of our own Bernard Shaw, whose musical acumen should command respect, and the jeers of lesser men, the old song with its German air still holds and is likely to hold the appreciation of the Socialist multitude. When one recalls the circumstances of its original singer and the times and events that inspired him, there is every reason for its popularity among the ranks of those working for social change.

Those who saw Jim Connell in later life could still gather some glimpse of the “wild Irish bhoy” lurking under his broad sombrero and his flamboyant crimson scarf—a hefty fellow with the kindly eyes and ruddy countenance of the lover of the open air and the twirling moustache of a bold, bad poacher, heartily contemptuous of the rights of private property in the little running, flying, or swimming creatures of God's own countryside. Strolling up the Strand or Fleet Street, complete with fowling-piece, he was a figure to be remembered, and was quite a gay surprise if by chance one met him in the Surrey by-paths he knew so well.

The boy was father to the man, and in “The Confessions of a Poacher,” published by Pearson's, at 6d., in the happier days before the war, he told the story of his early adventures among the tumbling streams and wild grasslands between the Slieve Bloom mountains and the Bog of Allan. In that country hares and rabbits scampered by the thousand, the bogs sheltered wild duck, and geese and grouse, and the waters swarmed

with eel and trout and salmon. There, with the other young devils of the village, he learnt the art of what the law calls poaching, spending some of the happiest years of his long life as a farm-hand and shepherd, before, as a stripling of 19, he found his way to the Dublin docks, and thence over the Irish Sea to our English civilisation.

Born in 1852, he was cradled amid the recollections of the Great Famine—a period when even the *Times* said of Ireland: “Property ruled with savage and tyrannical sway. It exercised its rights with a hand of iron and renounced its duties with a front of brass. The fat of the land, the flower of its wheat, its milk and its honey flowed from its shores in tribute to the ruthless absentee, or his less guilty cousin, the usurious lender.” As our old Scots historian, Morrison Davidson, recorded in his “Book of Erin”: “It was the consumption of food by rent, instead of by the people, that produced the famine. All through the famine Ireland was the greatest food-exporting country in the world.”

During the three famine years the starving people paid over £13,000,000 in taxes to the British Exchequer. Cattle, sheep, pigs, wheat, and oats were all exported in plenty. Indeed, Tim Healy pithily remarked: “It was only the potato that rotted. There was plenty of other produce in the country if the people had only eaten it, but they paid their rents and died.”

These memories then were the background of Connell's early years, as they were of many other good Irish men and women who have wrought within our Labour and Socialist Movement for a better day. It was little wonder that the young man joined the Fenians. He served for many years on the Executive

of the British Section of the Land-League, and felt with Michael Davitt and the rest all the blazing wrath the evil treatment of the Irish peasantry evoked. Later in life, at 41, he was caught with the Communist philosophy, but afterwards became more of an orthodox Marxian, and kept contact with the wider movement through the S.D.F.

The generation that has grown up since the Armistice can hardly realise, even if it knows, what a refuge Britain was for oppressed fighters fleeing from Continental countries. Marx and Kropotkin have made notable impressions in our history, and their lives and work are widely known. Less lasting have been the memories of the elder Liebnicht and Edouard Bernstein—the latter happily still alive in the new Germany—both pioneers of their Fatherland's democracy; or Louise Michel, the famous figure of the ill-fated Commune of 1871, who became a beloved friend of many London youngsters; or the numerous refugees from the medieval might of Poland and Hungary. To-day there resides in the London Legation of one of the newer and smaller European States, one who years ago found England a refuge from persecution and, able lawyer as he was, adopted the compositor's craft, and produced by his own hands propaganda pamphlets that his wife helped to smuggle back to their compatriots across the seas.

Even if Mazzini and Garibaldi were successful heroes in the fight for Italian freedom when they were cheered by London workmen in the city streets, on the other hand there was Sergius Stepniak representing the older generation of Siberian exiles, with Volkovsky, Veraigner, and later, Lenin himself, who found these shores a shelter from the tyrannies of the Tsarist regime. These were but outstanding figures of an age marked by struggles for elementary political rights throughout Europe, all reacting to the overbearing and cruel oppressions of decaying despotisms—all men or women "with the light of freedom in their eyes," who found in the limited, intimate circles of the English Socialists and Radicals the only touch of understanding and sympathy in all London's great wilderness.

It may be that Jim Connell's "Red Flag" belonged more immediately to these older times, and that we live in a more educated, a freer, and a more sophisticated age. Yet to pause and recall Tom Mooney, and Sacco and Vanzetti over in the West, tragic inheritors of the tradition that victimised the Chicago

martyrs; our Italian friends, the murdered Matteotti, and Salvemini here in our midst, or their comrades immured in the Sicilian Islands by the once Socialist Mussolini; Gandhi and Lajpat Rai, of the Indian reformers; or the present Menshevik captives in "Moscow's vaults" and the Arctic Islands, as well as others nearer home—to remember these is to realise that freedom's fight is not yet won.

As is now well-known, Jim intended "The Red Flag" to be lilted to the old Jacobite tune, "The White Cockade"; and he was always unhappy about its adaptation to the slower measure of "Tannenbaum." Its strains have swung round the world, however, and wherever Socialists of our kindred foregather it claims to be heard. Usually it suffers in execution because English Socialists sing in chorus as raggedly as they march in procession. It may rest with the new youth streaming into the movement to catch the inner flair of the old "Red Flag" and give its tones the life and ringing rhythm its author first intended.

Some day there may arise a greatly inspired musician who will give the world a choral symphony expressive of the tortures, the trials and the splendid triumphs of the Socialist faith, and in that work the strains of the old "Red Flag" may well resound from time to time, echoing down the years the onward march of the world's workers from ancient slavery to a freedom whose richness we cannot yet conceive.

So in the spirit that moved our old friend Connell, from our proudest and most illustrious to our least significant, all of us, comrades every one, may well salute the memory of the great army of our holy dead:

"These died
Believing in the sun when night was blackest,
And by our dawn their faith is justified."

Vale, Jim Connell!

J. S. M.

CHEST DISEASES

"Umckaloabo acts as regards Tuberculosis as a real specific."

—Dr. Sechehayé in the "Swiss Medical Review."

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—Dr. Grün in the King's Bench Division.

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Readers, especially T.B.s, will see in the above few lines more wonderful news than is to be found in many volumes on the same subject.

Iron and Steel—The Facts

By

TOM MYERS

This article analyses the progress and present position of the Iron and Steel Industry. It is of interest in view of Mr. Baldwin's recent refusal to set up the Royal Commission asked for by the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, "to make a full and impartial inquiry into the industry, and to make such recommendations, whether as regards action by the industry itself or legislative action, as the circumstances require, due regard being paid to all legitimate interests."

IN the year 1880 the United Kingdom produced approximately one half of the world's output of pig-iron, and nearly one half of the world's supply of steel. At the present time the United Kingdom is responsible for roughly one-twelfth part of the world's production in these commodities. The United Kingdom at present holds 11 per cent. of the world's production capacity for pig-iron, and 10 per cent. of the world's output capacity for steel.

For several years past the average annual production of pig-iron in this country has been below the average annual output in the years 1880 to 1890, and 33 per cent. below the 1909-1913 average. On the other hand, leaving out the abnormal conditions which prevailed in 1926, the annual production of steel in the United Kingdom from 1923 to the present time has been 1,000,000 tons per year above the 1909-1913 average.

And even with this upward tendency Mr. Pugh, Secretary to the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, states that for the six and a-half years ending September, 1928, the average unemployment in the iron and steel industry has been 25 per cent.

Pig Iron.			United Kingdom	
World	Production.		Output.	
	Tons.		Tons.	
1913.....	77,900,000	...	10,260,000	
1927.....	84,460,000	...	7,294,000	
1928.....	Not available.	...	6,611,000	

Steel Ingots and Castings.			United Kingdom	
World	Production.		Output.	
	Tons.		Tons.	
1913.....	75,150,000	...	7,664,000	
1927.....	100,000,000 (approx.)	...	9,099,000	
1928.....	Not available.	...	8,525,000	

The war period gave a tremendous impetus to the production capacity of iron and steel in every producing country in the world. New plant was erected and existing undertakings extended.

In the United Kingdom the productive capacity of pig-iron has increased from 11,000,000 to 12,000,000 tons per annum since 1913, while the output capacity for steel has grown from 8,000,000 to 12,000,000 tons per year in the same period.

UNITED STATES.

The actual production of iron and steel products in the United States shows a substantial increase.

Pig Iron.			Steel Ingots and Castings.	
	Tons.		Tons.	
1913.....	30,966,000	...	31,301,000	
1927.....	36,231,000	...	44,400,000	

This represents nearly one half of the entire world output in these products. The average consumption of iron and steel in the United States per head of the population has been double that of leading European countries. This has enabled home demand to keep pace with production. Iron and steel products have been imported in considerable volume.

In 1925 the United States imported 430,000 tons of iron and steel products from Britain, Belgium, and Germany combined. Germany's share of that import trade was three times greater than in 1913, while, Britain's proportion had declined in the same period. The United States has had fairly substantial export trade in iron and steel with Canada and Japan, and to a lesser extent with China and Mexico.

Apart from these countries the United States has not yet been a serious competitor in the world market for iron and steel products.

But with their tremendous natural resources, extensive organisation, and enormous productive capacity, any slackening in home demand, will put American iron and steel upon the wider world market.

GERMANY.

The report of the Economic Conference of the League of Nations says that Germany shares with Britain the greatest relative importance in

European countries in the production of plates, sheets, and constructional steel, and that Germany is the most important rail producer in Europe. The same report states that, "Germany is by far the biggest producer of finished steel in Europe. Its output of finished steel products in 1925 was almost double that of France, and more than 40 per cent. greater than that of the United Kingdom."

The total exports from Germany in 1913 of iron and steel products were 6,111,228 metric tons. In 1926 the exports had reached 4,752,261 metric tons of which 710,000 metric tons came to the United Kingdom.

The extent of Germany's recovery will be noted by the fact that the four areas of Luxemburg, Alsace Lorraine, Saar District, and E. Upper Silesia, which produced 8,402,000 metric tons of pig-iron and 6,750,000 metric tons of steel in 1913, are not now German territory.

Within the present area of Germany the following figures of iron and steel production are given by the Balfour Committee on Industry and Trade.

Pig Iron.		Steel Ingots and Castings.	
	Tons.		Tons.
1913.....	10,730,000	...	11,990,000
1927.....	12,890,000	...	16,050,000

The production of steel was almost to the extent of full plant productive capacity.

FRANCE.

The erection of new factories, the restoration of pre-war undertakings and the addition of Alsace Lorraine has stimulated the iron and steel industry in France. An export trade of 660,748 metric tons of iron and steel products in 1913 had reached 4,253,290 metric tons in 1926.

Of this quantity 750,000 came to the United Kingdom in the form of billits, bars, rails and pig-iron. Imports into France declined.

BELGIUM.

Similarly with Belgium. The expansion in the production of iron and steel has been remarkable.

Pig Iron.		Steel Ingots and Castings.	
	Tons.		Tons.
1913.....	2,450,000	...	2,430,000
1927.....	3,690,000	...	3,650,000

Imports into Belgium of iron and steel products apart from pig-iron are insignificant. But the export trade has increased. In 1926, some 3,761,000 metric tons of iron and steel

products were exported from Belgium of which 1,120,000 metric tons came to the United Kingdom.

INDIA.

The development of the iron and steel industry is very marked in India. The Bengal Iron and Steel Company was registered in London in 1889 to work properties granted upon a lease by the Secretary of State for 999 years at a nominal rental. In 1919 the founders' shares of £1 each were converted into £250 shares out of accumulated profits. In 1919 the undertaking was sold to the Bengal Iron Company to work the same properties. Holders of ordinary shares were credited in the new company with five £1 shares for every £1 share held in the old concern. This company, with the Tata Iron and Steel Company are the principal undertakings. In 1914 some 235,000 tons of pig-iron was produced in India. In 1927 the production of pig-iron reached 1,000,000 tons. It is the cheapest pig-iron in the world. In 1925-1926-1927 over 70,000 tons of pig-iron came into Britain from India. In 1922-1923-1924-1925 over 570,000 tons of iron and steel products were shipped from India to Japan. In 1925 Japan purchased more iron and steel products from India than from any other country. For the financial year ending March, 1914, the production of steel in India was 25,000 tons. In the calendar year of 1926 the production of steel amounted to 360,000 tons. While the total annual imports of iron and steel products into India declined by one-third as between 1912 to 1927, including a decline in the imports from Britain, the iron and steel products sold to India by Belgium and France jumped from 92,000 tons in 1912 to 310,000 tons for the financial year ending March, 1927.

AUSTRALIA.

Australia is also looking to home production as these output figures indicate.

Pig Iron.		Steel Ingots and Castings.	
	Tons.		Tons.
1913.....	47,000	...	14,000
1926.....	442,000	...	338,000

The imports from Great Britain dropped from 288,925 tons in 1913 to 187,460 tons in 1926 under the head of pig-iron, bass, beams, girders, and rails. The drop in rails alone was 120,000 tons. There was a slight increase in the imports from Britain in plates, pipes, and tubes. The *Manchester Guardian Review* states that three British firms, Baldwin's, Hoskins, and Dorman Long, have combined in one company operating at Port Kembla, New South Wales. The

rolling mill was sent out from this country. The imports of iron and steel into Australia in 1928 were nearly one half below the imports in 1927.

OTHER COUNTRIES.

In South Africa a British firm of steel manufacturers has combined with the Union Steel Corporation for the manufacture of tubes from South African made steel.

The production of steel is fostered by bounties from the South African Government. In Japan hitherto a substantial market for British iron and steel products, the industry is being assisted by the Government with a view to making the country self-sufficient in iron and steel. The production of pig-iron, steel ingots, and castings in Japan for 1913 was 476,000 tons while in 1925 the production had reached over 2,000,000 tons. While imports of iron and steel products into Japan show a marked increase during the period, it is significant that Japan purchased from Britain 16,000 tons less of pig-iron and 100,000 tons less steel in 1925 than in 1913. Italy and Spain have increased pig-iron production since 1913. In 1926 Italy had increased steel production by 83 per cent. and Spain had doubled steel output over the production of 1913. Canada appears to be the one country where the production of iron and steel products has declined. At the same time there has been a substantial fall in the imports. Apart from tinplates the bulk of Canada's imports in iron and steel products are secured from the United States. These summaries, taken largely from trade returns, the reports of the Balfour Committee on Industry and Trade, and the reports of the Economic Conference of the League of Nations, go to show that Britain's supremacy in the world markets for iron and steel no longer prevail. The area of production has expanded, other countries are more and more providing for their own requirements. But there is yet a great potential world demand for constructional iron and steel products still to be met.

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS.

Having regard to the fact that the output of pig-iron in the United Kingdom is only just above one half of the productive capacity, and the output of steel only two-thirds of existing productive facilities, and 25 per cent. of the workers in the industry unemployed, the export trade has been fairly well maintained. The exports and imports of iron and steel manufactures thereof, are given in round figures with those for 1926 omitted.

	Exports.		Total Value.	Approx. Price Per Ton.
	Tons.		£	£
1913...	4,969,000	...	55,351,000	11
1920...	3,281,000	...	128,907,000	39
1921...	1,696,000	...	63,604,000	37
1922...	3,397,000	...	60,862,000	17
1923...	4,317,000	...	76,156,000	17
1924...	3,851,000	...	74,534,000	19
1925...	3,731,000	...	68,178,000	18
1927...	4,199,000	...	69,429,000	14
1928...	4,261,000	...	66,801,000	15

The high prices prevailing in 1920 and 1921, prices which were considerably higher than the average index price for all commodities, are likely to have adversely affected overseas demand for iron and steel products, and stimulated the production elsewhere. The comparatively high figures for 1923 are said to be due to reduced production in Germany following upon the military occupation Ruten area.

	Imports.		Total Value.	Approx. Price Per Ton.
	Tons.		£	£
1913...	2,231,000	...	15,890,000	7
1920...	1,007,000	...	29,017,000	26
1921...	1,640,000	...	22,764,000	15
1922...	881,000	...	10,419,000	11
1923...	1,322,000	...	13,773,000	10
1924...	2,429,000	...	22,387,000	9
1925...	2,719,000	...	23,992,000	8
1927...	4,406,000	...	34,038,000	8
1928...	2,896,000	...	24,000,000	8

While these figures of exports and imports convey some little indication of the general run of trade in these commodities, it must be noted that there is a wide difference in the price of raw pig-iron and finished steel. The precise position of the trade relationship can be secured by a detailed analysis of the relative value of different classes of goods passing between one country and another.

SCRAP METAL.

One of the factors of importance to the iron and steel industry is the proximity of the essential raw materials, coal, coke, and ores. The world production of pig-iron in 1925 was 12 per cent. above the 1909-1913 average. In Europe the production of pig-iron declined by 7 per cent. in the same period. In Europe there has been a more extended use of scrap metal thrown up by the war. The consumption of scrap metal in steel production in the United Kingdom jumped from 30 per cent. in 1913, to 50 per cent. in 1925.

(To be continued.)

Liberals and the Bank of England

CAMOUFLAGED AGREEMENT WITH LABOUR

By

T. DUNSMORE

THE Liberal Party is between the devil and the deep sea. It gets into trouble as soon as it begins to move, whether to the right or the left. When Sir Herbert Samuel told "progressive Conservatives" they could safely vote Liberal, because the Liberals were pledged not to use their votes or influence in the next Parliament to install or maintain the Socialists in office, he was obviously venturing a movement to the right. But he found that only half his Party would go with him and he had to come back again at once. His manoeuvre has shaken the confidence of the rank and file, and thousands of them must have come over to Labour in disgust at the attempt to make a deal with the Tories.

It would be entertaining to know what Mr. Lloyd George said to Sir Herbert when he came back from the Mediterranean. The Liberal leader is too experienced in intrigue and bargaining to make such a clumsy blunder himself. In his speech to the Liberal Conference at Yarmouth last October, he was expected to say definitely what the Liberals would do in the next Parliament if they held the balance of power. But he was too wily to commit himself. He talked manfully of independence and dignity and principles, and sat securely on the fence.

The fact is that the Liberal Party has no distinctive policy of its own. It depends for its existence on one man and the money he obtained from Press lords and profiteers in the six years of the second Coalition. And this dependence accounts for the character of the Green, Brown, Tartan, and Yellow Books. With the Lloyd George Fund, the Liberals can afford to employ first-class men to investigate the problems of industry and their analyses of economic facts and tendencies have been exceedingly well done. But they have not had a free hand in formulating a programme. Their research work has been objective, but their policy has had to be determined by considerations of political tactics. They have had to remember all the time that for the continued existence of the Liberal Party they must preserve an appearance of opposition to both the other parties.

In the Yellow Book ("Britain's Industrial Future") there is a characteristic section on the

Bank of England. The importance of monetary policy is ably discussed. And there is a covert criticism of the Bank on the ground that "the control of our credit system, which is wielded by the Bank of England in virtue of its position as our central bank, should be exercised more deliberately and systematically than hitherto with a view to the maintenance of steady trade conditions." This part of the report (page 414) is an obvious attempt at face-saving. They want to blame the Bank for adopting a mistaken policy but they word their criticism discreetly for fear of weakening their subsequent defence of the Bank as a privately-owned institution. But it is clear that they regard the Bank itself as to blame because they say, "it is the aims and objects of the Bank rather than its position or its powers which need modification."

When they discuss the Bank's constitution, they begin, inevitably, by asserting that "we are not in agreement with those who would nationalise the Bank of England, much less our banking system as a whole. On the contrary, we regard the Bank of England as an admirable specimen of the 'semi-socialised' institutions which represent, in our view, the true line of development." Having thus made it clear that they do not agree with nationalisation, they go on at once to propose it. "But it ought to become part of the recognised duties of the Bank of England to regulate the volume of credit, so far as possible, with a view to the maintenance of steady trade conditions. We are clear that for this purpose the Bank of England should in essentials be retained in its present form. *But in the last resort ultimate responsibility for a sound currency and credit system must rest upon the State. If this vital responsibility is to be entrusted to the Bank of England, it should be made evident that the Bank is a national institution, as indeed it is already in all but form and name, and not a piece of private property and private enterprise, such as it actually was in its early days.* If this can be made clear, it will indeed strengthen the Bank, by freeing it from criticism on the ground that it represents a narrow class rather than the whole community, or that it is operating in the interests of private shareholders and is, therefore, capable of being influenced by their special interests. With this object in view we make the following

suggestions as to the formal constitution of the Bank of England, but we do not contemplate that these changes would in themselves make any very material change in its actual means of operation; for it is the aims and objects of the Bank rather than its position or its powers which need modification."

The only fact which this confused paragraph makes clear is that the Liberals propose the national control of the Bank of England. The rest is verbiage to conceal their agreement with the Labour Party, not only on the change proposed but, on the reasons for the change. There is no other point in the statement that they "do not contemplate that these changes would in themselves make any very material change in its actual means of operation." The means would be the same, but they would be used to carry out a different policy. The reference to strengthening the Bank by freeing it from criticism on its constitution is evidently intended to placate Liberal fainthearts and the "progressive Conservatives" to whom Sir Herbert Samuel appealed at Newcastle. The whole passage is typical of the timidity and compromising of the Liberals when they have been forced to recognise the soundness of Labour propaganda.

The Yellow Book does not condescend to particulars of the form which national control should take. The dividends to stockholders would be fixed permanently at their present figure, and profits above this amount would be used in the first place to strengthen the reserves of the Bank. Any surplus not required for this purpose would go to the Treasury. The stockholders, therefore, would draw their fixed interest and have no share in control.

So far as the governing board is concerned, "the Court of Directors, which is at present an unwieldy body, should be substantially reduced in size, and the method of appointment and the qualifications of the directors reconsidered." Presumably the directors would be appointed by the Government, but we are not told whether they would all be bankers and, if not, which other economic interests would be represented, except that apparently the Treasury would nominate at least one director, because "the co-operation between the Treasury and the Bank of England, which has inevitably become much closer than it was in pre-war years, should be expressly provided for in the inner management of the Bank."

In the face of these proposals, hesitant though they are, it is idle for the Liberals to pretend that they do not believe in the nationalisation of the Bank of England. Both Liberals and Tories

make a bogey out of the word, but they both believe in the principle of nationalisation. The Baldwin Government created the Electricity Board and the British Broadcasting Corporation, which are public bodies whose directors are appointed by the Government to ensure that in the determination of policy the interests of the nation shall be paramount. The Liberals do not suggest that the functions of these public bodies should be handed over to private enterprise. They have been forced to realise the limitations of the profit-seeking motive. For the same reason they propose the national control of the Bank of England. They have been compelled by economic facts and Labour propaganda to become Socialists to this extent, though for Party reasons they do their best to conceal their capitulation.

The Labour Party does not propose that the Bank of England or any other highly technical and complicated business should be run by civil servants in Whitehall. The practical operations will always be carried on, as they are to-day, by technical men with special training and experience. But their skill will be used in the service of the whole country, and not in order to make as much profit as possible for shareholders.

The Labour Party's intention is that the control of the Bank of England should be vested in a public corporation with a board of directors composed of representatives of the Treasury, the Board of Trade, Industry, Labour and the Co-operative Movement. We make no attack on the motives or the ability of the present directors. There is no reason to doubt that they use their great powers and responsibilities in what they deem to be the interests of all sections of the nation. Our criticism is that they are not in intimate touch with industry and the working people of the country. Their interests and associations are predominantly financial. The needs of our general trade seem to have been regarded by them as of secondary importance, compared with the needs of London as a money market. The Labour plan is intended to make sure that in the determination of the Bank's policy no one section of our economic life shall have an undue share of influence.

The Liberals will join with the Tories in warning the electors against tampering with the delicate fabric of credit. With the Tories we know where we are. As a political party they believe in leaving the Bank of England alone, although as business men they complain of the rigidity of the Bank's policy. But, so far as the Liberals are concerned, the opposition to

Labour's proposals will be due to ignorance of their own Party's recommendations or misrepresentation of ours, and in either case they can be confounded from the pages of their yellow bible.

The Yellow Book agrees also with the Labour Party in the demand for a comprehensive inquiry into the whole subject of monetary policy. It states (page 416) that "there are sufficient grounds to justify the demand, voiced by Mr. McKenna and others, for a full inquiry into the future regulation of the Note Issue. We consider that it is indispensable that the change should not be made until the matter has been fully and publicly debated." The change referred to was the amalgamation of the bank notes and Treasury notes issues which had not been effected when the Yellow Book was published in February, 1928.

Three months later the Liberals had their chance in the House of Commons to support their own policy. The note issues were amalgamated by the Currency and Bank Notes Act, 1928. On the 14th May, on the Motion for Second Reading, Mr. Snowden moved an Amendment that "this House cannot assent to the Second Reading of a Bill amending the law relating to currency and bank notes, and transferring to the Bank of England the issue of currency notes in the absence of any policy for putting into operation the resolutions of the International Conference at Genoa in 1922, and until an investigation has been made into the constitution, powers and policy of the Bank of England in the light of modern developments in finance and industry."

The Yellow Book endorses every part of this Amendment. On page 413 it says: "We attach, therefore, great importance to the Genoa project of international co-operation." As has been shown, it proposes a change in the constitution of the Bank, and it regards an inquiry into monetary policy as not merely desirable but an *indispensable preliminary* to the amalgamation of issues. Yet only one Liberal took part in the debate and he strongly opposed the Amendment and supported the Bill. In the Division, two Liberals voted for the Labour Amendment, 17 voted against, and the rest abstained; another instance of the complete futility of the Liberals and of their opposition in Parliament to the measures they advocate on the platform.

The hesitations and contradictions of the Liberals on this question will add to their discomfiture in the coming fight. For the general public is no longer content to leave the discussion of banking policy to bankers and economists. Socialist arguments are being reinforced in the capitalist Press. The widespread criticism of the recent increase in the Bank Rate showed the public's appreciation of the fact that the actions of the Bank of England affect every one of us for good or ill, and are nevertheless decided on in secret without even the chance of a full discussion in Parliament. The great majority of the electors would undoubtedly support a proposal for reform. The Tories have no policy. The Liberals are not sure what they want or why they want it. The Labour Party alone has a definite proposal, clear in its principle and sane in its method, and it is bound to make a big appeal to the electorate.

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Rosa Luxemburg

IN MEMORIAM

By

LUISE KAUTSKY

IN 1893, at the Zurich Congress of the Socialist International, a tiny little lady, so tiny that she had to be put on a table in order to be seen and heard, appeared before the assembled comrades as representative of the Socialist Party of Poland and Lithuania. It was Rosa Luxemburg. Small and insignificant in stature as was this 23 year old girl, the violent opposition which her appearance on the platform called forth, more especially from the two delegates of the Polish Socialist Party, showed that she was a person to be reckoned with.

Pluckily, and with a quick wit, she defended her newly-founded Party, whose right to speak at the Congress was contested by many, and, supported by several distinguished comrades, she firmly stood her ground. That was her first public appearance in the International.

At Warsaw, where she attended both the elementary and secondary schools, she had been a member of the secret revolutionary students' circle, and was considered to be exceptionally clever both by her teachers and her friends. At the age of sixteen she had to take refuge in a foreign land in order to escape the myrmidons of the Tsar. She went to Switzerland, and there too she was soon recognised by her professors to be not only the cleverest and most gifted amongst the many Polish and Russian students then frequenting the Swiss universities, but the most competent of them all at solving difficult theoretical problems.

Industrious study soon permitted her to achieve her doctorate, her subjects being jurisprudence and philosophy. In addition to these, politics were a passion with her.

At home, her proud spirit was doubly humiliated and goaded to rebellion. As a Pole and as a Jewess she both witnessed and experienced the horrors of oppression and persecution.

Thence originated her endeavours to emancipate the oppressed and the down-trodden. Because of this she made the struggle against oppressors and exploiters the object of her life. And it was for this reason that from the moment when she began to think for herself the whole of her interest turned towards the Labour Movement, then beginning to develop vigorously in all directions. While a student she took part regularly in the discus-

sions of the Zürich Workers' Union. In the Polish Labour Press, which appeared illegally, she was a most valued contributor, and was greatly feared by her opponents, for her pen was as sharp as her tongue; her style was careful and polished, striking an individual note from the very beginning; the scholarly level of her articles was always high, although she by no means disdained occasional personal attacks. Soon she acquired such a mastery of the German language that she undertook to contribute also to the German Party Press.

After obtaining her doctor's degree she went to Paris to study the French Labour Movement. There she formed a friendship with those tried leaders, Jules Guesde and Edouard Vaillant. Her dream, however was to be able to work in the German Social Democratic Party, which at that time, under Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, led the van in the International.

But how was this dream to be realised? Although the anti-Socialist law came to an end in 1890 in Germany, a Prussian police system of the most brutal kind was in absolute control, and any non-German, more particularly any Russian, who dared to make a stand against the authorities, either in speech or in writing, ran the risk of being hustled unceremoniously across the frontier and banished. So Rosa had recourse to a method much in vogue in Russian revolutionary circles in order to secure the rights of citizenship. She contracted a nominal marriage with a German, and so became a German citizen.

This was the beginning of a glorious period in her life. She went first to Dresden, where she was at once taken on to the "Volkszeitung" there, and introduced into German Party circles.

In 1899 she came to Berlin, and there, too, she was warmly welcomed by distinguished comrades. Together with Bebel, Kautsky, and Mehring she waged a bitter war in the "Neue Zeit," to which she had contributed, off and on, for some years, against the so-called "revisionists," who were endeavouring to attack the old Marxist principles of the Party and to have them revised. At the same time she was actively engaged in propaganda work. Her passionate speeches aroused the enthusiasm of the masses and enraged the bourgeoisie.

She frequently came into conflict with the legal authorities, but it was not until 1904 that she was convicted for the first time and was condemned to six months' imprisonment in Zwickau. After she had been in prison for two months the King of Saxony died, and she received a pardon on the accession of the new king. This made her furious, and she was unwilling to quit the prison because it went so entirely against the grain "to receive a gift from a king"

As soon as she was free, she resumed her literary and propagandist activities, which continued until the tocsin of the Russian Revolution of 1905 rang out. Then she could no longer bear with the "sluggard West"; she hurried to Warsaw, which she had not seen since her early youth. There she worked feverishly in the revolutionary movement, wrote inflammatory articles daily for the Socialist Press, for papers which were constantly being suppressed and as constantly reappearing under new titles, and which were printed secretly, often at the greatest peril. She agitated, too, fomenting the strikes which were flaring up everywhere. After some months she was caught in the act and imprisoned, first in the town prison and then in the fortress of Warsaw.

Imprisonment was unable to affect her in any way. She never complained in her letters and she knew no fear as to her own fate—her one thought being anxiety for the progress of the revolution. Months later she was released, owing to lack of evidence, and went to Finland via St. Petersburg. Here she allowed herself a certain amount of rest from her labours, and in a lonely country house wrote her book on the lessons of the Russian general strike.

Thence she came straight to the German Party Conference in Mannheim, where she was rapturously welcomed. She threw herself passionately into the struggle over the Prussian Diet franchise, which in contrast to the methods of her hitherto close Party friends, she insisted on waging with Russian methods. But in spite of differences with Kautsky and his circle on this matter there was still enough in common between them to preserve their old comradeship in arms.

At Kautsky's suggestion the Party Executive appointed her in 1907 to the Professorship of Economics in the Labour College founded by the German Party. Though the work she had done as author, editor, propagandist and speaker was brilliant, she excelled herself as a teacher. Her students worshipped her, and she was soon the centre of the whole institution. Indeed it seemed as if she had only now found her real vocation. She not only had the gift of expounding a difficult

subject clearly and comprehensively to her students, she knew how to carry them away by her own burning enthusiasm for her subject, so that her teaching was a perfect joy to her students. She discharged her college duties with unabated zeal, yet never failed to attend any congress, and kept up her literary and propagandist activities. Her bold speeches led to many a prosecution, and she never missed an opportunity of crossing swords with the authorities and public prosecutors. Indeed, this always afforded her peculiar pleasure, and her defence in court became renowned.

Yet her bellicose temperament and her enthusiasm for knowledge did not prevent her from being the jolliest play fellow with little children, the tenderest and most understanding friend. She loved art of all kinds and enjoyed everything beautiful in life. Her letters from prison to Sonia Liebknecht* and the correspondence of 22 years with Karl and Luise Kautsky,† all of which have already been published, are evidence of this, and during a close friendship which lasted for 21 years the writer of this article had the good fortune to become acquainted with the charm of Rosa's rich personality in all its many-sidedness.

1914! At a single stroke the whole face of the world was changed. The outbreak of the war had a terrible effect on Rosa's passionate nature, but the attitude of the German Party was to her still more terrible. She went nearly mad with despair, and even thought of suicide. But it was not long before her strong spirit overcame this weakness. She set feverishly to work, and from that moment she looked upon it as her one task to enlighten the masses on the question of the war, and to stir the people up against it. After a few months the military authorities put an end to these underground intrigues. On February 15, 1915, Rosa was confined in the Women's Prison in the Barnimstrasse, Berlin, where she remained until March, 1916. There, under the pseudonym of "Junius," she secretly wrote her pamphlet on "The Crisis in Social Democracy," which became famous under the name of the "Junius pamphlet," and which is a burning indictment against the crime of war. Scarcely had she been released from prison when she resumed once more her active underground propaganda. But these activities were too slow in their effect to please her fiery spirit. She and Karl Liebknecht, who was then on leave in Berlin, were determined to hold a May Day demonstration, and, in defiance

* Published by the Young Socialists' International, 1920.

† E. Laub, Publishers, Berlin, 1923.

of the dangers of martial law, the pair took their stand on the Potsdamer Platz on May 1, and shouted, "Down with War!"

Liebknacht was seized on the spot and thrown into prison. In some miraculous manner Rosa remained free, and escaped immediate arrest; but soon after she was taken into custody by orders of the military, and was again imprisoned in the Women's Prison in Berlin. She was afterwards transferred to the Wronke fortress near Posen, and later to the prison fortress in Breslau, where she remained until the outbreak of the Revolution. Her wonderful letters to her friends from these various prisons show what heroism lay hidden in that weak little creature, who had the opportunity of showing her true character in her high social sense of responsibility, and in her wide outlook. Whilst outside "thrones were falling, worlds were crashing," she worked untiringly at her own further education, and gave as precious gifts to the working class her Korolenko translation, with the wonderful introduction to Russian literature, and her small but valuable work on the Russian Revolution, whose shortcomings she pointed out with a prophetic eye.

Released from prison by the Revolution, Rosa once again entered the political arena in November, 1918, proud and unbroken despite years of crushing imprisonment. Her first steps took her to the Cathedral Square in Breslau, where, in an impassioned speech, she proclaimed the striking of the hour of freedom to an enthusiastic crowd. Then she hastened to Berlin to join Karl Liebknacht, who had also just been released from prison, and to carry on with him the work of the Revolution according to their own particular methods.

She had long since separated herself from her old political comrades-in-arms, and collected new adherents in the Spartacus League, which now set about organising itself as the "Communist Party." But as early as the foundation Congress of this Party, on December 31, 1918, to which Karl Radek, formerly her opponent, had come secretly from Moscow, Rosa made the painful discovery that her followers refused to obey her. She was defeated on the question of participating in the election to the National Assembly, of which she was decidedly in favour. During the following weeks she became only too conscious of the fact that she no longer had sufficient control over the hot-heads in her Party, intoxicated as they were by her own words, to restrain them from many unscrupulous acts which degenerated only too often into political crimes. And so Fate ran its course.

In the streets of Berlin raged the bloody conflict between the Spartacus bands and the old army. The soldiery, brutalised by four years of

bloodshed, looked upon Rosa as the instigator of this horrible Civil War. All the acts of cruelty which were committed were attributed to her and Karl Liebknacht, and a mad chase for her capture began. She dared not return to her home, and passed her nights fleeing from her pursuers. For two weeks she succeeded in evading them. However, on January 15, 1919, the military discovered her whereabouts, and she was dragged out of bed, and brought to the Eden Hotel, the headquarters of the Defence Guard Regiment, which in those days was supposed to protect Berlin from "bolshévisation."

It will never be known what unworthy treatment was meted out by these "gallant" officers to the weak defenceless woman. Not one of them took her part or tried to protect her. She was dragged out of the Council room into the hall, and ordered into a car which was standing at the door. At the very moment in which she left the house, the non-commissioned officer Runge, who had been hired by the officers for the purpose, struck her on the head with the butt-end of his rifle, and she sank to the ground unconscious. In this condition she was carried into the car, and, as she still gave some signs of life, one of the "heroes"—it is not certain whether it was Lieutenant Vogel or Lieutenant Krill—shot her through the head. Runge, who later quarrelled with those who had hired him to do the deed, described the scene in court in all its horrible details.

The murderers, still afraid of the dead woman, threw the corpse into the water by night. Thus the whole ghastly drama was wrapped in mystery, and for a long time Rosa's supporters believed that their heroine would return. It was only after the lapse of several months, when the disfigured corpse floated to the river bank, that they knew that they had lost for ever their best and most self-sacrificing champion. Heart-rending as the manner of her death was for her friends, it was only the logical conclusion of Rosa's self-sacrificing life, which was one unbroken struggle for the betterment and ultimate emancipation of the working-class. For their sake, she had for years bravely, cheerfully, languished in prison, and for their sake, finally, she met her death. Yet it was just the death she would have wished to die, for, as she once wrote to me, "I would rather die in prison or in a street fray than rot away on a sick bed!" If life had already set the stamp of nobility upon her, death placed her amongst those whose names, enshrined in the great heart of the proletariat, will live on for ever in the memory of the workers of the world.

The American Puzzle

MR. J. A. SPENDER'S CONTRIBUTION TO ITS SOLUTION

By

HERBERT MORRISON

PERHAPS the two great countries of the world which are the most difficult for British people to understand are Communist Russia on the East and Conservative America on the West. That it is difficult for the British to understand Russia is not altogether surprising, for, temperamentally, historically, and economically, conditions differ widely.

At first sight it is surprising that it should be so difficult for us to understand America and the Americans, and that perhaps it is correspondingly difficult for the Americans to understand Great Britain. Nevertheless it is of great importance that the two great English-speaking nations should understand each other; for if there is understanding there will be toleration of differences in view, and through understanding and tolerance lies the path to peace.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has recently drawn definite public attention to the dangerous tendencies in the relationships between America and ourselves; one can imagine with what energy and goodwill a Labour Government would set about securing better relationships between us.

The progressive, politically-minded Briton asks himself many questions about America. Why is it that such a young and commercially go-ahead country should politically be so much behind many of the older European States? Why is it that a nation whose President fought for the establishment of the League of Nations so steadfastly refuses to come into the League of Nations? Why is it that a country so efficient in the conduct of capitalist large-scale industry should be so inefficient in the art of national and local government? Why is it that Trade Unionism and, particularly, political Labour and Socialism, have such a small grip upon the American working class? Certainly I am not competent to answer. Even that competent journalist and observer, Mr. J. A. Spender, who has paid two considerable visits to America, is modest and reserved as to the permanent reliability of his own impressions. But he has at any rate written a highly

attractive volume,* which is very sympathetic to America, critical in parts, but always criticism tempered by understanding, and which appears to an ignoramus like myself to ring true.

He gives us wonderful pictures of the American sense of social equality; of the difference between New York and New England, where something is still preserved of the old English note; of the real America in Detroit, including the great works of Henry Ford. Here is a city which has grown from 465,000 in 1910 to 1,534,000 in 1924; although American local government is pretty rotten, there would appear to be a great deal of far-sighted town-planning in operation. Mr. Spender's description of the Ford works is a description of the sub-division of labour reduced to a fine art. The question Mr. Spender puts is: Is it best to have this super-organisation of labour, including the sub-division, the short hours, and clean work, or would it be better to have a greater variety in work, longer hours, and less pleasant conditions of labour? Anyway, right or wrong, Mr. Spender informs us that the tractor section of the works can complete the whole process from the raw ore to the finished tractor in 28 hours and 20 minutes, the output being 1,000 tractors a day.

Mr. Spender goes on to Chicago and its politics, and makes the funny ways of Big Bill Thompson perfectly intelligible; he travels to the Middle West, to California and San Francisco, and from Los Angeles to New Orleans; he tells us much of the beauty of American country; of the speed of American towns; and of the pulsating energy of American industrial life. In America, we are told, it is the business man and not the politician who is the famous character. The American politician is small fry, earning relatively little public regard, but Henry Ford—who creates a vast new industry and cuts and cuts the prices of American motor-cars, who is restless in his search for labour

* *America of To-day*. Published by Ernest Benn Ltd. 12s. 6d.

efficiency—is regarded as one of the biggest men contributing to the American achievement. The truth is that America is so busy pursuing business ambitions, so elated at its business success, that it has little time and little inclination for politics.

The consequence is that the practice of government, nationally and locally, is left to the men of lesser abilities, many of them known to be corrupt, but nevertheless tolerated (until they go just too far) by an electorate which is concerned primarily with its own personal affairs.

The fact that the American proletariat appears not to be a permanent body of the same people—at any rate so far as the native born Americans are concerned—and that the poor man of to-day may be the rich man of to-morrow, in addition to the fact that the working class standard of life—so far as the native born are concerned—is relatively high, is not considered to be conducive to keen politics.

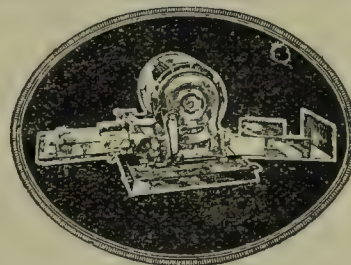
Nevertheless there is plenty of dreariness and poverty in America:—

“It (Chicago) is smokier than London, and on at least two days that I was there was nearly as foggy. The railway runs right into the city and along the shore, belching out black smoke, and factory chimneys seem to do as much as they choose, regardless of the near presence of rich men's palaces and sumptuous public buildings. A not very prolonged tramway ride will show you as much squalor and seeming poverty as anywhere in East London, and in American cities the poor quarters are often worse to the outward eye than in England, and refuse and dirt seem to be more tolerated, and the sanitary services to be less efficient and regular. But with it all the dominant impression is that of wealth and power using itself with a prodigality that is utterly reckless of consequences, and finding happiness and satisfaction in the creation of something new at whatever sacrifice of the old.”

Further, the American constitution, so meticulously “democratic” in its drafting, operates against the development of a great Parliamentary democracy. The President wields the executive power, assisted by Ministers appointed by him; all Congress can do is to get in the way. Candidates for Congress must be resident in the constituency which sends them there. These are typical of

the “democratic checks” which hold back really big men, and are destructive of representative democracy. Further, the United States is the United States; it is a federation of largely autonomous States, the power of the national legislature being relatively small. The territories are vast; this adds to the difficulty of national political concentration. Politicians are nervous; they will never back up a cause unless they are dead sure it is “safe.” The two great political parties not only pursue similar policies, but even pursue no policies at all!

These truths we learn from this admirably written book. At the end of it all we understand the Americans better than we did; we like them perhaps better than we should have done, and we wait in patience for the development of an American political, social, and international consciousness which shall yet make its great contribution to the progress of mankind. Meantime America is busy in business, and has not much patience with an impoverished Europe which (a) wastes millions and millions on armaments and “preparedness,” and (b) appeals for war debt remissions on grounds of poverty.



POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND ENTERPRISE

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The Prime Minister's Next Speech at Newcastle

ON THE ENORMOUS LOSSES OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE CAPITAL

By

R. B. SUTHERS

ON the 24th of January last Mr. Stanley Baldwin made a speech at Newcastle - on - Tyne, when he addressed visible and invisible audiences numbering 12,000 people.

"We are here to-night," the Prime Minister observed, "under the shadow of a General Election." He then made a few remarks about "the deeper earnestness of our people in the face of elections." After a reference to the difficulties under which industry is labouring, he said: "What we have to decide at the next election is what Government is likely to help most, or if you like to put it in another way, what Government is likely to hamper or hinder industry the least. On that issue the different parties who are appealing for your support will have, in the long run, to be judged."

Mr. Baldwin next turned to the Socialist proposals for Nationalisation, and quoted several examples of the alleged failure of Nationalisation abroad, with figures. "I think we may ask," he said, "how they propose to avoid falling into the same pit into which many other countries so far have fallen in making this experiment. The record is nothing but failure and loss everywhere. I think we deserve a little more information about a great change of that kind before we express our approval of it."

Now, since that attack on Nationalisation was made, I understand that Mr. Baldwin has received a good deal of information on the subject of Nationalisation, and its alleged failure. The facts and arguments presented to him have, I learn, so impressed him, that he has made further inquiries into the record of private enterprise, and he intends to divulge the result in another speech at Newcastle sometime in March. By means which I am unable to reveal, I have been able to secure a copy of Mr. Baldwin's notes for this speech, and though I cannot hope to infuse my forecast of his remarks with the oratorical elegancies or the literary flavour which are so marked a feature of the Prime Minister's addresses, I think I shall be able to convey the gist of his retraction.

"Ladies and Gentlemen,—When I was last among you, I devoted some time to a criticism

of the Socialist proposals of Nationalisation. I quoted figures purporting to show that wherever Nationalisation had been tried, it had resulted in heavy money losses. (Voice: "You forgot the Post Office.") Yes, my friend, I forgot the Post Office, and the Beam Wireless, and War Munitions. I forgot quite a large number of things. Please do not ask me to give you a list of them to-night; unless you want to be here all night. I was reminded first of these things I had forgotten by a notable series of articles in the *Daily Herald*. The author of these articles was Mr. A. Emil Davies, a member of the London County Council, and a man of high repute in finance. In these articles Mr. Davies set forth the true facts about Nationalisation in such a convincing way, that I was compelled to conclude that when I made my speech to you, I was a complete ignoramus in the subject.

"Well, I am a wary bird. I keep pigs. So, I delved deeper into the question. Incidentally I may mention that I read a very excellent work written by Mr. Davies just before the war, entitled "The Collectivist State in the Making." By this, and other authoritative information I was brought to see the light. You know I am a plain blunt man, with an abounding reverence for facts. I am no more afraid of turning my coat than is my colleague, Mr. Winston Churchill, who once, you may remember, was almost persuaded that Nationalisation might find him a career. I hope that when he reads what I am about to say, he will come over to Nationalisation with his customary vaulting ambition. If he does not, I fear his future will be one of vain regrets, for I am now certain as man can be, that the doom of private enterprise is sealed. Before very long, Nationalisation in this country will be the ruling principle in industry. For the first time in our history, we shall be a nation, and no longer a congeries of warring sections, each seeking its own profit. But I have said all this elsewhere, and I will now proceed to inform you of some of the facts which finally clinched the matter for me.

"You will remember that in my previous speech here, I made a point of the alleged enormous losses of nationalised industries. I judged all these undertakings by the usual private

enterprise tests of money profits and dividends. I ignored the fact that national undertakings are conducted under a different principle, and are subject to different tests. As my friend Mr. Winston Churchill said in 1918, "It might be wise to run the railways at a loss, if they developed industry . . . and stimulated development." It might be so even if all industries were nationalised, for what you lost on the poultry you would gain on the pigs. Moreover, I found that many nationalised undertakings actually make money profits to-day. I am afraid my friends in Canada will never forgive me for forgetting the success of their splendid State railways, for example. But I was absolutely blinded by prejudice. So much so that I never even mentioned the enormous losses made by private enterprise.

"Of some of these in recent years I ought to have been aware, for my own firm, Baldwin's Limited, has had to cut out deadwood capital to the tune of £3,760,000. Other firms have been in much worse case. It was announced the other day that the Sir W. G. Armstrong-Whitworth Company were writing off losses amounting to over £14,000,000. Ordinary shareholders, I understand, are to receive 1s. for two £1 shares. I think they will look with envy at the Post Office profits made by the nation. Then the Vickers firm wrote off £12,000,000. Dunlops wrote off £10,500,000. British Dyestuffs wrote off £2,840,000. Austin Motors wrote off £1,200,000. Swift, of Coventry, wrote off £160,000. Crosse and Blackwell's wrote off £4,625,000. Palmer's Shipbuilding Company wrote off £1,000,000. Wolseley Motors wrote off £1,000,000. Sheffield Steel Products wrote off £2,000,000. Marconi's Wireless Telegraph wrote off £2,700,000. Really it becomes monotonous, and I am not pretending to give you a full list, but I must mention the cotton contribution to this tale of woe. You may recollect that I gave the cotton firms some good advice a short time ago. Well, some of the over-capitalised firms had already acted in the way suggested, and others have followed in their footsteps.

"I find that according to the Cotton Year Book, 23 companies in 1925 reduced their capital by about £3,000,000. In 1926, 24 companies reduced their capital by over £8,000,000, and in 1927, 12 companies reduced their capital by about £600,000. I am afraid there will have to be many more bonfires of shareholders' scrip if this industry is to be put on a sound basis . . . It will have to be nationalised. (Cheers.)

"Now I want to point out here that when private enterprise companies lose capital, there

is no compensating gain to the community, as there often is in the case of nationalised undertakings. It is not as if the cotton firms were selling cloth at a loss so that the poorer classes might have more clothing, in order to keep healthy, and so save the rates for hospitals. It is not as if you were charging very low fares on your municipal trams, and showing money losses which were balanced by gains in shoe leather, and again, in lower costs for curing disease. No. Capital lost by private enterprise is dead loss. It is absolute waste. Mr. Churchill is a bright youth. I wonder he never noticed this fact when he was exploring the possible advantages of nationalising the railways.

"The writing down of capital is not the only indication of the losses made by private enterprise. There are bankruptcies, and deeds of arrangement, of which official figures are available. In the last report of the Board of Trade on Bankruptcy, that for 1927, you will learn that there were 6,170 cases under the Bankruptcy and Deeds of Arrangements Acts. The total liabilities were about £12 $\frac{3}{4}$ millions, and the assets estimated by debtors were about £3 $\frac{3}{4}$ millions. In the seven years 1921-1927, the total number of failures was over 43,600, and the total liabilities, about £119 millions. Assets estimated £38 millions. I believe the makers of the estimates of assets were optimists. I find, for instance, that in 1927 over 2,000 bankrupt estates were wound up without dividend. We may reckon that in the seven years £100,000,000 of capital was—wasted. Why? Because in the scramble for wealth, which is what private enterprise is, someone must go down. Under Nationalisation, full Nationalisation, there would be no scramble. Industry would be organised. Capital might be lost, we shall always be liable to make mistakes, thank God, but we should lose no capital by fighting each other for the means of existence.

"These bankruptcies aroused my curiosity. I thought I should like to know how much capital had been wasted by private enterprise over a long period, say, 50 years. Of course, when I inquired, the statistics were not to be had. You do not need comprehensive statistics in a disorderly world of private enterprise. However, I came across some enlightening and astounding figures in the 37th General Annual Report of the Board of Trade on Companies. You know that since 1862, when the first Joint Stock Companies Act was passed, an ever-increasing number of firms have registered under these Acts, so that to-day much the greater proportion of industrial capital is Joint Stock Capital. Now, between 1862 and 1927, a period of 66 years, the number

of companies registered under the Acts totalled 242,101. The total nominal share capital of these companies was £10,158,000,000. Ten thousand, one hundred and fifty-eight millions. This is an enormous sum, ladies and gentlemen. I doubt if you can grasp it. Have we then this amazing amount invested in joint stock industry to-day? Ah, no. You must not forget the losses, the bankruptcies, the writing down of share values. Let us look at these.

"In another table I found that the number of companies on the register to-day is 101,931. So that 140,170 have been wiped out in the competitive scramble of private enterprise. Nearly 50 per cent. Is not this an astounding fact? It is almost unbelievable. But do not use up all your gasps of amazement. There is worse to come. How much capital does this so much dwindled number of companies employ to-day? For, of course, there might be fewer companies and more capital. Well, it is not so. The paid-up capital of the 101,931 companies on the register in 1927 was £4,858,000,000. Do you realise what that means? I told you just now that the total capital registered for the 66 years was £10,158,000,000. The difference between the two totals is £5,300,000,000. What has become of it? It has been lost. Wasted. By private enterprise.

"Do you notice that in the 66 years the joint stock companies have lost more than half the capital registered? I believe the real figure is nearer two-thirds, because the capital registered since the war has been inflated owing to the rise in prices. But take what figure you like. Is it not astonishing? Is it not a scathing exposure of the claim (and I used to make it) that private enterprise is the most profitable and the most economical method of conducting industry? Suppose the Post Office had lost half the capital it employs. Suppose one of your municipal electric undertakings, or tramways, had lost half its capital. What an outcry. How the pundits of the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Morning Post* would adorn the tale, and point the moral. And note. These losses of joint stock companies are by no means the whole story. There are the losses of private companies to be added. What they are I do not know. We may say safely that in 66 years private enterprise has lost from one-half to two-thirds of its capital. It is a sorry record, ladies and gentlemen. What a tragic story, for in that huge loss of £5,300,000,000 is hidden the heartbreak, the suffering, and the degradation of

millions of our working people. and I am not forgetting the blind, scrambling investors. I cannot believe that one-tenth of that loss would have been incurred by our industries if they had been nationalised, and co-operatively organised for the service of the whole people.

"Before the war, the whole of our national wealth, I mean the wealth owned privately as well as the national and municipal properties, was valued at £16,000,000,000. This amount included nearly £4,000,000,000 invested abroad. So that our wealth at home was only about £12,000,000,000. Well, you know what kind of a living we get out of it all. It is a poor thing for millions of people, but think. It might have been 50 per cent. better if private enterprise had not wasted that £5,300,000,000. I believe now that it would have been 100 per cent., 200 per cent, better, perhaps 500 per cent. Why? Because, if we had not been scrambling under private enterprise, cutting each other's throats, we should have been free and able to plan the use of our capital to a thousand-fold better advantage. Let me, in conclusion, tell you one more astounding and damning fact. In 1907, and again in 1924, we had a Census of Production. What did it show? I mean the last one. It showed that in seventeen years we had made scarcely any progress. In 1924, with our much increased population, and our greater scientific knowledge, we were only 3 per cent. better off than we were in 1907. Is not that a shameful record for private enterprise? Ladies and Gentlemen, I have finished"

Of course Mr. Baldwin will not finish there. but I really do not feel equal to anticipating his moving and eloquent peroration. However, I think his last word will be—Nationalisation. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

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The Future of the Civil Service

By

E. P. HARRIES, J.P.

(*Vice-Chairman, Admiralty Industrial Council*)

MR. MACDONALD'S recent declaration in the House of Commons, to the effect that if ever he has the chance he would use the British Civil Service as it has never been used before, has roused very considerable interest in the Service. The old, old topic, "What I would do if I were Premier," has taken on a new lease of life. The topic is a very wide one, because each branch of the far flung Service regards the matter from its own particular point of view. But without attempting to traverse the whole of the ground, some of the difficulties that are encountered and some suggestions for future development might not be out of place.

It is unquestioned that the British Civil Service has a very high standard of efficiency and morality, probably the highest in the world. And many of the men who entered the Service during the war left with a very different opinion of it after some years of experience. The Service too, noted with interest that the proportion of "duds" among these temporary entrants was considerably higher than among the "pukka" Service—chiefly perhaps because the new entrants went into "ad hoc" branches, in many cases hastily organised, and not into the regular departments themselves. In any case, most of the war entrants faded away during 1920-21, but those who were retained are among the best officers in the Service.

One of the chief complaints against the Service is that it is "too stereotyped," or "too rigid." It is very difficult to see how this defect, for it is a defect, can be remedied. The Service deals with "blocks" of citizens, and, unlike private enterprise, the establishing of personal relationships with "clients" is not encouraged, at any rate in the lower grades. There is an entire absence of the principle of doing business on a basis of mutual confidence or trust, and every step must be backed by formal authority. Unfortunately, the Acts of Parliament which provide the authority do not allow much pliability. In addition, the Service motto of "catching 'em young," assists in training up the junior officers in the way that their seniors think they ought to go.

The machine has to work, it is said in effect, and so many different officers and departments have to fit into each other that "initiative" can easily be translated into "awkwardness" or "friction."

In some quarters it is urged that more extensive recruitment should take place from outside industry, after the recruits have had ample opportunity of acquiring experience and initiative. This is a suggestion that is always met by a very mixed reception. Most of the "pukka" Civil Servants scorn the idea, for them the only possible entrant into the administrative grades is the Varsity man. This is the candid opinion of highly placed Civil Servants who are not themselves Varsity men, but who have been specially promoted from lower clerical grades.

On the other hand, some Ministries hold the view that more recruitment from outside should take place. This is the view of many in the Ministry of Labour, a department that has drawn very heavily upon direct entrants of every grade, particularly Trade Unionists. In fact, it is generally acknowledged that without a personnel that already understands many of the industrial problems of to-day, this Ministry would be in a very queer street indeed. In other departments, specialised grades are entered by appointment much later in life than is usually the case, i.e., doctors and engineers under the Ministry of Health.

The advent of a Labour Government would, of necessity, considerably increase the recruitment under this heading. The Party is pledged to nationalisation of the mining industry, for example, and no Socialist imagines that any existing department in Whitehall can take this industry over and run it by themselves. Mining engineers, mine managers, coal factors, shipping experts, and many other grades of technicians will be required to run the industry then, as they are required now. Later on, the Government will be able to train their own technical experts, as they now train their constructors and engineers, but for the first few years a very considerable absorption into the Service will be necessary.

Generally speaking, recruitment into the higher or "administrative" grades is from

two sources; (a) direct entrants from universities who have passed the Class I clerkships examinations; (b) special promotion of promising clerical officers into a special "cadet" or "amphibious" class, and from there to the administrative grade. This second source of recruitment has been fairly extensively tried in many departments, but has not proved so successful as it ought to have done. The staff sides of the various Whitley Councils are intensely suspicious of "favouritism," while the departmental chiefs do not look kindly upon the policy of the staff representatives in insisting upon "seniority" as a predominant factor. In the opinion of many of the chiefs, the real value of the special promotion is lost if it is delayed until middle age is reached. One highly placed Civil Servant told me that one result of this is the promotion of the "mediocre senior" instead of the "promising youngster." But as more confidence is reached on either side this little friction should vanish, and it is probable that both sources will be relied upon for many years yet.

A step forward in development, in my opinion, would be the interchange of officers between Whitehall and local administrative bodies, and Whitehall and big business concerns. Thus an interchange of junior officers between the Board of Education and the various Local Education Authorities and vice versa, say for five-year terms, would not only help to modify the traditional "Whitehall" point of view, but would also strengthen the links between those who design the machinery and those who work it. And in the same way, young Treasury officials who have to give, or refuse, "Treasury sanction" to demands from technical departments, would be much more effective if they had a year or two in a big engineering or similar concern. An exchange between the Board of Trade and Selfridges' or some equally important business would benefit both sides of the bargain. The chief stumbling block in giving effect to this suggestion at present is the fact that such service in local government and private industry would not rank for pension. As the law stands at present, superannuation allowances are only granted for such time and services as have been paid for out of Parliamentary votes, or out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom. An amendment of the Superannuation Acts would have to be passed before any such policy as outlined could be adopted, otherwise the officers concerned would lose some pensionable service in the quest for greater efficiency.

In my opinion, the problem of the "dud" is not a very serious one. There was a time, and not a very distant time either, when a "dud" could automatically progress to quite high rank, but that day is gone. Promotion Boards and the two years' "acting rank," or probationary service before confirmation, have gone a long way towards the elimination of the unfit. Each officer is annually reported upon by the head of his department, and is classified either "A" (specially suited for promotion), "B" (suited for promotion), or "C" (not suited for promotion). If the class into which an officer is placed is "C" class, he has to be informed of this fact. The "C" class does not rise above a basic level, and it is not difficult to find routine work that enables them to adequately earn their salaries. The interest that the staff sides of the various Councils take in promotions helps to prevent the feeling that "kissing goes by favour," and the general opinion of the Service is strongly against patronage of any kind. It was probably this feeling that prevented some of the Labour Ministers from bringing in supporters as private secretaries during their term of office.

But even if the "duds" are not very conspicuous, their elimination might be made even more easy by allowing the Treasury to pension them off before reaching the age of 60, with the full pension that their service would entitle them to, without, as at present, making deductions from pension for inefficiency. This would involve another amendment of the Superannuation Acts.

If Labour is going to have its fair share of the Government of this country in the future, the party will have to take a very keen interest in the efficiency and general well being of the Civil Service, for that Service is the instrument upon which it will have to depend for the execution of its policy. At present, in the absence of the "acid test" of the annual balance sheet, the Service is at the mercy of more or less informed "stunts" of the popular Press on the one hand and appeals to "class prejudice" on the other. That the Service can be improved is admitted by every Civil Servant with whom I have been brought into contact. But it must be borne in mind that the standard set by the Service is in many respects higher than the standard that rules in commerce, and that life-long service in the service of the State can be entered into with greater efficiency and higher morality than appertains in ordinary commercial life. This surely is an ideal with which the Labour Movement will not quarrel.

In the "Eight-fifteen"

ROUND THE MUSEUM FOR MUTTS

By

T. S. DICKSON

"GENTLEMEN!" The salutation came with a note of mocking gravity from the Man with the L.M.S. Badge in his Cap as his fellow travellers of "The Eight-Fifteen" settled themselves behind their morning papers.

Half-a-dozen heads jerked past newspaper pages, and shot glances in the direction of the buoyant, sharp-tongued, devil-may-care who thought the only use for Tory heads was to crack 'em. He had been known to declare, at any rate, that one had first to do that before anything could be pushed in. This morning, his studied politeness seemed to presage a change of mind.

"With your kind attention," said he, after the manner of a wax-works proprietor about to display his exhibits, "I shall have great pleasure in introducing to yer notice, a private view of the great Museum for Mutts, which will be thrown open to uncrowned heads, thick-heads, and wood-heads sometime in May or June of this year. Everything will be above-board and below your intelligence, and you can put questions when and where and how ye like. Civility is guaranteed, and absolutely no money will be returned."

Hardphace smiled with tolerant amusement. After all, this was better than the customary hammer-and-tong debate from which he habitually emerged as an hospital case.

"James! throw back the curtain!" This to an imaginary menial who apparently hovered somewhere about the luggage rack waiting the slightest command of the Badge, who had risen to his feet, stuck his right thumb into his vest arm-hole, and extended his left arm with commanding gesture.

"You now behold Group No. 1, presented by Mr. Stanley Baldwin, Prime Minister of this blessed isle, what William Shakespeare called a jewel set in a silver sea, or something like that. It is entitled 'The Horrible and Hawful Failure of State Enterprise.' If you will step closer, gentlemen, you will observe a heap of powdered concrete and rotten timbers, representing the shocking fate of the State Shipping of the United States of America, or in the words of the well-known humorist, 'God's own country.' You will notice, gentlemen, also a similar heap of

rotten timbers, over which a repentant kangaroo is dropping bitter tears into its abdominal pouch, from which its disgusted off-spring has leapt in shame. Why this spurning of its parent? Because the aforesaid and now dejected parent broke all the sporting rules during the war, by interfering with the shipowners' profits in Australia. And now you see the result. Let that be a lesson to you, my lad"—turning abruptly to the Young Man with the Purple Socks—"Never you go and establish a shipping line."

The scornful look of the Purple Socks indicated that he'd never dream of doing anything of the sort.

"Now, gentlemen, now, your keenest attention please. You will observe that in this tableau, there is not represented any private shipping line in America, or Australia, or from London, Bristol, Liverpool, or Glasgow. Why? Easy! Because all the shipping lines what are owned privately have been as prosperous as coffin-makers in a high death rate; their ships have been sailing the seas without ever stoppin' for breath; they've been makin' profits no end; and the shipyards of Britain, thank God, have been hives of merry industry!"

"Rot!" interjected the Young Man with the Purple Socks, "The private shipping lines have been losing money hand over fist."

The Badge fixed him with a stony stare.

"Young man," said he, "you're wrong. If privately-owned shipping had been losing money just like State-owned shipping, honest Stanley would 'ave put them in that group, he would. Anyhow, when a State concern loses money that proves the failure of Socialism: and when a privately-owned concern loses money, that proves the success of capitalism. If you never knew the difference between capitalism and Socialism before—that's it. James!"—another peremptory command to the luggage rack. "The next group."

"This striking tableau, gentlemen, portrays in vivid form: 'The Perils that Await Us,' the word 'us' having special significance for the toiling masses that thrive on 'igh thoughts and low wages. Note that hulking ape with the red-streaked fish eyes, and the mop where the bottom 'alf of 'is face ought to be. That is a symbolic figger of the diabolic Bolshies who killed off the Romanoffs and the Russian

artistocracy, what were spoiling the peasants and the other workers with too much kindness. Note also, that round candy ball he is holding up to that little innocent child, standing with open mouth. Do not be misled. That is no candy ball, gentlemen, but a *bomb*, and it will explode whenever it reaches that innocent tummy, blowing the che-ild to a better land. James, pass the gentleman a handkerchief.

"If you have recovered, gentlemen, cast your tear-stained optics to that smug, and smirking figger, with the dropsical waistcoat. That typifies a Labour leader and Socialist politician. He smiles, and fawns upon that poor, over-worked creature. But where is his hand? Ah, the real point has not escaped you. It is in the pocket of that unhappy man. The lesson there, plain for all to see is, that the Socialists are out to rob the poor, steal their bank balances, and take possession of their property. But they will not be left undefended, thank gawd, for observe the spiritual and lofty look on the faces of those three figures hurrying from the rear to the rescue. They represent the great staple features in the country—rent, interest, and profit. They will not see the country ruined, nor the people despoiled. The gentlemen who posed for these figures, as you may have suspected, are the Duke of Northumberland, the Governor of the Bank of England, and the President of the Coalowners' Association."

"Very funny," cut in Purple Socks again.

"Funny!" roared the Badge indignantly, sweeping his hand towards the imaginary three: "Do they *look* funny? James, if that young man interrupts again, give him his money back—that is, if he didn't creep in below the canvas when nobody was lookin'."

General laughter discomfited Purple Socks, who sank into sullen silence, particularly as he thought Hardphace, the anti-Socialist heavy-weight, should have butted in on the defence. But Hardphace, though pretending to be amused, was obviously biding his time.

"Pass to the next tableau, gentlemen. Here you have a group symbolising what Britain has been and what she may be. A symbol, I may explain for the younger members of this highly intelligent audience, is something what represents something it is different from, and the thing that is different is not the same as the symbol. Having made that clear, look at the spinning wheel revolving, the factory chimney belching out smoke, and that engine sending steam to the heavens. That is industrial and commercial prosperity under private enterprise what 'as made Britain what she is, and those people with the barrows there is the workers wheeling home

their wages. One old man, you observe, is walking alongside a barrow, which is being wheeled by a young stalwart. That is the old man's son, who has come to take the old man's wages home, the load bein' too heavy for the Old Man himself. Having looked upon that picture, now look upon this! This sets forth in plain terms what will happen when Ramsay Macdonald, Philip Snowden, and 'Jimmy' Thomas clamber up into the seats of the mighty. A spider has spun its web on the spinning wheel, ivy runs over the engine and the factory chimney, and there sits the old man, bowed, broken, useless, with a jackdaw building its nest in his whiskers, and him never noticing. Those menacing figures in the foreground are colliers who have been thrown out of their jobs because the State has taken over the ownership of the mines."

"There are a few hundred thousand out of work as it is," said Mr. Hesitant, the Liberal, quietly.

The Man with the Badge looked at him sternly.

"I would have you know, sir, that that group was presented by the Mine Owners' Association, and if anything like that had happened under a Tory Government and the private ownership of mines, it would have been there in the tableau, wouldn't it? If we begin to doubt people's honesty, where are we?"

"James, the next tableau. Here, gentlemen, here, if ever, you see a conception of tragedy and power. It is: 'The Destruction of the Glorious Constitution.' See that ferocious, wild-eyed, reckless mob, swinging sledge-hammers all round them, surging towards that noble building, which you see rearing its proud head in the distance. Come closer, and observe the writing on the stones, 'The Right to Rent for Land We Never Made.' 'The Right to Royalties and Tolls on what other men dig and tear from the Bowels of the Earth.' 'The Right to Live on Interest.' 'The Glorious Right of Getting Something for Nothing.' You can see it is these sacred stones that this raging mob are most bent on destroying. It is these that Mr. Baldwin and his supporters deem the corner-stones of the Constitution, and being well eddicated, they know. But one way, or another, there is the problem set before you. Will these destructive fiends succeed? It seems that nothing will arrest their onward sweep. But stay: between the destroyers and the Glorious Constitution, there stand knights in shining armour. And in the van are Sir Galloper Smith Birkenhead, and his doughty companion in arms, Sir William de Joynson Hicks, who won their spurs defying the Constitution on a bloodless field in Northern Ireland. Both have their blades bared, and

pointed skyward, as if invoking the blessing of hivving. Their mouths are open, as you would expect, and imagination must provide the words. They are shouting 'Onward for the Constitution. It may be attacked, but only over our dead bodies.' Truly, a touching act of sacrifice and devotion.

"James, withdraw the curtain from the next, and most striking group. The brass-plate there reads: 'Presented by the Tory Party in gratitude to the Mutts of Many Generations'; and it's clear, and succinct title is: 'No Class Distinctions: No Class Legislation: No Class Warfare.' There on the left you observe a lovely home, with spacious gardens, and playing fountains. Anybody can have it: there is no barrier against the members of any class. A duke or a docker may occupy it. The rent is the same for everybody, without distinction: it is £1,500 a year. In the middle is the great bank; anybody from the richest to the poorest, can put their money there. On the right, that great emporium packed with delicacies to eat, silks and furs to wear, palatial motors to ride in, aeroplanes in which to fly. Every class in the community has the equal right to buy, there is a legal barrier against none. And now, gentlemen, be upstanding, for I am sure you recognise this

simple, but staunch and manly figger in the front. Mr. Baldwin! In his hand he holds a wallet, bearing the touching words: 'A Gift for you.' It contains the £12,000,000 a year he has presented to every one of the people of this country, without any exception. He looks round with a benevolent smile—you can feel its radiance, gentlemen—he looks on collier and cotton magnate alike, on ploughman and plutocrat, or lord and labourer, and he is saying: 'My friends, without that class-distinction which is the battle-cry of the Socialist, and the peril of the country, I give to every one of you with £40 a week or over, a little tax remission, amounting to £12,000,000. Down with class-distinction, up with equal treatment for everybody.'

"James, withdraw the last curtain. That great building, gentlemen, is a mental institution, the spiritual home of the members of the working-class who vote Tory. James, pass the gentlemen the handkerchiefs."

And as "The Eight-Fifteen" hit the station buffers at Grubtown, he opened the carriage door, and removed his hat, which he waved towards the exit: "Thanking you, one and all, for your kind patronage and appreciation"—appreciation which Hardphace showed by an out-size in gulps.

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DOCUMENTS

Compiled and Edited by

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Secretary of the Research Dept. of the T.U.C.

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LONDON: G. BELL AND SONS, LTD.

THE LABOUR MAGAZINE

*Official Journal of the Trades Union Congress
and the Labour Party*

Editorial Offices : TRANSPORT HOUSE (SOUTH
BLOCK), SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W. 1.

Telephones : VICTORIA 8016-7-8

Telegrams : LABREPCOM, CHURTON, LONDON

SIXPENCE MONTHLY, by post 7d.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION 7s.

LABOUR is still going strong in the by-elections, carrying nearly everything before it. In its four fights at North Midlothian, South Battersea, Bishop Auckland, and Wansbeck, it not only won all four seats—taking two of them from the Tories—but actually polled nearly 5,000 votes over the candidates of the other two parties combined. At Bishop Auckland the Labour majority of 2,918 at the General Election was increased to 7,072, while the Tory only polled just over 3,000 votes out of 25,000. At Battersea a Tory majority of 5,217 at the Red Letter Election was turned into a Labour majority of 576, and the Liberal was at the bottom of the poll, forfeiting his deposit, with a poll of less than 3,000 votes out of 25,000. At Wansbeck the Labour majority of 2,284 at the General Election was increased to 10,786, the Tory poll fell by more than 9,000, and the Liberal only polled about one vote out of every seven. At North Midlothian a Tory majority of 2,147 at the Red Letter Election was converted into a Labour majority of 952, and the Liberal was at the bottom of the poll. The Liberals are whistling to keep their courage up, but it avails them only little. At Battersea, for example, the Liberal candidate said, on the eve of the poll, "The result will be a big triumph for me and the Liberal cause." And he lost his deposit, with less than 3,000 votes out of the 25,000 that were polled! For the Labour Party the results are particularly encouraging. They show that the country is tired of the Tories, and that the much-talked-of Liberal revival is as far away as ever.

IT was rather unfortunate for the Tories that a few days after Mr. Churchill told the old ladies of the Anti-Socialist Union that the country needed a Prime Minister with "backbone," and not one who would surrender when the Extremist back-benchers of his party cracked the whip, Mr. Baldwin himself should have been brought to his knees by one of the very back-bench revolts that Mr Churchill's lively imagination had visualised. And it was equally unfortunate that Mr. Churchill himself should have been the Minister whom the Prime Minister had to throw to the back-bench wolves in order to appease their thirst for blood money. As an example of a Government with "backbone" the Tory Cabinet do not emerge with very much glory from the incident. Originally they had fixed the compensation to be paid to the so-called Irish Loyalists at £400,000. Under pressure from the back-bench Tory Diehards they increased it to £625,000. Under further pressure from the same source they increased it to £1,000,000. And even then the Diehards were not satisfied, and like Oliver Twist they cried out for more.

* * *

IN the early stages of the debate the Cabinet with "backbone" made it clear to the Diehards that they did not intend to surrender another penny or retreat another inch. "Somewhere in the State," said the Chancellor of the Exchequer with great emphasis, "there must reside a principle in the light of which we can say 'No!' when a certain point has been reached," and then he told them bluntly that that point *had* been reached. Noble words were those, but they did not have the desired effect. The Diehards did not turn tail and run away. Instead, they returned to the attack. One of them, Sir Harry Foster, said he was "ashamed of the attitude taken by the Government." Another, Lord Hugh Cecil, said the Government's action was "dishonourable." Others followed in the same strain, and it soon became apparent that unless the Government disowned Mr. Churchill and renounced his brave words they would be defeated. So in came Stanley Baldwin, the Prime Minister with "backbone" (*vide* Mr. Churchill), and in half-a-dozen sentences he threw over his Chancellor, threw

over his Dominions Secretary, both of whom had said "No!" and announced a complete surrender to the demands of the Diehards, giving them a further grant of £385,000. It may be a good thing, as Mr. Churchill says, to have a Prime Minister with "backbone," but it is clear that we have not got one at present.

* * *

THE country is growing accustomed to Mr. Lloyd George's promises. The man who promised to Hang the Kaiser and provide Homes for Heroes in order to get votes, and whose entourage promised peerages to profiteers in order to get money to fight the Labour Party, is capable of promising anything. The trouble is that as soon as his pledges have been produced they are clapped into pawn, and there they remain without any thought of redemption. In the light of recent history, therefore, the electors are not likely, in approaching the consideration of Mr. Lloyd George's recent pledge on Unemployment, to delude themselves with the notion that he is ever likely to carry it into effect. They know him too well. They remember how he hurriedly ran away from the taxation of unearned land increment when the Moneybags "cracked their whip," and how he not only took the legislation off the Statute Book but even gave back to the landlords the money that they had previously been compelled to disgorge. They remember that Lloyd George can break promises as easily as he can make them. But let us pass on to the Unemployment Pledge itself. So many tasty decoctions were dispensed through the Liberal Press in advance of the great announcement that the appetites of the electors were whetted in anticipation of a really dainty dish. It was to be something really new, they were told—the result of four years' preparation, by the highest grade chefs of economic dietary that the resources of the Lloyd George Million Fund could command. But when the pie was opened—what a surprise was there! There was hardly anything new in it at all, and most of the ingredients had been purloined from the Labour Programme as set out in *Labour and the Nation*, and its predecessor, *Labour and the New Social Order*. If the electors really do want these things, therefore, they can get them by

supporting the Labour Party, which, unlike the Liberal Party, has a real chance of securing power to put them into effect.

* * *

MOREOVER, one's confidence in the Liberals' *bona-fides* is not enhanced by the fact that during the present Parliament, when Labour has tried to secure Parliamentary approval for certain proposals similar to those which now appear in the Liberal pledge, the Liberals have either voted against them or have been hopelessly divided among themselves. For example, when the Labour Party introduced its Bill for setting the unemployed to work on schemes of national development, only 4 of the Liberals voted for it, 3 voted against, and the remaining 33 did not vote at all. And when Mr. Lloyd George talks about raising some of the money for his present scheme by "cutting down unproductive expenditure, notably in armaments," he ought to remember how his party in the House has defaulted whenever the Labour Party has tried to get this done. Figures are monotonous, but they can be eloquent. When Labour demanded an International Agreement to reduce armies, only 7 Liberals supported the proposal, 5 voted against it, and 26 did not vote at all. A similar Labour demand in regard to navies was supported by only 6 Liberals, while 9 voted against and 23 did not vote at all. Another Labour demand, on similar lines, to reduce aerial armaments, was supported by only 4 Liberals, while 3 voted against, and 31 did not vote at all. All these facts show that the fine words of the Liberals are wiped out by their deeds. And Mr. Lloyd George's claim to be the one man who can cure unemployment would be comic were it not so tragic, for unemployment's highest point since the war—the only time when the number of workless exceeded 2,000,000—was when Mr. Lloyd George himself was Prime Minister. Mr. Lloyd George's perorations may breathe hope, but his performances spell despair. The hard fact is that when he was in charge unemployment went up to more than 2,000,000. That—and not his elaborately embroidered rhetoric—is the thing that matters. The man who sent up unemployment above the 2,000,000 mark before is not the man to be put in a position where he can work such mischief again.

THE death, on March 2, of Egerton P. Wake, the National Agent of the Labour Party, at the comparatively early age of 58 years, deprives the movement of a devoted and loyal officer. He had held the post of National Agent since 1919, but for twenty years before that he had been serving the movement in various official and administrative and propagandist capacities. He had a wonderful knowledge of election law, and was an indefatigable worker for the Cause. The surprise General Election of 1923—which resulted in the return of the Labour Party to Office—imposed a very great strain upon him, and he collapsed after working night and day and fitting in 200 Labour candidates in ten days. This marked the beginning of the breakdown in his health, and some months ago the condition of his heart became such that he was forced to apply for leave of absence. In his early days he was managing clerk to a firm of solicitors, and he then became successively an Organiser for the I.L.P., a Labour Election Agent, a Parliamentary Labour Candidate, and a member of the National Executive Council of the Labour Party, whilst during the war he acted as one of the Special Commissioners of the Union of Democratic Control. That he was not spared to participate in the coming Labour victory at the General Election is a matter for deep regret. That would have been a fitting climax to his many years of effort on behalf of the movement.

* * *

THE correspondence which has passed between the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and the two employers' organisations (the Federation of British Industries and the National Confederation of Employers' Organisations) has given rise in some quarters to a good deal of ill-natured comment which will probably injure nobody except the people from whom it emanates, and in others to a hasty speculation on consequences which, if it were allowed to pass uncorrected, might do

a certain amount of mischief all round. Those people who assert that the General Council have once again purchased a pup and sold it to the movement at a premium are mentally incorrigible and therefore of no great consequence; it is a different matter when it is a question of dealing with opinions formed with no conscious intention of ill-will but with an imperfect appreciation of facts which require to be accurately and impartially weighed. As it is, there is perhaps too great a tendency to stress the things which might have but did not happen, and to deduce from premises which do not at the moment exist.

* * *

MISCONCEPTIONS were very much in evidence in much of the comment that appeared on publication of the employers' letter, though that document did not anywhere contain any of the implications which it was sought to read into it. The Confederation and the Federation may have been thought to have exhibited rather too much self-consciousness with regard to their respective representative capacities, nor can it be claimed that their attitude warranted an easy-going optimism with regard to the future; on the other hand it did not justify either the howl of execration which arose from certain critics of the proceedings, or the groan of dismay which was heard in other directions. The two employers' organisations evidently understood, at any rate, that public opinion was expecting something more from them than a blank negation of the proposals put forward by the Melchett-T.U.C. Conference, and it would be unfair to assure that their offer to meet the T.U.C. and give a full explanation of their attitude was not made in perfect good faith.

* * *

STILL less should there be any mistake about the position of the General Council, whose reply to the proposal of the employers was a model of plain dealing;

the salient passages of their letter are as follows :—

Your decision that you cannot accept the interim report of the Conference on Industrial Reorganisation and Industrial Relations is greatly regretted, but the Council are desirous of hearing your explanation of the difficulties in this connection and of the obstacles which stand in the way of consultation through a National Industrial Council. The Council would then consider whether, in the light of the proceedings at this Conference, further steps could usefully be taken.

It seems difficult to believe that anybody should have expected or desired the General Council to send, instead of this sensible communication, some form of declaration of war or, at any rate, some general anathema which the enemies of the movement would, of course, have seized upon jubilantly as plain evidence of duplicity and evil intent. The General Council have no reason to fear the criticism that has been levelled against them; the manifest approval which their actions have received from the rank and file are a satisfactory indication of the strength as well as the propriety of their conduct.

* * *

THE weakness of the anti-Socialist case is responsible for some curious economic arguments, some of which are sufficiently ingenious to impose on anybody under the age of 14. Thus a section of the capitalist Press is seeking eagerly to prove that the accumulation of large individual fortunes is good for everybody, and that the down and out, forced to brave the rigours of a winter's night on the Embankment, might find the temperature a thought less bearable if he were not able to comfort himself with the contemplation of the superfluities enjoyed by those of his fellow-men who had more money than they could reasonably handle. In the gossip columns of the same papers appear accounts of freak parties—only

distinguishable from orgies through the discretion of the gossip-mongers—at which the denizens of Mayfair vie with one another in lavish, undignified (to use an extremely mild term), and perfectly pointless expenditure. And this, too, we are told, is good for the country at large, because “it makes employment.” If that argument holds, the remedy for dealing with unemployment is simpler than even Mr. Lloyd George supposes.

* * *

THE fact is that with the approach of the General Election the capitalist parties are growing nervous at the indications that the nation is growing tired of the excuses made for the greed and folly of the super-rich, and that even the smuggest suburbanite begins to wonder whether the people whose antics are so lusciously described in his morning paper deserve the high consideration which for reasons, of which everybody is aware but nobody can explain, he has hitherto been so willing to accord them. So the capitalist Press begins to produce stories of slum children who have risen to affluence, of working men and women who have left “fortunes” (anything approaching £1,000 is reckoned as a “fortune,” as indeed it is, when a member of the working class is concerned—the same amount spent on an orgy in Mayfair would barely entitle the affair to mention by a Press gossip who knew his job), of the presentation of long service medals to aged employees by benevolent employers, and of all sorts of little chirpy happenings designed to prove that the lot of the worker is not only a peculiarly happy and fortunate one, but that it could hardly be happier, and is, in any case, preferable to that of the capitalist who hardly knows where his next million is coming from. The capitalist parties may be weak on the serious side of propaganda. When it comes to bunk they are in their glory, and not the less so for the fact—of which they alone seem to be unaware—that they have been finally and thoroughly found out.

James Hammett

THE TOLPUDDLE MARTYR

By

W. G. HALL

The illustration accompanying this article is a reproduction of the Address presented to James Hammett in 1875. The original was given to Mr. Guppy, of Charminster, by James Hammett's son, now dead. Mr. Guppy recently presented it to Mr. George Gibson, General Secretary of his union, the National Asylum Workers. It is reproduced here by the courtesy of Mr. Gibson.

INTEREST in the courageous stand made by the Tolpuddle martyrs for the right to combine in lawful association was aptly revived two years ago when a contemporary picture of one of the great demonstrations against their conviction was presented to the Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald, in trust for the Labour Party. Now, interest is again aroused in this tragic page in working-class history by the news that the original Address presented to James Hammett (one of the six who suffered) still exists and is actually in the possession of a well-known Trade Union leader.

The story of the Dorchester Labourers and their scandalous conviction was told at length in the September, 1927, issue of this magazine. For a circumstantial account, therefore, of the events which led up to their apprehension, trial and sentence, that article should be consulted. Here are given further details that should prove of interest to this generation. They carry the narrative forward to 1875, the year in which this Address was presented.

It will be remembered that in 1833 the wages of agricultural workers in the Tolpuddle area had dropped from 9s. to 8s. a week, in spite of the promise of the farmers to pay 10s. a week. The men had appealed to the local justices but were told that "they must work for what wages the masters thought fit to give them." To prove how true this was the masters immediately reduced wages to 7s. and threatened a further reduction to 6s. a week. The men had heard about trade unions. On September 7 had not the General Trades' Union (afterwards to become the Grand Consolidated National Trades Union), been established with a great flourish? Combination seemed their only hope. Accordingly, in October, two delegates visited the village and a union was formed.

On February 21st (1834), a notice was issued by the magistrates, and posted in conspicuous places, threatening workmen with seven years' transportation if they joined a union. George Loveless read the proclamation and says, "This

was the first time I had heard of any law being in existence to forbid such societies." This notice was, in fact, illegal; the Combination Laws had been repealed eight years before. Three days later Loveless, his brother James, Thomas and John Stanfield, James Brine, and James Hammett were arrested and marched the seven miles into Dorchester where they found the justices awaiting them. Their trial on March 15 was a farce. Asked if they had anything to say before sentence was passed, George Loveless, speaking for all, said: "We have injured no man's reputation, character, person or property; we were uniting together to preserve ourselves, our wives and our children from utter degradation and starvation. We challenge any man, or number of men, to prove that we have acted, or intended to act, different from the above statement." As the judge (Baron John Williams), was about to pronounce sentence one of the counsel rose and protested that "not one of the charges brought against the prisoners had been proved, and that a great number, including himself, were profoundly dissatisfied." In committing them to seven years' transportation across His Majesty's high seas the judge said that "It is not for anything you have done, or intended to do, but as an example to others, I consider it my duty to pass sentence"; which showed that though he might agree with the substance of counsel's protest he knew what the Government required of him and was not going to allow such small considerations as law and justice to stand in his way.

The prisoners were immediately hurried to Portsmouth for exportation, and were taken at once to the smith's shop to have irons riveted on their legs. We are told that when they saw the hulks, the stripped men, and heard the continuous clanking of their chains, the spirits of the new convicts drooped. No wonder. A voyage to the other side of the world at that time, and under such conditions, was a terrible experience.

Needless to say an agitation was at once begun for their release. Money was raised, petitions were signed and demonstrations organised. The greatest of these demonstrations was the one held on April 21, 1834, in Copenhagen Fields, Islington—the story of which has been told already in these columns. In May the Government gave way and Lord John Russell announced in the House that “Orders had been forwarded that the Dorchester Unionists were not only to be set at liberty but also to be sent back to England, free of expense and with every comfort.”

The astounding sequel is that this Liberal Government, which owed its existence to the Reform Act of 1832, won for it by the masses who were still excluded, took no steps to see that the men were informed of their pardon. Loveless, indeed, asserts that the Home Government ordered that they were to be treated with severity and were to be worked in irons on the roads. It is certain that upon their arrival in Van Dieman's Land some of them were put to work with the chain-gangs.

James Hammett, in whom we are more particularly interested here, was sent to work for a settler in the interior. In the speech he made at Briants Puddle, when this Address was presented to him, he told how, on arrival, he was sold like a slave for £1. The convicts' names were written on slips of paper and the agents drew lots, each man being paid for at the rate of £1. The agent who drew Hammett gave him the name and address of his master and sent him off to find him 400 miles up-country. With meagre rations, sufficient to last only 22 days, he was told to inquire his way as he went, and to sleep where he could. Hammett also told the same meeting that one of the first things he witnessed out there was “A stripped convict strapped across a barrel and there given 75 lashes—a lesson,” he says, “not to be forgotten.”

In the autumn of 1836, two and a-half years after Lord John Russell's statement to Parliament, Loveless, quite by chance, came upon an old copy of the London *Dispatch* which, luckily for him and his companions, contained the announcement that a free pardon had been granted them. This was the first intimation he had, though his whereabouts was not known to the Governor, who, later, pleaded this as the reason for not communicating with him. Even then his troubles were not at an end; delays and difficulties were put in his way, and it was not until June, 1837, that he landed back in England—three years and

one month after freedom had been granted. Of John and Thomas Stanfield and James Brine, not so much is known, except that, when they did get away from the colony, they went to Canada, where they prospered. James Loveless is also said to have gone to Canada. If he did he must have returned later for he is mentioned as speaking during the '70s at one of Robert Arch's meetings. What is certain is that James Hammett, then growing old, spoke with Arch. The fire that had been kindled by Arch “in the flickering light of the lanterns that shone on faces gaunt with hunger and pinched with want,” under the old chestnut tree at Wellesbourne, in 1872; that would, as Arch said, “catch on and spread and run abroad like sparks in stubble,” was bound to draw Hammett. In Robert Arch and his agitation he found a kindred spirit and work that he loved.

Further persecution followed and labourers were evicted from their homes. This is borne out by references in the Address. James Hammett, however, had a cousin who, when this persecution was at its height, bought a field and built twelve cottages upon it so that “the tenants could go to chapel and have a union if they wished.” The little Wesleyan Chapel, where these martyrs worshipped, still stands, and, until recently, a Miss Hammett, second cousin to James, was a leader there. Seventeen years ago a memorial to the Dorchester men was erected at its entrance. It was unveiled by the Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson in 1912.

The Dorsetshire labourers, remembering that it was under a Liberal Government that the six had been transported, had no cause to love that party. The scathing reference to the Whigs in the Address is, nevertheless, surprising. For at that time there was no Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress and many workers were completely under the influence of Gladstonian Liberalism. A reason for the gibe, however, is to be found in the fact that though the Liberal Trade Union Act of 1871 gave unions legal recognition for the first time in history, the Criminal Law Amendment Act, by the same Government in the same year, largely nullified its provisions. It was left to Disraeli, in his 70th year, following Gladstone's Administration “of extinct volcanoes,” to undo the damage by his Trade Union Act of 1875. Trade Unionists have, of course, since been robbed of the benefit of this and other Acts of Parliament by the Tory Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act of 1927.

Address
To
Mr. James Hammett

Dear Sir

We the Members and Friends of the National Agricultural Labourers Union are desirous of testifying to the esteem and regard in which you are held by us as one of the Early Martyrs to the Cause of Unionism...

We are glad of the opportunity which this day affords us being the forty first anniversary of your most unjust and cruel conviction at the Dorchester Assizes. of offering you some small token of the appreciation that we feel for the efforts that you then made towards improving the condition of your starving fellow creatures and of our disgust at the sufferings that you and your comrades had in consequence to endure.

Many of us are your neighbours and are desirous of joining in this address in testimony to the upright life that you have led during the many years which have elapsed since your return to your own country, whilst others who are now fighting the battle of humanity and righteous combination in different parts of the Kingdom unite to do honour to one who was called upon to endure experiences so painful when contending for the self same principles.

We congratulate you on having lived to see the day when thousands of your fellow labourers in Dorsetshire and hundreds of thousands throughout England are united together to resist oppression and to obtain their just rights in societies identical for all practical purposes with that you in vain tried to establish forty years ago in Tolpuddle.

We know full well in this country that the days of oppression are not yet over and that we have many a battle to wage in the future. The merciless evictions for the crime of Unionism on the estates of Mr J C Mansel Pleydell, Sir Richard Gros and others show that the same cruel spirit of violent intolerance towards their humbler neighbours yet lives in our midst. But we also know that events are all marching on in our favour that our cause is daily growing in strength and numbers and that not even a Whig Ministry dare now to repeat the conduct of which they were guilty in 1834.

It is said that the blood of the Martyrs is the seed of the Church and we also feel that the cause of Union the cause of true humanity was hastened and gained strength by the outrageous penalties inflicted upon you and your comrades.

In conclusion we would assure you that it is our earnest prayer that you may live to see many more and far greater blessings won by the action of the Labourers Union for the Villagers of your native County than those which have been already gained, and we are confident that your Memory when it shall please the Great Father in the perfecting of His plans, to call you to himself will live in the hearts of our children's children not as a felon but as a Noble Pioneer of the righteous movement in which we are one and all toiling 1875

A Diary of Parliament

January 29.

Secretary for Mines, in reply to Mr. Shinwell, said that trading loss in the coal industry during 1928 was 1s. per ton of coal disposable commercially, and that average royalties payable on coal at September 30, 1928, was 6.09d. per ton.

January 30.

Minister of Labour, in reply to Commander Kenworthy, admitted that old people of 65 were having unemployment pay taken away although they were not being given an old age pension in exchange, but said he had no information as to the number affected.

January 31.

President of the Board of Trade, in reply to a Tory M.P.'s question, said: "The best way to help British workers is to buy British goods." But the First Lord of the Admiralty, in reply to another question, admitted that 80 per cent. of the work in connection with a contract for crushing machinery for the Singapore Naval Base is being done in U.S.A. and Belgium, and only 20 per cent. in this country.

February 4.

Minister of Health, in reply to Mr. Campbell Stephen, said that up to the end of 1928 the contributions paid in to the Contributory Pensions Scheme, for England and Wales, were £30,393,000 from the employers and £29,050,000 from the workers, together with £11,000,000 from the Exchequer. Total contributions are therefore about £70,000,000. The total amount paid out to beneficiaries, he added, was only £32,048,000.

February 5.

Secretary for Mines stated that the average net pithead selling price of coal raised in Great Britain during the years mentioned was: 8s. 2d. per ton in 1910 and 1911; 9s. 1d. in 1912; 10s. 2d. in 1913; 26s. 2d. in 1921; 17s. 8d. in 1922; 18s. 10d. in 1923 and 1924; 16s. 4d. in 1925; 19s. 7d. in 1926; 14s. 7d. in 1927; and 12s. 10d. in 1928. It will be seen that since 1924 there has been a reduction in price of nearly one-third, but that unemployment has nevertheless increased by leaps and bounds.

February 6.

Ministerial replies disposed of the Tory suggestion that there were three mines where miners were refusing to work.

With regard to the Wrexham pit, the Minister of Labour said, "It was a matter of some of the lower grade workers, of whom it was difficult, as short time was being worked, to get a sufficient supply in the locality, and I do not think the questions of unions appears in it at all."

With regard to the North Nottingham pit, in reply to Commander Kenworthy's question, "It is not a question of the unemployed miners being unwilling to work?" He said, "Not to my knowledge."

With regard to the Nine Mile Point Colliery, Monmouthshire, in reply to Mr. Tom Shaw's question, "May I ask whether there is any evidence at all that in South Wales there is a body of men out of work who are not willing to work?" He said, "I have got no evidence of the kind."

February 12.

Home Secretary, in reply to Mr. Arthur Greenwood (Labour), said that Government had decided not to hold the Boards of Guardians elections which would normally begin on March 1, as the Local Government Bill would

become law before the present guardians went out of office, and under that measure no further elections of guardians are to be held.

Minister of Health, in reply to Mr. Arthur Greenwood, declined to recommit Clause 49 of the English Local Government Bill, in order to bring that clause into harmony with the Scottish Bill as regards the payment of expenses to county councillors (this being sanctioned in the Scottish Bill).

February 13.

Secretary for Scotland, in reply to Commander Kenworthy, admitted that at Buckie on February 8, 1,000,000 herring had to be taken out and dumped in the sea, owing to a ban placed on further landings by an exporters' and fish curers' committee. Commander Kenworthy suggested that further gluts of fish should be bought by the Distress Committee for distribution in the distressed areas.

February 14.

Minister of Health, in reply to Mr. Robert Morrison (Labour), declined to extend the de-rating provisions of the Local Government Bill to hospitals.

Chancellor of the Exchequer, in reply to Mr. Taylor (Labour), said he was fully informed beforehand of the rise in the bank rate to 5½ per cent., but the assent of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to movements of the bank rate is not required by law or custom.

February 18.

English Local Government Bill read a third time, after Labour's amendment for its rejection had been negatived. Liberals were divided, as usual; 5 voted for the Bill, 20 against, and 19 did not vote at all.

February 19.

Mr. Baldwin surrendered to the Tory "diehards" over the question of compensation to the Irish Loyalists. The grant had already been increased from £400,000 to £625,000, and then to £1,000,000 under pressure from the "diehards," but now they wanted still more. The Government put up Mr. Amery and Mr. Churchill to say that no more could be given, but after the "diehards" had rebelled, Sir Harry Foster saying that he was "ashamed" of the Government's action, and Lord Hugh Cecil describing it as "dishonourable," Mr. Baldwin entered the House, threw over his Ministers, and surrendered. Had he not done so the Government would have been defeated.

President of the Board of Trade admitted that British exports to Russia during twelve months ended September, 1928, were only £4,793,000, as compared with £10,295,000 during the previous year. The exports from Germany, U.S.A. and France to Russia had all increased considerably during the same period.

February 20.

Asked by Mr. Taylor (Labour), whether he had any statement to make on the question of Anglo-Russian relations, the Foreign Secretary said, "No."

February 25.

In reply to Mr. J. Batey (Labour), the Financial Secretary to the Treasury said that as a result of the Government's Economy Act passed in 1926, the "saving" to the Exchequer in reduced grants to the Unemployment Insurance Fund had amounted to £14½ millions up to March 31 next. Mr. Batey remarked that the debt on the Unemployment Fund is increasing, and that this amount would have helped to wipe it out.

The End of the De-Rating Debates

THE debates on the English Local Government Bill in the Commons have ended. The measure has received its Third Reading by the usual overwhelming Tory majority, and it has now gone down to the Lords for the customary formalities there. Every Labour Member present in the House voted against the Bill, but the Liberals, as usual, did not know what to do. Five of them voted for the Bill, twenty voted against, and nineteen did not vote at all.

The final debate took place on February 18, and following the Minister of Health's motion for the Third Reading, Mr. Arthur Greenwood moved the Labour Party's reasoned amendment for the rejection in the following terms:—

"This House declines to assent to the Third Reading of a Bill the most important provisions of which have not received adequate Parliamentary discussion, and which, purporting to stimulate trade, secure reforms in local government, and regulate the financial relations between the State and local services, ignores the fundamental remedies for trade depression, and is unacceptable to local authorities on account of the confusion it will create in the realm of local government, its failure to accept national responsibility for burdens wrongfully imposed locally, its provisions for relieving some ratepayers at the expense of others, and the effect it will have in degrading the standard of the social services and crippling their development through the impoverishment of local resources, and a system of State grants based upon a false national economy."

As the amendment points out, many of the most important provisions of the Bill have not received adequate discussion owing to the Government's action in chopping off the debates under the guillotine, and the measure is passing on towards the Statute Book with many anomalies, inadequacies, and injustices unremoved.

The Government definitely refused to accept the proposal of Mr. Robert Morrison, M.P. (Labour) and extend the remission of rates to hospitals, but they equally definitely turned down an amendment to delete the breweries and distilleries and tobacco factories from benefit. As the Bill now stands, therefore, these establishments will get relief, but the hospitals will not.

Moreover, whilst the producers of beer are to get relief, the grants for the provision of milk and other maternity and child welfare services are to be imperilled by the substitution of a block grant, based on last year's expenditure, for the pound-for-pound grant which the Treasury has paid to local authorities in aid of these services hitherto.

Much of the £24,000,000 which is being distributed in de-rating is to be frittered away

on industries which stand in no need of it, and it will achieve no substantial economic results.

On the other hand, the £3,000,000 a year which is being given to the coal industry is no more than a spot in the ocean, for the industry is losing at the rate of £13,000,000 a year.

The freight relief on exported coal will operate as a British state subsidy to the foreign manufacturers who are now competing with British producers, inasmuch as the foreigners will get their coal carried at the subsidised rate, whereas the British manufacturers will have to pay in full.

On the Local Government side the measure is riddled with loopholes. It abolishes the Boards of Guardians, but it does not abolish the bad old Poor Law system. In fact, it merely perpetuates it, and all it does is to transfer its administration from local bodies, on which Labour was able to obtain representation, to remote County Councils to which it is almost impossible for Labour members to secure election, especially as the Government have refused to extend to the English County Councillors the payments for expenses, which they have included in the Scottish Bill.

Many of the local authorities are going to lose heavily. They have no guarantee that the sum of money they lose by de-rating will be made up to them by the Exchequer grant. A Labour amendment to secure that the precise amount which they lost by de-rating was reimbursed to them by the State, was rejected by the Government, Mr. Chamberlain admitting that this amendment, if accepted, would wreck his scheme.

As a result of the reduced rateable value and the reduced yield of the rate consequent upon de-rating, local authorities will have to levy a commensurately increased rate poundage in order to meet any increase of expenditure that they incur in future, and for the majority of them such increased expenditure will be inevitable unless the social services are cramped to the detriment of the people.

What the Government ought to have done, as Labour pointed out during all stages of the debates, was to lift the burden of relieving the cost of unemployment off the shoulders of the local authorities and place it on the National Exchequer. That would have lifted the biggest weight from where it was bearing heaviest, and would not—as the Government's scheme is doing in many cases—have taken more off wealthy seaside resorts than it is taking off hard hit industrial areas.

Tory Government Admits that State Enterprises DO Pay

THERE are none so blind as those who will not see. And Mr. Baldwin is just now applying the telescope to his blind eye as dexterously as ever did Horatio Nelson before him.

Despite the fact that one State department after another is issuing carefully audited accounts which show that various State enterprises connected with Mr. Baldwin's own Government are earning big surpluses for the community, Mr. Baldwin himself is ranting and raging from the public platform over what he calls the "failure" of Nationalisation. The facts with regard to these State enterprises are so clear that they speak for themselves.

Only a few days ago, on February 19 to be precise, the Postmaster-General informed Sir Harry Brittain, M.P., in the House of Commons that he expected the combined postal services for the current year to show a profit for the Exchequer of £8½ millions; and a few weeks previously his Department issued the annual Post Office Commercial Accounts which showed that during the year 1928 the surplus was over £7½ millions. Moreover, during the past six years the aggregate surpluses had amounted to £35 millions, in addition to the interest that had been paid on capital, the yearly surpluses being as follows:—

Year.	Surplus.
1923	£4,450,245
1924	5,291,022
1925	5,429,594
1926	6,667,882
1927	5,787,598
1928	7,570,348

On February 14, in the House of Commons, the Assistant Postmaster-General admitted that for the nine months from April 1 to December 31, 1928, the State Beam Wireless Service was able to show a credit balance of £152,000 on its accounts, on gross receipts of £358,000. So that, although depreciation has not yet been charged against the figure mentioned, the Service is earning profits on a very satisfactory scale indeed, in addition to having brought down the prices of inter-Imperial communication.

During the last few weeks, over the signature of H.M. Comptroller and Auditor-General, the 1927-1928 Accounts have also been issued in connection with the State Printing Works

managed by H.M. Stationery Office. These show that during the year—

The State Printing Works made a profit of £96,484 for the community.

They paid out of their surplus £75,000 to the National Exchequer, and

Altogether they have now paid to the Exchequer out of their surpluses the sum of £285,000.

The Comptroller and Auditor-General, in his accompanying notes, points out that:—

1. Depreciation on all the plant has been properly charged before calculating the profit.

2. Interest has been paid on capital.

3. The stock on hand has been valued at the present market price.

4. The prices which the State Printing Works have charged to the various Government Departments for printing are those which would have been payable had the various "contracts" been allotted to the lowest private satisfactory tenderer at his tendered price.

He adds: "I certify that this account and balance sheet are properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the transactions and affairs of the undertaking."

A further example is provided by the Accounts of the Army Bakeries, which have just been issued, and which show that bread is produced at just over 1½d. per lb., after all ingredients, labour, supervision, clerical services, fuel and power, rents and other expenses have been charged. And against this State-produced 4lb. loaf which costs 6d., the 4lb. loaf baked by private enterprise for the civilian population, according to the statistics in the February *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, costs 8½d.

By way of contrast from these examples of the success of State enterprise, we have the miserable failures of private enterprise to manage many of our industries and undertakings. The Secretary for Mines told the House of Commons on January 29, that the British coal industry lost 1s. a ton on all the coal raised during 1928; the article by Mr. T. H. Richardson in last month's *Labour Magazine* showed that the cotton industry has lost £50 millions during recent years; and the 72nd Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom, issued a few weeks ago by the Board of Trade, showed that during 1927, the latest year mentioned, there were 4,314 bankruptcies in England and Wales alone, involving deficits of nearly £7 millions.

Before Mr. Baldwin says any more about the failure of State Enterprise and the success of Private Enterprise, therefore, he would be well advised to study the facts.

C. E. L.

The Labour Party and the Contributory Pensions Act

A REPLY TO TORY PROPAGANDA

THE statement is now being freely made on Conservative platforms that Labour Members of Parliament voted against the granting of pensions for widows, etc.

This is untrue. The Labour Party voted against the second reading of the present Government's scheme of pensions on account of its deficiencies and anomalies.

It will be helpful to recall the actual facts. On May 18th, 1925, the second reading of the Bill was moved and the following reasoned amendment was submitted by the Labour Party, and had the support of all Labour Members present at the Division:—

That this House, while it would welcome a just and generous scheme of widowed mothers' and orphans' pensions, with a reduction of the age of qualification for old age pensions and the removal of the means limit, declines to give a second reading to a Bill which exacts contributions from wage earners and imposes an additional burden on industry, makes no provision for a large number of widows and orphans, and families where the father is incapacitated, and in the case of those qualified to become recipients, provides allowances which are wholly inadequate.

This amendment was defeated by 401 votes to 125, and the Labour Party then devoted itself to securing improvements in the Bill.

On June 30th, 1925, the Labour Party kept the House of Commons sitting all night, and again through the following night, fighting hard to amend and improve the Bill. The Government had to give more time for discussion and the Party was able to effect a number of improvements. The Tories, apparently under instructions from their leaders, cast silent votes against Labour amendments. Labour's efforts may be judged from the fact that in the six days and two nights the Bill was in Committee, 372 speeches were made from the Labour Benches.

According to the *Times* of August 10, 1925: "At first the Labour Party opposed the Bill at every possible point, but afterwards their tactics were changed and they concentrated on points where it was considered the Bill might be improved. As a result, a number of valuable concessions were obtained, while the Bill was before the House of Commons."

The Minister of Health, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, stated that the value of the concessions obtained by the Labour Party was £7,000,000, spread over ten years:

Amendments to the Bill were accepted to secure:—

1. The raising of the age to which children's pension allowance was payable from 14 to 16. (The Government attached the condition that the child must continue in full-time attendance at a day school.)

2. An allowance of 7s. 6d. a week for each orphan child. (An increase of 1s. 6d. a week for each child after the first.)

3. The payment of pension to the widow where the husband was over 60 at the time of marriage, provided at his death they had been married three years. The Government proposed that the pension should only be payable if the couple had been married five years.

4. Children removed from the mother's care to receive 7s. 6d. each, instead of 5s. or 3s., as the case might be.

5. Widows threatened with the loss of pension might be represented by friends on appeal.

6. Parent's dependants' pension for a son lost in the war not to be deducted from pensions payable under the Act.

7. A wife or husband should not give evidence one against the other.

8. Widows should not be debarred from National Health or Unemployment Insurance.

It will be seen, therefore, that as a result of Labour pressure, the Bill was improved; but the Labour Party were not successful with a large number of amendments which would have increased the number of beneficiaries and improved their pensions and allowances.

Under the Act as the Government passed it, no less than 45,000 women were deprived of pension rights because, though 65 years of age, their husbands were 70 on January 2, 1928. During the twelve months ending December 31, 1928, no less than 67,525 persons over 65 years of age were refused pensions. In some cases, old people have had their Unemployment Benefit taken away from them on attaining the age of 65, but have been refused the old age pension, which was supposed to take its place, with the result that they have been left with nothing. And 29,508 widows who were granted pensions have already, up to December 31 last, had them taken away, on the ground that their youngest children are now aged 14.

Distress in the South Wales Coalfield

THE Ministry of Health recently deputed two officials to investigate the distressed conditions prevailing in the South Wales coalfield. Their investigation has been completed, and their Report has now been published. It discloses an alarming state of affairs, and is a monumental condemnation of the Tory Government under whose administration such misery and destitution have been allowed to develop.

The Report shows that both infantile mortality and mortality from pulmonary tuberculosis have increased considerably.

The infantile mortality rate per thousand births between 1926 and 1927 increased as follows:—

Glamorgan	76 to 86
Monmouth	66 to 87
Merthyr	84 to 105

The death rates from pulmonary tuberculosis per million of the population increased as follows:—

Glamorgan.....	777 to 856
Monmouth.....	572 to 611
Merthyr	682 to 703

Signs of an increase in rickets are also reported, and this, says the Report, "indicates directly, a low health standard among children affected, and therefore of the rising generation, and may be regarded as a warning of the lowering of the standard of nutrition generally." They add that the occurrence of this increase of rickets: "carries the definite significance of the existence of a deficiency in the quality, if not the quantity, of the diet of the child population."

Not only the children are suffering, but the mothers, too, for the Report goes on to say: "There could be no question that in some areas women, especially the mothers of young children, suffer to an unusual extent from languor and anæmia."

The men are suffering as well, and the investigators state: "We were also not infrequently told that there is loss of tone and persistence of debility after illness in the older men, and that the men long unemployed who have not been actually ill find resumption of work difficult as a mere physical effort."

On the question of malnutrition they say:—

"From the observations which we made personally in the houses we visited, observations which were confirmed by what has been told us by various informants, the diet in the households of the unemployed men comprised little beyond white-bread,

butter or margarine, potatoes, sugar, jam, tea and bacon in limited quantities. Meat was seldom eaten except in very small amounts on Sundays, very often not more than a shillingsworth for a whole family. Fresh milk was not seen by us except when supplied by a clinic, the usual milk being skimmed condensed. Fresh vegetables other than potatoes were seldom eaten. . . . This diet lacks a sufficient proportion of protein, mineral salts and vitamins. . . . It is unsuitable for the maintenance of health over any prolonged period, and especially for young children and nursing mothers."

They add that medical men in the districts have expressed apprehension that the inevitable sequel of the prolongation of such conditions must be a deterioration of physique, and they remark: "The prevalence of rickets, which we have mentioned, is in our opinion the first manifestation of such a deterioration."

Speaking of the insufficiency of proper clothing and footwear, the investigators say: "The existence of this deficiency is more immediately obvious than that of insufficient food. . . . In the houses we visited we frequently found the bedclothing and the underclothing far from adequate, and the boots not enough for the school children, to say nothing of the adults and infants." And this, be it remembered, in the midst of the rigorous wintry weather that has been recently experienced.

The Report points out that in some districts from 25 per cent. to 60 per cent. of the miners are without work, and that even those miners who are working are earning very low wages, about two-thirds of them being on the subsistence wage, which is only 7s. 10½d. a day. And it adds that many of those in work have had long periods of unemployment, with the consequence of accumulated debts and arrears of rent, so that a "miner who is in work has to reckon with his creditors."

"It seems unnecessary to say," the Report adds, that where unemployment has been prolonged and no other resources exist, unemployment benefit is not sufficient, and still less is outdoor relief, to pay the rent and provide clothing and necessaries for a household of any size after food has been paid for."

The Report concludes by pointing out that work is needed rather than food and clothing, but that, "without something like a miracle, it will be several years" before the unemployed men can be transferred into occupations under the Government's Industrial Transference Scheme, at the present rate of progress.

Meanwhile, the Government are not showing any particularly keen disposition to get a move on.

Motor Industry's Progress Not Due to Safeguarding

FOR many years now the motor industry has been making progress. The Tories are fond of claiming that this progress is due to the fact that the industry has a 33½ per cent. Protective Duty. It is not. It is due to fashion, and many other considerations. For one thing, the motor industry is expanding for the same reason that the output of carriages-and-pairs is declining.

The motor car industry is growing because motor-ing is gradually becoming a more popular pastime.

It was expanding before the Protective Duties were put on.

It continued to expand under the Protective Duties.

It kept on expanding when the Protective Duties were taken off for a year by the Labour Government.

And it has gone on expanding since the present Government put the Duties back into operation.

Incidentally, it is very interesting indeed to notice that the biggest expansion on record was during the year when the duties were knocked off by the Labour Government.

The history of the McKenna Duties on cars can be summarised in three sentences: They were imposed in 1915. Mr. Snowden, in the Labour Budget of 1924, abolished them. Mr. Churchill, in the Tory Budget of 1925, reimposed them, and they have been in operation since.

The Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders, in their Year Book for 1928, show in a number of statistical tables that the industry has kept on growing from year to year, both under Free Trade and Protection.

Before the war, under Free Trade, it was growing, as the following table and the number of vehicles produced will show:—

Year.	Nos. of vehicles produced.
1907.....	12,000
1908.....	10,500
1909.....	11,000
1910.....	14,000
1911.....	19,000
1912.....	22,000
1913.....	44,000

No details are given for the war years, and the next year shown in the table of production is.—

1922..... 73,000

Then from 1923 the statistics separate the cars from the commercial vehicles. This is convenient, for the cars at that time were subject to the McKenna duties, whereas the

commercial vehicles were not. The production of cars is given as follows:—

Year.	Nos. of cars produced.	Increase over previous year.
1923.....	66,396	.. —
1924.....	105,468	.. 39,072
1925.....	121,000	.. 15,532
1926.....	138,500	.. 17,500
1927.....	157,000	.. 18,500

These figures show that the year with the biggest increase in production was 1924, the year when Mr. Snowden abolished the Protective duties.

The next table shows that the year with the biggest drop in prices was also 1924—the year when the Protective Duties were knocked off, viz.:—

Year.	Gold basis index figure of price.	Reduction from previous year.
1914.....	100	—
1922.....	74·8	—
1923.....	67·1	7·7
1924.....	56·6	10·5
1925.....	56·1	0·5
1926.....	53·6	2·5
1927.....	53	0·6
1928 (first six months)	49·9	3·1

The next table shows that the year when the biggest increase in the number of men employed was also 1924—the year when duties were removed, viz.:—

Year.	No. employed.	Increase over previous year.
1907.....	34,000	.. —
1911.....	66,000	.. —
1921.....	159,000	.. —
1923.....	194,000	.. —
1924.....	219,000	.. 25,000
1925.....	235,000	.. 16,000
1926.....	241,000	.. 6,000
1927.....	257,000	.. 16,000

In regard to wage increases, the next table shows that in the Free Trade year, wages went up by 3s. 7½d., whilst in the three Protected years since the re-introduction of the duties, the average yearly rise has only been 1s. 8½d.

A final table in the Year Book disposes of the old Tory argument that the Protective Duty keeps out the imported cars. It shows that in the Free Trade year of 1924 the monthly average number of cars imported was 925, whilst in 1928 it had risen to 1,109 a month for the first quarter, 1,453 for April, 1,712 for May, and 1,636 for June.

These figures, compiled by the Secretary of Motor Manufacturers and Traders, thus dispose of every one of the Protectionist arguments that we are accustomed to hear from the Tories.

Trade Union Documents*

THIS admirably edited volume supplies a long-felt want in the literature of Trade Unionism. It is literally indispensable to everyone who desires a comprehensive grasp of the nature of the movement. There are not a dozen Englishmen alive who could have put together in some 500 pages material which so amply covers its ground. Mr. Milne-Bailey deserves our heartfelt gratitude for making possible direct access to documents which have hitherto been as important as they are difficult to find. To the Trade Union official, the student of affairs, the scholar, the volume is a boon indeed. It goes at once on the shelf beside Mr. and Mrs. Webb's two classic books. I do not think they will resent its company.

Mr. Milne-Bailey has divided his material into four parts. The first is a discussion of the objects of Trade Unionism. Here can be gleaned at first hand the purposes Trade Unionists have set before themselves, their effort, in a conscious way, to assess the nature of the services they embody. Miners, engineers, compositors, postal workers, Mr. Milne-Bailey has gleaned his material from a wide field. He flanks the views of Trade Unionists themselves by extracts from other classic documents like the judgments in the Osborne case. What emerges, I think, is of twofold interest. On the one hand it is clear that underlying the narrower aspects of Trade Unionism is a profound sense of civic purpose. These rules are made by men sensible that they serve a definitely social end. And it is equally clear, from the legal decisions, that nothing is so difficult to the judicial mind as the ability to understand that this is the case. No one can read this section without the sense that did not the Trade Unions exist it would be necessary to invent them. More surely than any legislation, they protect the workers' standard of life; more surely than any legislation, they provide the avenue which makes possible an enlargement of his personality.

From objects, Mr. Milne-Bailey passes to structure and function; and an ample section gives us a fascinating clue to the bewildering varieties of Trade Union organisation. What emerges is, I think, how much the structure of Trade Unionism has been determined by the individual history of separate industries, and how impossible it is to generalise with any

safety upon the form Trade Unions should take. Amalgamation, federation, inter-union agreements, the works committee, the Trades Council, the T.U.C., the General Council, even the professional workers' organisation, all of these Mr. Milne-Bailey illustrates with the right document rightly placed. This section is a masterly piece of compression, and no one can rise from its study without a deeper knowledge of the movement's implications.

From structure Mr. Milne-Bailey turns to method; and in 200 fascinating pages he illustrates the way in which the unions carry out their function. Collective bargaining, strikes and lock-outs, conspiracy and intimidation, the injunction, picketing, the work of the Industrial Court and the Trade Board, benefits, the Trade Union label, education schemes, these are only a random selection of the topics covered by this section. Particular gratitude is due to Mr. Milne-Bailey for the excellent selections from Dominion and American material; these serve to bring before us the experience of realms with which we are too little familiar. It is interesting, too, to have the political functions of Trade Unionism stoutly defended by Mr. Winston Churchill (p. 580), and his emphasis on the just suspicion entertained by the unions against the courts of law. What impresses me in the record here detailed is the pragmatic character of Trade Union practice. Men confronted by particular situations have evolved methods to deal with those situations. Little by little a given practice has widened. Sometimes it has become national by agreement. Sometimes its social utility is so evident that, in the end, legal effect has been given to its substance. The inventiveness of Trade Union officials has been remarkable. There are in this section instances of a technique not less remarkable in its ingenuity and value than that characteristic of the political realm. It is a pity that political science has not scrutinised this field for it affords an insight into the nature of government of high value. And when it is remembered how much of it is due to men to whom the State denied an adequate education, that it was too often born of grim reflection upon bitter experience, one begins to realise why the needs of the working class could not find expression in the older parties. For a State which could waste talent so needlessly was clearly, as the older parties

* *Trade Union Documents*. Edited by W. Milne-Bailey. (George Bell. 8s. 6d.)

envisaged it, incapable of imaginative insight into the wants of its people.

The last section of Mr. Milne-Bailey's documents is at once the most difficult and the most fascinating. Here is set out the nature of the functions Trade Unionism performs, out of which a philosophic view of its place in the State may be builded. Though Mr. Milne-Bailey is cautious in advancing any views of his own, it is evident from his selection of the material that his own sympathies are with what is termed the "pluralistic" theory of the State. And it is, indeed, difficult to deny that this is the direction of the facts themselves. We see the Trade Unions as the natural and spontaneous groupings by which the workers seek the representation of their interests. We see the unions claiming from their members an allegiance as full and as devoted as any to which the State can pretend. We see them advancing from narrow conceptions of life to a deliberate philosophy of the place of the worker in society, a philosophy in which the State is, like them, essentially a public service corporation, living by the response it makes to its members' wants. From the nature of social life, the sphere of Trade Union influence necessarily widens. There are activities which

can only be effectively undertaken through their agency. There are others in which their co-operation is essential. There are others again in which their counsel is of basic importance to all government action. The more thoroughly the implications of this are seized, the more does the State appear not a sovereign body, but a repository, among others, of powers the exercise of which depends upon its capacity to satisfy wants. In this context, the documents Mr. Milne-Bailey has printed upon the national strike are of the highest interest. They disestablish Mr. Baldwin's claim to speak in the name of the nation. They show how inevitably the class-structure of a State is reflected in any political organisation that is "monistic" in structure. The true lesson of the national strike is that the State only speaks in the name of its citizens when they assent to the course it takes. That was not the case in 1926; and Mr. Baldwin then utilised his power in defiance of the consent which gives government its title to validity.

Mr. Milne-Bailey has affixed a clear and useful introduction to the volume; and each section has a useful explanatory summary and notes on the literature. HAROLD J. LASKI.

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Book Reviews

Post War Banking Policy. By Rt. Hon. R. McKenna. (Heinemann. 7s. 6d.)

Mr. McKenna's speeches at the annual meetings of the Midland Bank have become famous, and this reprint will be welcomed by all who are interested in banking and currency questions. Though Chairman of our largest joint stock bank, Mr. McKenna is not regarded as really sound by the orthodox bankers. In fact, he pains them by his heresies. To the man in the street, however, he is far more interesting, and intelligible, and sensible than any of the other Bank Chairmen, excellent though they may be in their own way. Why is this? Principally because he does not treat accepted banking policy as sacred and criticisms of it as *lese-majeste*, and because he appears to think that industry is, perhaps, of some importance.

We think not all Mr. McKenna's views are sound, but he has done a valuable service in focussing the light of discussion on banking policy, and in most of his contentions he is far more right than are the majority of his critics.

Industrial Tyneside. By H. A. Mess. (Benn. 10s. 6d.)

When a number of public spirited Tyneside citizens set up their Bureau of Social Research in 1925 they performed a service of incalculable value not only to their own community, but to the nation as a whole, which sadly lacks such regional agencies. In selecting Dr. Mess to act as the director of the Bureau its founders acted with equal wisdom, as this very impressive, though very sombre, work demonstrates.

Tyneside is normally one of the most interesting economic areas of this country, but during the past eight years it has also been one of the most cruelly tortured regions, tortured by chronic unemployment, poverty, and trade stagnation.

Its staple industries, heavy metals, coal, shipbuilding and marine engineering, have been precisely those industries that throughout all Britain have been in the deepest depression. The effects on the social and economic and personal life of the district and its inhabitants are faithfully depicted by Dr. Mess. Not that this volume is primarily an examination of unemployment and its results. It is much wider than that, being, in fact, a complete social and economic survey of the region. The industries are described, the population analysed, housing facilities are surveyed and the provision for education and religious observance described, social service agencies are discussed and the

structure of local government outlined. All this is of extreme value and interest, especially as many tables and charts are inserted to illustrate the text. Nor are the conclusions pessimistic. The misfortunes of Tyneside, some undeserved, some due to human feelings, certainly emerge as the dark patches in the picture, but if the sane recommendations that conclude the volume are carried out, a more hopeful future may be confidently expected. Will not other districts carry out similar surveys? Dr. Mess and the Tyneside Bureau of Social Research have set a splendid example.

Industrial Law. F. Tillyard. (Black. 15s.)

Industrial law changes so very rapidly in these times that a second edition of Professor Tillyard's well-known work will be hailed by many with relief and satisfaction. At last there is a reasonably brief and admirably lucid exposition of the present laws dealing with contracts of service, truck, Trade Boards, Workmen's Compensation, Factory Acts, Shops Acts, Employment of Women and Children, Coal Mines Acts, National Health Insurance, Unemployment Insurance, Trade Unions, and Conciliations. To cover all this legislation in less than 600 pages is a real achievement, and that accuracy is not sacrificed to brevity all students of Professor Tillyard's previous work will be aware.

Naturally the treatment is general rather than detailed. We are not given the text of the Acts, with explanations, commentaries and court decisions, but a general and largely non-technical statement of the law of all these topics. As such, the book will be invaluable to Trade Union officials and employers, M.P.s and citizens alike.

Wages in Practice and Theory. J. W. F. Rowe. (Routledge. 12s. 6d.)

This is certainly one of the most important contributions to wage theory that have been made in this generation, and as such it merits the careful attention not only of professional economists but also of Trade Unionists and Labour students generally. With his acknowledged statistical equipment Mr. Rowe first surveys the changes in wages in five British industries since 1886. In this section much new light is thrown on the wage history of the building, mining, cotton, engineering, and railway industries, and only those who have tried painfully to make something out of the terribly inadequate data can fully appreciate the value

of Mr. Rowe's work in this direction. Then follows a general examination of the chief factors in the mechanism of wage fixing, and an entire section is given to a study of collective bargaining and Trade Union policy. There is much in these chapters that one could comment on if space were available.

Finally, a section, all too short, follows on wage theory, and especially on the importance of the institutional factor. In brief, Mr. Rowe's thesis is that custom plays a far larger part in the fixing of wage standards than is generally realised, and that collective bargaining, by trying always to push up the wage level, is an economically sound policy since it is a stimulus, perhaps the most important stimulus in present-day industry to industrial progress.

This, indeed, is a truth long since urged by Labour economists, and notably by Mr. and Mrs. Webb, but never before has it been stressed so strongly by an "orthodox" economist. Mr. Rowe's work must inevitably leave its mark on future theories of wages, a part of economic science that is sadly in need of renovation.

History of the English People. 1830-1841. By E. Halevy. (T. Fisher Unwin. 21s.)

What more can one say of the third volume of M. Halevy's monumental work than has been said on all hands of his first two volumes?

His prodigious learning, accuracy and detail, and liberal outlook on the history of the period must impress every reader anew. This time it is the struggles around the Reform Bills of 1832, and the rise of the Chartist and Free Trade movements that constitute the main themes, and very vivid and illuminating is the treatment.

To see English history from the detached standpoint of a French writer is a salutary experience in any case, but when the service is performed by a scholar and historian of M. Halevy's deserved eminence, we are doubly fortunate and we should be doubly grateful.

The Pragmatic Revolt in Politics. W. Y. Elliott. (Macmillan. 16s.)

Professor Elliott, in this extremely interesting study of Syndicalism, Fascism, and the Constitutional State, has examined some of the most important of current tendencies in political philosophy, and has tried, not altogether successfully we think, to link and harmonise pluralist ideas with the more traditional views of state purpose and political structure. There is not the space here to criticise Professor Elliott's "co-organic" theory, but it is safe to say it will not satisfy any of the contending parties. At certain important points the theories

of those from whom the writer appears to differ most strongly do not seem to be adequately interpreted, and we are left with an uneasy sense of large gaps.

Nevertheless, for its stimulating discussion and criticism of current doctrines, as well as for its suggestive value on the positive side, Professor Elliott's work will be very valuable to all students of politics; it is most readable and yet most learned.

Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets. P. Kropotkin. (Vanguard Press and I.L.P. Bookshop. 2s. 6d.)

The Vanguard series is a weird assortment of good stuff and—junk. Peter Kropotkin's work belongs to the former category, for it is instinct with all the passionate humanity and generosity, as well as the solid learning, that its author's entire life exemplified. True, its accents are now sadly out of date. We live again in the nineteenth century even while we read some of these pamphlets that were written after the war.

Anarchism, which we all profess in an abstract and ultimate sense, seems even more a "pipe dream" than it did 30 years ago. But Kropotkin was a bonny fighter, and those younger people who never knew his spell could do much worse than turn to these pamphlets—in which his faith is well defended. First, however, they should put themselves in the right frame of mind by reading his "Memoirs of a Revolutionist"—one of the most thrilling books ever written, beating John Buchan's best efforts in fiction.

Railways. By W. V. Wood and Sir J. C. Stamp. (Thornton Butterworth. 2s.)

Under its new publishers the Home University Library is making further excellent additions to an excellent series, and this volume is certainly among the most interesting. Obviously, there could not be anyone better qualified to instruct us in the mysteries of railway operation than these two authors, who are so closely associated with the London, Midland and Scottish, and to find Sir J. C. Stamp's name on the cover is also a guarantee that there will be no dull reading. So we are not surprised to find that we are held enthralled by the 244 pages of information about construction and operating methods, administration and regulation, labour and finance.

Most people retain a good deal of their juvenile interest in railways, and they will certainly not regret investing 2s. in the best brief account of British railway working that has yet appeared.

The Green and the Dry

IN the long struggle between the national conscience and the claims of "private enterprise," the champions of the former have won some victories which deserve more attention than the calamity howlers would have us bestow on them, if only for the reason that they afford an encouraging example of what can be achieved by application to the job nearest to hand. One of the most promising of these examples is the Miners' Welfare Fund, the seventh report on which has just been issued by the committee appointed by the Board of Trade to administer the fund. The 70 odd pages of this document possess a singularly unofficial savour. It is obvious that the work of which the report is a record has been carried out by men inspired by a keen interest in their task, and cheered by the consciousness that they have performed that task at least as efficiently as it could be performed by anybody else; one might ask, "What could be done in the green, if these things are done in the dry?"

The fund is devoted to what may be termed the "rationalisation" of the conditions under which the miner lives. It is sought to provide him with the fullest possible opportunities for recreation—physical and mental—and for education advancement, both technical and general, and to mitigate some of the acute discomforts which, even more than its dangers, make his occupation one of the most arduous in the whole field of industry. What is particularly encouraging in the report is the revelation that the things done under the scheme are beginning to win appreciation from every section of enlightened opinion in the industry, and that technical opinion more especially is showing an increased interest in problems of ways and means.

One of the most interesting sections of the report is contained in the appendices; it is an illustrated article by Commander B. T. Coote, technical adviser to the Committee, on Indoor Recreation. Commander Coote is both informative and entertaining. He begins by drawing attention to the shortcomings of many existing institutes, and mentions an instance where an allocation for 3,000 miners, all paying a weekly levy for its upkeep, appeared to have been spent to rather poor advantage. The building contained two billiard tables, six small card tables, and a small reading-room, and Commander Coote thinks that provision could have been made for six billiard tables, a reading-room, a library, a secretary's office, a large games

room, a large games store, a refreshment servery, and a heating chamber for central heating. The discrepancy between this standard and the actual accommodation suggests the need for more technical assistance, a need which is indeed fully recognised in other parts of the publication.

The Commander offers some experienced and commonsense observations on the question of billiard-room lay-out from the point of view of convenience—incidentally he has decided doubts about the advantages of a billiard-room refreshment bar, except in cases where the room itself is exceptionally large—and then goes on to plead with just the right amount of eloquence for "as large a variety of parlour games as it is possible to obtain."

"To mention a few of these, there are Ludo, Backgammon, Squails, Halma, Reversi, Tiddley-winks, Spillikens, and even Snakes and Ladders—I could quote the case of a most successful adult party where a 'Snakes and Ladders' tournament was the chief feature."

In the same vein of human understanding, he pleads for brighter reading-rooms "with good pictures on the walls and plenty of really comfortable armchairs."

Commander Coote alludes to an experiment in the "systematic occupation of indoor leisure" to be demonstrated shortly in the Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' Convalescent Home at Blackpool.

"For those not acquainted with the Home," he says, "it may be here stated that the building is provided with a billiard-room (two tables), a room for cards, dominoes, chess, etc., and a fine reading-room. There is also a concert hall where cinematograph films are shown and excellent entertainments provided. It might reasonably be asked, 'Why is anything more needed?' Well, perhaps for this reason. We British folk take life seriously, and a good deal of our normal environment is drab, if not sombre. We seem to get but little of the tonic to be found in fun and laughter unless someone takes trouble to provide it for us. The man who can arrange for thrills and amusements, and can carry them through with a swing, is worth his weight in gold to his community."

"The miners' institute or hall is obviously the centre from which can radiate excitement, fun, good fellowship and laughter for them, if only sufficient thought and energy is directed to its fullest development in every branch of

indoor recreation, and I am confident that the management committee which takes trouble to do this will find itself amply rewarded by the result."

Attached to the report is the report of the Selection Committee appointed to administer the Miners' Welfare National Scholarship Scheme, a document of extraordinary interest. The scheme was instituted in 1927, and is, therefore, still very much of an experiment. It has already provided, nevertheless, ample evidence in support of the views of those who wish to see equality of opportunity during the critical period, at least, of the life of young people. It was found when the scheme was inaugurated that a considerable number of candidates entered under a misapprehension as to the qualifications expected of them, and the Committee were, therefore, not surprised when a very large proportion of these candidates dropped out in the following year.

"On the other hand," says the report, "it is more difficult to account for the fact that out of 633 candidates in 1927 who were already attending university degree courses or were already qualified for matriculation no less than 532 did not apply again this year. No doubt a certain number had managed to enter universities in other ways, and in the case of 'B' candidates some had probably obtained work and given up the idea of a university education with the uncertainty of employment at the end of their courses.

"But these could hardly be sufficiently numerous to account for the figures, and we can only suppose that the majority of the applicants were too easily discouraged by lack of success and by realisation of the very heavy odds against any individual candidate's selection."

It amounts to this, that working-class children are too often unable to pursue studies for which they have shown themselves fitted, even when there is a prospect of financial assistance. The implication—a perfectly true one—that their opportunities of making the best of their abilities are too frequently sacrificed to the necessity of obtaining a bare livelihood is positively tragic.

Some interesting comparisons occur in the section of the report dealing with the "B" candidates, where it is recorded that—

"No less than eight out of eleven girls interviewed reached the standard required, as compared with nine out of 30 boys. We observed that on the whole the girls appeared to have more decision of character than the boys; they had apparently thought more about their future careers and knew both what they wanted to do and why they wanted to do it. In many

cases the boys could give only the vaguest reason for having selected a particular career or even a particular course of study at the University. Moreover, there was a tendency among some of the boys to answer questions in the way they thought would best please the questioner, whereas the girls did not hesitate to express their real opinions or even to disagree if necessary with views suggested to them."

The particulars of the candidates who were awarded scholarships in 1928 are interesting. One working miner approaching middle age who had already won notice as a contributor to leading periodicals was awarded a scholarship to New College, Oxford, to enable him to study history for the B.Litt. A repairer went to University College, Oxford, to study in the honours school of philosophy, politics, and economics: his ambition is to foster adult education in his own district. An underground haulage hand went to Manchester University to study economics with the same end in view.

It is stated that 70 per cent. of the "B" candidates wished to be secondary school teachers, an increase of 13 per cent. over the number in the previous year who proposed to enter that occupation.

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Industrial Developments

Wage Movements in January

In the industries for which statistics are regularly compiled by the Ministry of Labour, the changes in rates of wages reported to have come into operation in January resulted in an increase of about £3,400 in the weekly full-time wages of 125,000 workpeople, and in a reduction of nearly £7,000 in those of 102,000 workpeople, according to figures quoted in the "Ministry of Labour Gazette."

* * *

Statistics of Trade Disputes

The number of trade disputes involving stoppages of work, reported to the Ministry of Labour as beginning in January, was 21. In addition, seven disputes which began before January were still in progress at the beginning of the month. The number of workpeople involved in all disputes in January (including workpeople thrown out of work at the establishments where the disputes occurred, but not themselves parties to the disputes) was about 9,700, and the aggregate duration of all disputes in January was about 97,000 working days.

These figures compare with totals of 6,000 workpeople involved and 32,000 working days lost in the previous month, and with 10,000 workpeople involved and 50,000 days lost in January, 1928.

* * *

Plasterers' Wages Agreement

A new agreement on London plasterers' wages will come into operation on February 1. The employers had given notice of a reduction of 3½d. an hour, and lengthy negotiations ensued, which resulted in a deadlock, the matter being then referred to the National Council for the Industry.

A settlement was reached, the net effect of which is that the expense allowance of 2s. a day has been consolidated into the wage rate, which will now be 1s. 11½d. an hour instead of 1s. 9½d.

* * *

Important Decision re Unemployment Pay

An important ruling has just been given by the Deputy Umpire in the case of a baker whose claim for Unemployment Benefit had been disallowed because he declined to take employment at less than the Trade Union rate of pay.

Although it was admitted that the man could probably get work at bakeries which paid less than the agreed rate of wages, nevertheless the Umpire held that the applicant could not be considered to be "not genuinely seeking work" because he had not applied to non-federated employers who do not pay the agreed rate of wages.

* * *

T.U.C. Social Insurance Campaign

The series of area conferences arranged under the auspices of the Trades Union Congress in connection with the Social Insurance Campaign has now been completed. The last meeting was held at Birmingham on February 19. The campaign has been a great success, and the meetings have shown that a very real interest is taken in questions of social insurance, and that there is a growing demand for information on these matters.

Organisation of Shop Assistants

Good progress is being made in the work of organising distributive workers. News has been received that the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants has appointed an additional organiser for the Edinburgh district, and an organising secretary for the Cardiff district.

It is also reported that another organising secretary for the Staffordshire district is to be appointed.

* * *

Re-opening of Pits in the Mining Areas

It has been officially stated in the House of Commons that 78 pits, employing 11,138 wage earners, have been re-opened since January 1. Of these pits, 32, employing 8,781 wage earners, are in South Wales and Monmouthshire, and eight, employing 1,114 wage earners, in Lanarkshire.

* * *

Agriculturists in Conference

Representatives of nearly 80 organisations, covering all phases of agricultural life, including the workers, attended a conference held in London on February 25 and 26 to discuss the economics of agricultural reconstruction. The conference was initiated by the Council of the Central and Associated Chambers of Agriculture.

The President of the National Union of Agricultural Workers moved a resolution asking for a legal minimum wage, national ownership of the land, and the control of imported food by an Imports Board, and this resolution was seconded by the Secretary of the union. It was not, however, put to the vote, but the conference passed an amendment adding to its main resolution urging the necessity for a stabilised price for home grown wheat, that "It was necessary to give land workers such conditions of life and labour as will make the industry attractive to them."

A resolution stating that any agricultural reconstruction policy should be supplemented by the standardisation of products, scientific organisation of distribution and marketing, and an extension of the powers of the Empire Marketing Board was also carried.

* * *

Miners Condemn Communists

A resolution strongly condemning the Minority Movement and the Communists has been sent by the Executive of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain to the Executive of the National Union of Scottish Mineworkers.

The resolution, which is signed by Mr. Herbert Smith (President), Mr. Thomas Richards (Vice-President), Mr. W. P. Richardson (Treasurer), and Mr. A. J. Cook (General Secretary) is as follows:—

"This Federation Executive Committee, after reviewing the general position in the Scottish coalfield, places on record its strong condemnation of the Communists and Minority Movement and the tactics which have been adopted in the various coalfields, and particularly in Scotland. It pledges itself to render all possible help to the bona fide Scottish Miners' Federation and all other districts which are carrying out the principles of the Miners' Federation, the Trades Union Congress, and the British Labour Party."

International Trade Union Notes and Labour Abroad

(Specially contributed to the LABOUR MAGAZINE by the International Federation of Trade Unions.)

I.F.T.U. and Forced Labour

The measures adopted by the I.F.T.U. in favour of the appointment of natives of the various colonies, etc., as technical workers' experts for the discussion of the question of native forced labour at the next International Labour Conference have had a further success. The Dutch Government has, at the request of the Dutch Trade Union centre, given its consent to the appointment of a native as technical expert.

* * *

Holiday Reform in Brazil

In principle, the Labour Movement takes the standpoint that the workers should have annual holidays at the expense of the employers, public holidays not being included in these. The employers have other ideas. They generally try to get out of giving individual holidays to their workers on the pretext that all their workers enjoy the public holidays.

Even in "cultured" Europe such employers are often to be met with. In Brazil—a land where reaction reigns supreme—official decrees have now been issued declaring that the public holidays are no longer to be regarded as part of the individual worker's holiday; this latter must be granted to him separately. The secretariat of the I.F.T.U. has been informed that in Brazil in the month of November no less than 75 judgments re holidays were issued in favour of workers. In some cases sentence was given against the employers for not granting the holiday at all; in others they had to pay their workers an additional full wage for the holiday period as damages for not granting a holiday.

* * *

Economic Council in Finland

For some time past there has been an Economic Council in Finland, which has been appointed by the Government to examine the economic position and to determine the economic policy of Finland. It consists of delegates from the authorities, the banking world, industry, navigation, agriculture, the co-operative societies, and the Labour movement.

* * *

Growth of German T.U.'s

The official journal of the German national centre announces that at the end of September, 1928, the total membership of the German "free" Trade Unions was 4,762,601. There has been an increase of 76,242 since June, 1928, and a rise of 346,912 since the beginning of the year. The final figures for the end of the year will in all probability be still better.

* * *

German Metalworkers' Gain

Despite unemployment and limited opportunities for wage-earning, the members of the German Metalworkers' Union have, thanks to the influence of the lock-out in the iron industry in North-West Germany, risen during the last quarter of 1928 by 35,000, the total being now 942,000.

"Free" Trade Unions in Greece

The membership of the Greek National Trade Union Centre (which affiliated with the I.F.T.U. in the year 1928) is at present 98,470. The Centre comprises seven national unions and eighteen local organisations. The national unions have an aggregate membership of 59,150 (6,525 of whom are women), while the local organisations number 39,320.

The memberships (in round numbers) of the chief Trade Unions are as follows: Railwaymen, 8,000; seamen, 12,500; dockers, 7,500; cigarette industry, 1,500; tobacco industry, 15,000; bakery workers, 5,800; commercial and clerical employees, 8,850.

* * *

Reconstruction in Ford's Works

Since the introduction of new models and the changes which these have necessitated, there has again been a revival in the demand for Ford cars. It has, therefore, been decided to increase production 20 per cent., which meant taking on 30,000 new workers. Ford will retain the five-day week, the men working five days a week and the machines six. Ford thinks machines can endure a six-day week, but not men.

"International Trade Union Library."

THE International Federation of Trade Unions is publishing a series of pamphlets which give a historical survey of the development of the Trade Union Movements of the various countries from their beginnings up to the present day.

The following volumes have already been issued:—

- | | | |
|----------|---|-----|
| No. 1. | The Trade Union Movement in Belgium, by C. Mertens | —/9 |
| No. 2/3. | The Trade Union Movement of Great Britain, by Walter M. Citrine | 1/6 |
| No. 4/5. | Twenty-five Years of International Trade Unionism, by Joh. Sassenbach | 1/6 |
| No. 6. | The Trade Union Movement of Sweden, by Sigfrid Hansson | —/9 |
| No. 7/8. | The Trade Union Movement of Germany, by Richard Seidel | 1/6 |

All publications of the I.F.T.U. are now obtainable from the Publicity Department of the Trades Union Congress, Smith Square, London, S.W.1

International Labour Office Notes

Return of the Director

M. Albert Thomas, Director of the International Labour Office of the League of Nations, arrived back in Geneva on February 19 after his visit, lasting three and a-half months, to China, Japan, Indo-China, and the Dutch East Indies.

M. Thomas was accompanied throughout his tour by Mr. E. J. Phelan, Chief of the Diplomatic Division of the Office, and by M. M. Viple, Chief of Cabinet.

* * *

The Governing Body

The Director will, therefore, be able to supervise the final preparations for the meeting of Governing Body of the Office, which will hold its 43rd and 44th sessions consecutively in the middle of March. One of the important questions before the Governing Body will be the budget for next year. The agenda for the 1930 session of the conference will also be studied.

* * *

The 1929 Conferences

At the ninth session of the All-India Trade Union Congress, held at Jharia in December, Mr. M. Daud, President of the Indian Seamen's Union, and Mr. N. M. Joshi, Treasurer of the Indian Seamen's Union, were chosen to represent the Indian Labour Movement at the two sessions of the International Labour Conference to be held in Geneva this year.

* * *

Protection of Salaried Workers

Steady progress has been made with the preparatory work for the first session, which opens on May 30. As has been already announced, the "Grey Report" on "Forced Labour" has been published, and has received a warm welcome from the Press in this country.

A further "Grey Report" is now nearing completion on the item on the agenda of the Conference which deals with the hours of work of salaried employees. It will deal mainly with the law and practice in various countries. The first chapter will give a general survey of the origin and development of regulation, while the second will explain the various methods of defining the scope of existing systems of regulation. The third will deal with the various methods of regulating hours normally in force; the fourth with exceptions and special provisions; while the last will contain an analysis of the principal methods of enforcement and of collective agreements.

* * *

A Conference Decision

It will be recalled that the extension to salaried employees of provisions for the regulation of hours of work of industrial workers was raised at the first International Labour Conference, held in Washington in 1919, but was not then proceeded with. For some time past a strong movement has shown itself in favour of a fresh endeavour to tackle this problem.

In June, 1927, the International Labour Conference adopted a resolution on the subject, and, following on this, the Governing Body of the Office decided to place the subject on the agenda of the coming conference.

Italy and "I.L.O." Questions

The first meeting has been held of a permanent committee, set up by the Italian Government, as a medium through which the various State Departments could collaborate systematically to further the active participation of Italy in the work of the "I.L.O."

Several other Governments have already instituted special services to examine the problems which are being studied by the "I.L.O.," and to carry out the necessary inquiries or other steps desired, including those of Chile, France, Great Britain, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and Sweden. Periodical conferences are also held by the four northern countries of Europe with a similar object.

* * *

Representatives in Geneva

Some countries, in order to follow the work of the "I.L.O." in a continuous and systematic manner, maintain delegations or permanent representatives in Geneva accredited to the Office, and these include Canada, Colombia, Cuba, Denmark, Finland, Hungary, Irish Free State, Japan, Latvia, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom, and Sweden.

Other States have entrusted this work to their diplomatic or consular representatives.

* * *

Swiss Ratification

The Swiss Government has formally notified the League at Geneva that it has ratified a Convention, adopted by the Conference in 1925, dealing with the equal treatment of alien workers in the matter of accident compensation. By its provisions each State which ratifies agrees to accord to the subjects of any other State ratifying the same treatment regarding workers' accident compensation as it gives its own subjects.

This Convention has now been ratified by 21 States, including Belgium, Cuba, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, India, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, and South Africa,

* * *

Minimum Wage Fixing

The Swiss Federal Council in a report to the Federal Assembly gives its opinion regarding the application of the Convention concerning minimum wage-fixing machinery, adopted by the Conference last year, that as an Act dealing only with home work would seem to be sufficient to satisfy its provisions Switzerland can accept the Convention, but ratification cannot take place until federal legislation has been passed.

A Bill containing the provisions necessary to carry the Convention into effect is at present under consideration.

* * *

Wage Changes

The *International Labour Review*, the monthly publication of the Office, has recently contained an important series of statistical articles bringing up to date the information contained in the report on "Wage Changes in Various Countries, 1914-1925."

The publication of these articles began with the May issue last year, and the following countries have been covered: Great Britain, France, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Spain, Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, and the United States.

Co-operative Activities

What Might be Done!

Mr. A. Barnes, M.P., has created some interest by suggesting the amalgamation of four co-operative societies in London, which would give the one society for the area 780,000 members, an annual trade of £20,000,000, and a combined capital of £10,000,000.

This would certainly be a powerful retail distributive organisation. By using enterprise and intelligence in this direction, co-operators could easily beat the capitalists' tendency towards combination and amalgamation. Someday, perhaps, co-operators will seriously take up a scheme of nationalisation of all societies on the lines suggested by Mr. J. C. Gray (the Co-operative Union Secretary) at the Birmingham Congress in 1906.

* * *

Leeds and Politics

The directors of Leeds Society have been always strongly opposed to direct co-operative political action, and they have now vigorous opponents in a recently-formed Workers' Co-operative Representation Committee, composed of co-operators and members of Labour and Trade Union bodies of the city.

Owing to this opposition, the directors of the society have had to publicly deny a statement that only men of a certain political colour are desirable or suitable for the board of management. They declare that the position is open to any member of the society who conforms to the rules, and they still adhere to their former policy of not taking any part in politics as a society. It will be always interesting to see how long a big society like Leeds, in a crowded industrial area, can go on ignoring the call for combined political action for co-operative and Labour needs.

* * *

Political Resolutions

We cannot give the resolutions that were passed by the Co-operative Party Conference, but only indicate them. Favour in the continuance of Free Trade, as the consumers' best economic system, was a certainty among men and women co-operators who have to deal with trade and property, as they now realise they have to deal with politics.

The Government's de-rating proposals were condemned, as was its favouritism shown towards private trade in its attitude on price-fixing associations that are determined to kill the co-operative purchaser's dividend and cripple the principle of mutual trading. The Conference asserted its belief in securing the supremacy of the House of Commons over the House of Lords; pressed for better facilities for dealing with defective children; demanded the nationalisation of mines and minerals, and combined with this the removal of barriers against trading with Russia; among other resolutions were those appealing for the elimination of war, better educational facilities for the people, maternity benefits and child welfare, also propaganda, etc.

These matters were dealt with in a way consistent with Labour views. There were complaints about the attitude of one or two local Labour parties towards local co-operative parties, which should be removed by the application of a little commonsense on both sides. In private session, the Conference agreed to a resolution to revise the constitution of the Co-operative Party, in order that it may be able to spread its wings in future with a little more freedom. It is now a section of the Co-operative Union, and it obviously intends to remain

so in considering the new rules by which it desires to be governed in future.

* * *

Russian Trade

In view of the fact that the Anglo-Russian Trading Committee have decided to send a delegation of British traders and manufacturers to Russia, it may be of interest to learn that the Co-operative Wholesale Society has done business with Russia during the last six years to the value of £22,000,000. Last year the value was £458,000.

Mr. A. W. Golightly, the chairman of the International Co-operative Wholesale Society and a director of the English Co-operative Wholesale Society, points out that with regard to the granting of credit the C.W.S. has to be as cautious as other traders; at the same time the various large sums of credit granted by the C.W.S. have been always duly honoured. It is surprising, he adds, that a vast country like Russia should be almost closed to Great Britain when there are so many trading possibilities in it, and so many unemployed on our own doorstep.

* * *

Propaganda

At the time of writing the Co-operative Movement is in the throes of its Annual National Propaganda Fortnight, when societies all over the country are expected to make some effort to spread the principle of the movement and increase the membership. Over 500 societies have taken part in this year's campaign and have distributed between eight and nine million leaflets of different kinds, all bearing a co-operative message to the people. In addition to leaflets, 25,000 posters have been ordered by societies to be exhibited in shop windows and on public hoardings. There has also been a window-dressing competition, only co-operative produced goods to be shown, whilst societies in most districts have held a series of meetings and public demonstrations. There has been considerable advertising in local newspapers and house to house canvassing. It is expected that the effect of all this will be to give the movement an extra push, as was the case last year and the previous year, when a similar fortnight's propaganda campaign took place.

* * *

Sir William Maxwell

A co-operative stalwart of the late Victorian era has passed away on the death of Sir William Maxwell, who died at Rothesay on February 9, at the age of 88. He did much for the Co-operative Movement in the late Victorian era.

By trade he was a heraldic coach designer, who became interested in Trade Unionism and social reform, and gradually found his way to the Co-operative Movement in which he became a man of world-wide influence. He took part in every side of the movement, and for many years distinguished the presidential chair of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society. He was ever interested in widening the operations of the movement in trade, education, and organisation, and was one of the pioneers in the establishment of international co-operative organisations, and occupied the chair of the International Co-operative Alliance for several years.

He was a strong supporter of Labour, and was one of the first men to urge affiliation with the Trade Union and Labour movements.

The Labour Library

(These notices do not preclude a fuller review in the pages of the LABOUR MAGAZINE or its allied publications.)

How We Are Governed. By J. A. R. Marriott. (Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d.)

Sir. J. A. Marriott is surely the typical, dull pedagogue. What a fascinating book this might have been made, if written with imagination and with an appreciation of recent contributions to political thought. As it is, how dreary and pompous and dessicated it all seems. "We are at the heart of the Empire, the greatest Empire the world has ever seen." That is the second sentence. "If our motives are misunderstood by our neighbours, we can only regard it as a misfortune for us and for them." That is on the last page but one. God! What an introduction to a great topic.

Parliamentary Map of England and Wales. (George Philip and Son. 50s.)

A black print of the country on a white background, with the countries bordered in red and the constituencies within the counties outlined in thinner red boundaries. The scale is six miles to the inch. A great merit of the map is the absence of blotchiness so usual when counties are variously coloured.

The object of the publishers to provide a map for ready consultation and of legibility has been achieved by the clear definition of outlines and the readability of the type used for naming counties, Parliamentary divisions and towns. Every Labour Party Office and Labour and Trade Union Club would be well advised to purchase one of these maps for display.

In addition to being a Parliamentary map it shows topographical features such as railways, roads, rivers, towns and villages in a clear and eminently traceable manner.

The map is 58 by 72 inches, and is mounted on cloth and rollers.

The Problems of the Civil Service. Sir A. Flynn. (Cassel. 1s.)

Sir Albert Flynn has given us in this little volume a somewhat uneven collection of observations on a most vital subject. With some of his remarks and suggestions, notably those on the Caste system, we should all agree, and by "all" is meant all in the Labour movement. From other observations many of us would dissent on the ground that they are based on experience gained in a very specialised part of the Service and are not perhaps applicable to other parts.

For the good stories with which the moral is frequently pointed we shall all be grateful, as indeed we ought to be for the suggestive value of most of the things Sir Albert Flynn has all too briefly said. If his vision lacks the broad wisdom of a Haldane, it is at any rate exceedingly practical and provocative.

The Motor Industry of Great Britain, 1928. (Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders, Limited, 83, Pall Mall, London, S.W.1).

This handbook is simply invaluable to everyone interested in the motor industry and to students of industrial conditions generally. It is wonderfully comprehensive in the range and fulness of statistics and graphs which illustrate almost every aspect of the manufacture and sale of motor vehicles. From road costs and taxation to output and wages, from motor trucks to tyres and accessories, the 120 pages of figures,

descriptions, and charts tell us most of the things we want to know concerning this rapidly growing trade.

How rapidly it is growing may be seen from the numbers employed, which rose steadily from 34,000 in 1907 to 257,000 in 1927. Already it ranks as one of our large industries, one of the few that are prosperous and still expanding. The average earnings of skilled and unskilled employees amounted to 40s. 8½d. per week in 1914, 71s. 10d. in 1923, and 80s. 7½d. in 1927. One might continue to cite interesting statistics of potential markets, types of car preferred by buyers, road accidents, and a thousand and one other matters, but space forbids. Would that every industry would have the enterprise to compile a similar handbook!

Coal and Its Conflicts. By J. R. Raynes. (Benn. 21s.)

While valuable as a record of disputes in the coal industry, written from the point of view of the more benighted coalowners, Mr. Raynes' book can hardly be said to throw much light upon any problem of the industry, except that of the curious psychology of the Mining Association. The bias is too plain to mislead any reader, while the bad journalese that is Mr. Raynes' style does not make an inspiring narrative.

We can understand Lord Gainford when he strongly recommends everyone to read it, but Mr. Cook's astonishingly moderate criticism, printed on the dust cover, makes us think that "A. J." is for once turning the other cheek!

ORDERS FOR THE

Industrial Review

(ENLARGED TO 16 PAGES)

should be sent to

THE PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT,
— TRADES UNION CONGRESS —
SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1

Annual Subscription :

Single Copy . . .	2s. 6d.
10 copies . . .	13s.
20 copies . . .	25s.
50 copies . . .	£3
100 copies . . .	£6

THE INDUSTRIAL REVIEW
is the official publication of the
Trades Union Congress.

THE LABOUR MAGAZINE

Incorporating The British Trades Union Review and the Labour Party Bulletin

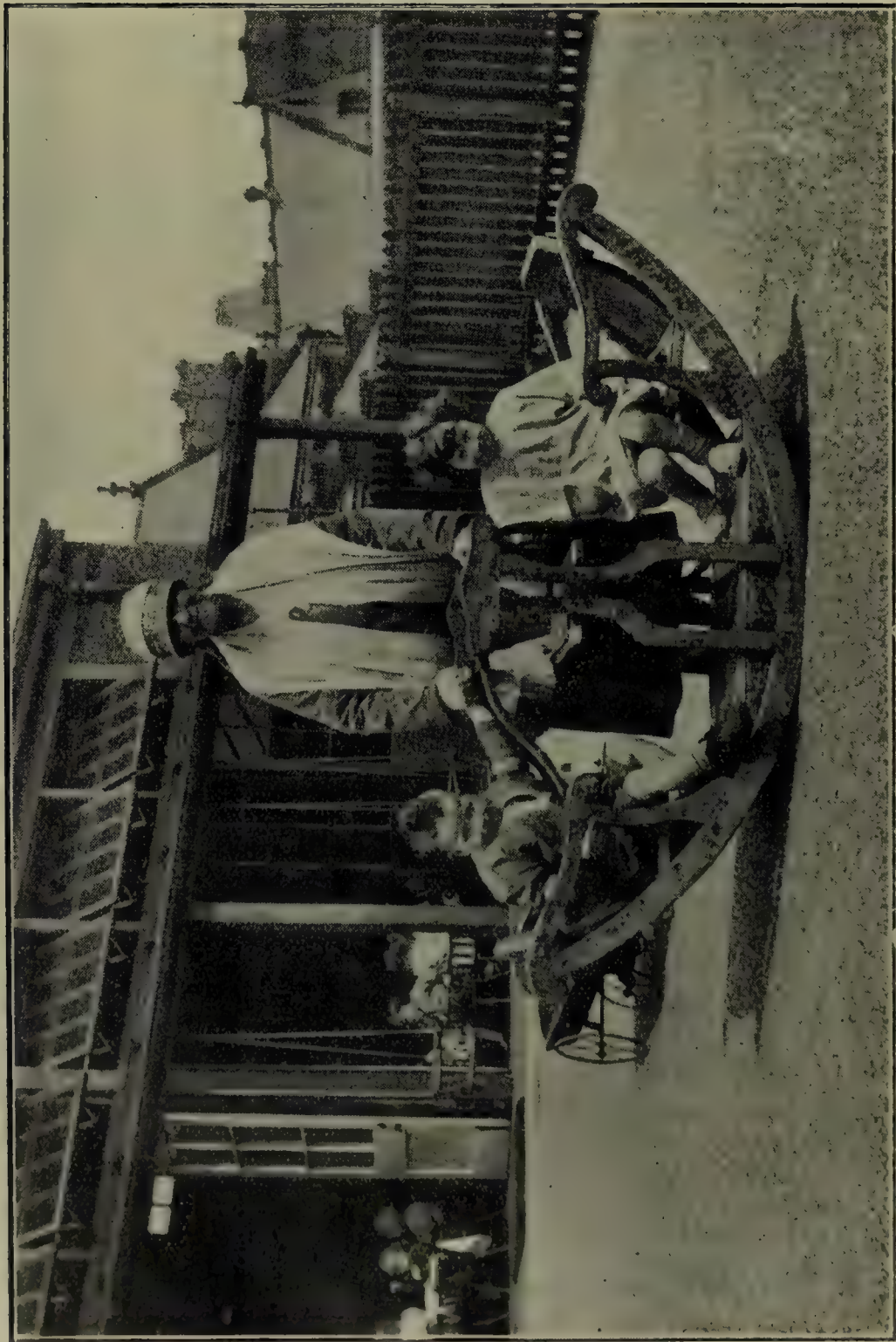
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APRIL, 1929

No. 12

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HAPPY HOURS AT A NURSERY SCHOOL

MRS. KATHERINE BRUCE GLASIER AT THE LILYCROFT NURSERY SCHOOL, BRADFORD

Nursery Schools for Mining Villages

By

KATHARINE BRUCE GLASIER

AS I started to write this article a letter came in from Margaret McMillan.

"There is to be a big, experimental, open-air nursery school in the Rhondda!"

A member of the Society of Friends, a woman, was providing the initial cost. There was hope that the movement, once well started, would be taken up by the County Council Educational Committees throughout South Wales. But for the moment the practical question of ways and means dropped out of sight. The joy of the fact out-blazed everything else. The Rhondda and a nursery garden school! "A people who sat in darkness have seen a great light!" The 2,000 year old song had found a full-worthy twentieth century application.

* * *

In November and December of 1928 my work as I.L.P. propagandist led me on a rapid journey through the mining villages of Northumberland and Durham and Cumberland. In January and February of this year I spent four weeks in South Wales, winding up in the Rhondda. This article is no place for sensational journalism. Suffice it to say I have not gathered such vision of unbearable human pain and social wrong since my start in 1892 in Ayrshire and Lanarkshire under Keir Hardie and Robert Small.

With the help of the Women's Labour League, for years before the war, and a five-editioned pamphlet, I have fought for Pithead Baths in practically every mining centre in Britain, and shared the generous hospitality of miners' homes in hundreds of mining villages. At the time of the General Strike I was held up in Kent, and was thus enabled to add a wildly exciting campaign through the new Kentish coalfields to all my previous experiences.

It is thus with a lifetime's harvest of knowledge of the conditions of life in mining villages, and with a first-hand intimate touch with the daily struggle of the wives and mothers in our miners' homes, and their

special difficulties that I advance the two-fold plea:—

(1) That no section of our nation has more need of the new and joyous start in life for the little ones from two to five years old which is the gift of a nursery school, and

(2) That no types or groups of families in the land would show finer results if their children were given the opportunities to develop the manifold human powers latent within them which are afforded by nurture in their early years, scientific as well as generous and loving.

To take the last point first. For at least a century and a-half the Indian scholar's teaching that "the aim of life is not safety and comfort, but heroism and happiness" has been practically understood if not set into words in every self-respecting miner's home.

From Alexander MacDonald and Thomas Burt in the old days to those of Keir Hardie, Robert Smillie, Stephen Walsh, and James Welsh in our own days, a startled House of Commons has had to admit the varied genius and outstanding powers of leadership thrown up by mining communities. They are also well known in our Colonial history.

In the world of music the singing powers of choirs drawn from mining villages are far-famed, and by no means confined to South Wales. For a century, in brass and silver band contests, miners' bands have continually carried off the prizes.

One of my most cherished recollections is an evening spent, I think in 1911, in the stately music room of Nicholas Kilburn, the Wagner enthusiast, in his home at Bishop Auckland. There, in the light of wax candles, reflected on the polished surfaces of wooden wainscot and panelled ceiling, the old white-headed disciple told the long story of his struggle to reveal the treasure of Wagner's music to the British nation. When his first Covent Garden venture failed he fell back on his native Durham. There, among the miners, he had found both sympathy and talent ready to provide him alike, the chorus and the orchestra capable of producing Wagner's "Ring" for the first time in Britain.

"We had to find the singers for the principal solo parts from the great professionals of the Continent," he said, "but it was only because our Durham folk lacked the time and money for training. The love of music and the capacity were there all right. Nay, for sheer brain power, and what the Germans call *klang-tint*, or colour sound in their voices, and in their instrumental playing, I believe they could have held their own with the whole world. But Britain, the richest country in the world, let it all go back again into the pit."

* * *

And now Britain has not even the pit for them! The problem of 250,000 to 300,000 miners permanently out of work stares the country in the face.

The desperate poverty of the whole mining community is vaguely outlined in the official figures as to wages given early this year in the House of Commons by the Minister of Mines in answer to a question.

In 1924, the money paid in wages to miners in Great Britain was over £3,050,000 a week. To-day only £1,880,000 a week is so disbursed. And that money is paid to 896,200 miners, nearly all of whom have relatives out of work, needing and getting their help (nowhere is community or family feeling stronger than among the miners), or who themselves have been out of work, and have all kinds of liabilities weighing upon them.

If the figures given above could be translated into terms of milk and clothing for little children, or the mounting despair of their mothers and fathers as they watch them pine instead of thrive, no further argument would be needed. Tens of thousands of little lives are being starved at the start.

* * *

Furthermore, in no industry in Britain are there such ugly contrasts in outward housing

conditions as in the mining world. To begin with, it is an old industry, and the old company houses or pit rows provided for the miners' homing by coal-pit owners in the beginning of last century—owners who used women as cheaper than pit ponies, and little lads of seven and eight years old as cheaper than scientific ventilation so long as the law allowed it—those hovels are still for the most part standing and fully occupied. By the cruel ironies of starvation wages, the big families of little children will more often be found there than in the new and better-planned homes.

In Moresby Park in Cumberland I have often stayed in a miner's home, one of several hundred, where not only is there no water tap inside the home, but no sort of sink.

Every drop of water has to be fetched over a cobbled court and along an unpaved, direfully muddy lane from a stand pipe that does duty for twelve families. Every drop of water when used, as I discovered to my cost, has to be carried out and poured away down a drain pipe, so small, that a too rapid pouring drowned the feet of the



WHY NURSERY SCHOOLS ARE NEEDED: A TYPICAL INTERIOR IN A MINING VILLAGE.

pourer in a hideous flood.

And there were three little children in that house as well as their miner father needing daily baths.

To-day in Moresby Park, as the result of Labour Councillors' efforts, as all over the land, there are some 70 Council houses with hot and cold water, a bath-room, and a tiled range. As my hostess forcibly expressed it to me, the difference to her daily life was the difference between Hell and Heaven. But the rent and rates were beginning to mean slow starvation for her and her little family. Only three weeks later in a similarly situated village in Durham, I vainly strove to still the sobbing of an expectant mother with three other children under nine years of age, who was being forced to leave a Council house where she had known sunshine and fresh air,

and full possibilities of cleanliness for five years to return to the brutal slavery of a house in a pit-row.

"We cannot even get bread and blankets if we continue to live here. But it isn't only the dirt and the crowding. It is the drinking and gambling, and the language, and low ways the children will have to hear and see."

For it must be frankly admitted that in mining villages there are extremes of character as well as of environment. As Keir Hardie put it to us once: "The conditions of pit

Furthermore, with dangerous accident and death almost a daily occurrence; Dickens' saying, "Religion is the only romance of the poor" has still special truth.

But as I have already suggested, such contrasts mean that even for the children of clean homes, compulsory education means compulsory contact with dirt, and all the diseases of dirt. By five years old in infant schools the results are only too manifest. The nursery school at two years old will help to dispel them once and for all.



WHAT THE NURSERY SCHOOLS DO: A PLAYTIME SCENE.

life are so hard that men tend either to sink beneath them into mere beasts of burden and appetite, or to rise above them with a strength born of struggle that has heroic mould." It is the same with the women. Nowhere has the hold of religion been so real or so widespread as in mining villages, and if the snare of self-righteousness be avoided, nowhere are the saints so loving and lovable or so full of compassion for the sinners. They know how terrible the temptation has been for over-driven humanity; how good was the will of the brother or sister who has given way.

It has been urged, by superficial thinkers, that mothers in mining districts do not go out to work, and so have not the same need of help in the nurture of their little ones as the mothers in textile districts who go to the mills. But unless there are baths at the pit-head, there are no homes in all our industrial areas where harder or more disheartening work is brought home to the mother, sometimes under the shift system three times in the day. What chance of nurture, or even of regular meals and sleep have little children where miner father and brothers come in laden with

pit dirt, often with damp and foul-smelling clothing at all hours of the 24? The village street, too, outside, is often laden with grimy dust.

In hundreds of mining villages a brave, affectionate mother will wash and dress a toddling girlie and send her out clean and sweet, only to get her back in less than an hour grimy from head to foot. If daddy, or uncle, or brother picks her up as she runs to meet him homing from the pit, the mother's work is largely undone. Even the attempt to get the little ones washed and clean to go to bed at night means rigid method and heroic struggle. The very fondness of the men folk makes irregular and unsuitable feeding the rule rather than the exception of a little one's life in a miner's home.

Yet just as Heine says: "The love of liberty is a prison flower," so it can be claimed that the love of cleanliness and of bright colour and music, indeed of "all things bright and good" is more active and potent in mining homes than in many middle-class suburbs. Both men and women toil to obtain it. It is the same with education.

Nowhere have the County Council Education Authorities shown themselves more ready to spend, and to be spent for education, than those in which the mining communities of Scotland, Durham, and South Wales have had voting strength.

Once these Authorities grasp the vital importance of laying the foundations of all education in the joyous, fearless, healthy nurture of the nursery school. Once the overburdened mothers taste and see the conditions of comparatively perfect well being secured to their darlings, close to their homes, for nine, safe happy hours in each of the five working days of the pit, and we shall see the brightest and best-loved nursery garden schools working miracles of new hope and cheer in our mining villages.

The love of little children is one of the strongest characteristics of miners as of sailors, and assuredly of their wives. The nursery school does not come to take the children away from their fathers and mothers, but to bring the nursery shelter and the garden, and the loving skilled nursery school teachers to their homes. They will give the tinies back to their mothers and fathers each evening at 5 o'clock, when the work of washing, baking, and adult bathing is for the most part over.

"Down with the foul pit-rows and up with the nursery garden school on the empty site" should be the slogan of our mining communities and all their friends. Deptford and

Sheffield and Bradford all have proved how speedily desert wastes and even "tips" can be converted into nursery gardens for little children to grow in as beautiful as God meant them to be. The doors will always be open for friendly mothers and fathers to come and watch their wee things at work and at play—to see them help each other at their merry meals or splashing in the big spray bath—to marvel at their peaceful sleeping in the fresh, clean, open air.

The evening school for mothers, and the appeal to fathers for help in the garden work, and toy mending would meet with eager response. The older daughters of miners, as they leave school, would find in the part time apprentice system of the nursery school staff just the help they need.

And if it be charged against our miners that they are clannish and lacking in courage to try other spheres of industry; that in an age of machinery and constantly changing invention they are apt to be soil-bound and obstinately conservative, lacking in creative imagination, let us cut off the entail. The nursery garden school will give the miners' children the new, all-round opportunity of growth into 20th century stature which they specially need.

Finally, if we let our minds return again to the terrible facts of hunger and cold, of rags and despair, the conditions like to those of the Irish famine prevailing in sections of South Wales and other specially hard-hit mining areas, let us at least rescue the little ones. The nursery garden school can be swiftly made ready. The labour necessary is waiting, eager in every mining community. Suitable sites leap to meet the eye. Three just right meals a day and bright warm clothing are nowhere more needed.

If "a child's sob curseth deeper in the darkness than a strong man in his wrath," reverse the thought. Think of the blessing waiting to throb through all our national life with the joyous laughter of little children. Ah! think of it—even as I began—a nursery school for the Rhondda!

No architecture (or lack of it) in Britain has more brutally typified the cheapness of human life under wage-slavery than the old pit-rows, set in the midst of the human mole heaps of pit waste and slag. The nursery garden school comes to tell of the sacredness of human life and its inborn right to joy and beauty. It is the essential foundation of the new social order; the natural expression of its new-born spirit of freedom in and through the service of the commonweal.

The Tories and Housing

By

GEORGE HICKS

(General Secretary, Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers)

THE Tories claim to have built 800,000 houses in four years. They are making great electoral play with this claim, and are hoping thereby to secure a great deal of popular support at the General Election. In addition, Sir Kingsley Wood, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health, speaking at Woolwich on March 20, said that at the forthcoming General Election the Government would ask the country to entrust them with the task of dealing vigorously and effectively with the slums.

The Tories are fully aware as to how sensitive the people are in regard to housing matters. They know that of all social questions the housing question, with the possible exception of unemployment, is of principal importance. Housing deeply concerns the daily lives of the people, and most intimately affects their well-being and happiness. Housing is, therefore, one of the principal issues of the General Election.

This issue has to be faced and dealt with by the Labour Party and the active men and women in the Labour Movement generally. It is not sufficient to riddle the spurious claims of the Tories; it is necessary to have a clear understanding of the nature of the housing problem and to press vigorously, in accordance with the accepted policy of the Labour Party, for a solution of this problem.

Before proceeding to state the nature of the housing problem, as far as space will admit, it would perhaps be best to give the attitude and policy of the Labour Party thereto. This is best expressed, in my opinion, by the resolution on housing passed by the 26th Annual Conference of the Labour Party held at Margate in 1926. The resolution, which was moved by Mr. W. A. Strawbridge, of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers, is as follows:—

“ This Conference views with alarm the rapid degradation of the housing conditions of the people, and condemns the present Government for the inadequacy of its housing policy. It regards the Tory adventures in substitute house-building, particularly in relation to the ‘ Weir ’ house, as most pernicious and unmitigated evils, aiming at lowering the standard of

working-class housing. It places on record its condemnation of the Minister of Health and holds him and the Government responsible for the loss of thousands of valuable lives occasioned by the prevailing frightful housing conditions through the ravages of consumption, fever, and other diseases directly resulting from overcrowding and slum conditions.

“ The Conference accordingly instructs the Parliamentary Labour Party—and any future Labour Government—to use every means to carry through a comprehensive housing programme, supplementing the Wheatley Act of 1924 in such a way as

“ (a) To make immediately good the acknowledged shortage of over 2,000,000 houses.

“ ((b) To utilise scientifically all the resources of the building industry—in materials and labour—in a great national effort to solve the housing problem, in which house-building will not be subordinated to other classes of building, and labour—apprenticeship, etc.—will be scientifically regulated.

“ (c) To insist upon a proper housing standard—in regard to quality, size, room-space, conveniences, appearance and make of houses; and

“ (d) To use the resources of the State to the utmost in promoting the above programme.”

This resolution tersely summarises the housing issue, and the attitude and aims of the Labour Party in connection therewith.

THE NATURE OF THE HOUSING PROBLEM.

Now let us glance, as briefly as possible, at the nature of the housing problem.

In Britain there is a population of over 44,000,000. Of these 21,000,000 are males and 23,000,000 are females. Sex has a considerable bearing on housing matters. This population is grouped into families. And the problem, broadly speaking, is how to ensure that each and every one of these families is properly housed. What do we mean by properly housed? Our answer to that is that

there should be a separate dwelling for every family, and a sufficient number of rooms in the dwelling for the members of the family, with due consideration to age and sex. It is so necessary to separate the growing children of either sex in the matter of bedroom accommodation. The dwelling should be ample in space, be so built as to admit plenty of fresh air and sunshine, be possessed of modern conveniences, bathroom, lavatory accommodation, etc., be weather-resisting and dry, and so constructed in make and appearance as to give the dwellers therein a sense of comfort and human worth and dignity. This we regard as a minimum standard. And until that standard has been reached in regard to the housing of every family in the country there will not, in my opinion, be a solution to the housing problem.

Now the housing problem as such directly concerns 90 per cent. of the population. The rich—the other 10 per cent.—have no housing problem. They have good houses because they can pay for them. The housing problem is essentially a working-class problem. And the actual issue is as to how the great working class is at present housed, and how it ought to be housed.

The principal factors centering round the problem are:—

(a) The present state of housing accommodation; the present number of houses in relation to the number of families; and the suitability of those houses in the light of what we conceive a modern house should be.

(b) The rate of increase of the number of families. There are more than 300,000 marriages that take place each year, and extra housing provision has necessarily to be made for the new families.

(c) The "life" of the houses. Every year there are thousands of houses that become unfit for human habitation through wear and tear, and which ought to be put out of commission. Some authorities put the average "life" of a house at 100 years. In view of the rapid advance in housing progress that, in my opinion, is too long. A great part of the present housing problem is to modernise many of the houses which were built less than 50 years ago. Indeed, recognising the right of every family to bathroom accommodation, and so on, I would say that more than half the houses now occupied by working class families ought to be demolished. Estimates differ as to the number of replacements that are annually required. The most conservative is 80,000 per annum.

(d) The measures being adopted to cope with the problem, the rate of house-building, and the suitability of the houses now being built. The relation of these measures to the resources of the building industry, and the amount of building labour available, and the costs of such measures, here call for consideration.

THE PRESENT STATE OF HOUSING ACCOMMODATION.

During the great war relatively no houses were built. The shortage of houses as estimated by the local authorities in 1919 was 1,000,000.* This was a very low estimate indeed. And that was based on the assumption that immediately prior to the war there was no housing shortage. Ten years have elapsed since then. Each year the marriages in Britain have averaged well over 300,000. Reckoning the need of one new house for every three marriages these call for 100,000 houses each year. The need for replacement of old houses which have become unfit for human habitation is at least 80,000 each year. That gives us an annual demand of 180,000 houses, or in ten years 1,800,000 houses. Add this to the admitted shortage in 1919, and we have a total of 2,800,000 houses. This is giving round figures. A closer inquiry would add considerably to the number.

To meet this shortage of 2,800,000 houses on pre-war housing there have been built†:—

Year ended 30th Sept.	Und r Subsidy Schemes.	Number of houses built.		
		Without subsidy.	Total.	
1919 ..	—			
1920 ..	6,127	30,000	..	210,237
1921 ..	67,945			
1922 ..	106,165			
1923 ..	25,989			
1924 ..	36,459	52,749	..	78,738
1925 ..	92,291	73,032	..	109,491
1926 ..	131,895	66,735	..	159,026
1927 ..	212,916	65,689	..	197,584
1928 ..	101,791	60,313	..	273,229
		64,624	..	166,415

The figures published by the Ministry of Health state that during the ten years—1918 to 1928—the total number of houses built was 1,221,578. Of these 808,436 were subsidised by the State and 413,142 were built without subsidy. At the outside no more than 1,300,000 houses have been built up to date. *That leaves a definite present shortage of 1,500,000 houses.* When in 1926 Mr. W. A. Strawbridge moved that resolution at the Labour Party Conference on housing, stating that the

* See the "New Housing Handbook," by Richard Reiss (page 7).

† Parliamentary Debates. Thursday, November 22, 1928. Volume 222, No. 13

shortage was then 2,000,000, he was well within the mark. The Tory claim to have built 800,000 houses in four years, even were it true, would demonstrate that we were only keeping pace with the current demand, and were making no inroads into the original shortage. If the shortage, however, was 1,000,000 in 1919 and is now 1,500,000, it is evident that instead of making headway we are going back.

Nor is that all that should be said about the present state of housing accommodation. The houses that are condemned as unfit for human habitation are only a fraction of those which should be so condemned. Just recently the Shoreditch Survey Group made an investigation into housing conditions in that borough. I cite this because it is typical of many other boroughs, and indeed could be said to be general in relation to those older congested districts where the workers are crowded together. "The whole of the old cottage property in Shoreditch is undesirable. Many of the cottages stand below street level. Built without damp-proof courses and without cellars, the ground floor rooms are generally affected by rising dampness, and are unhealthy. Frequently the fabric is worn out, and brickwork is porous and bulging, and walls are fractured and sunken and have been tied, woodwork is warped, and window-sills and doorsteps worn away." How true that is of the old house property everywhere. As I said previously, if we seriously set out to provide the people with good houses to live in we would find it necessary to demolish over half the houses where the workers dwell. And what of the new houses? Reference was made in the Labour Party resolution to the "Weir" houses. The Tory attempt to thrust these metal, makeshift structures on the people was a scandal and a shame. Fortunately the attempt proved a grotesque failure. It would be well to remind the Tories of this attempt and its failure at the present juncture. Many of the houses included in the Tory "800,000" are in little better case, and will be uninhabitable in a very short space of time. And in general the restrictions imposed by the Tory Ministry of Health, as to room-space, etc., of subsidy houses leaves much to be remedied.

The general facts concerning the present state of housing accommodation are fairly well known. It is universally admitted that there are over 3,000,000 persons living in foul, disease-ridden slums. In England and Wales 3,500,000 persons live more than two to a room. In Scotland more than 43 per

cent of the population live more than two to a room. A million and a quarter families, a very substantial portion of the population, are compelled to share houses. There are thousands of families which are limited to single rooms. In the single room these families—many of them with grown-up sons and daughters—have to do all the business of living and dying—have to sleep, wash, dress, eat, have babies, care for the sick, do everything. Isn't it abominable? There are over 20,000 homeless persons in London alone.

If the Tory assumption is that because 800,000 houses have been built during the past four years the housing problem is practically solved, and if one is to judge by the policy of Mr. Neville Chamberlain and the Tory Government that is the assumption, then the facts of the situation are all against them.

Actually, of course, the Tory Government has not been responsible for the accelerated rate of house-building during the past four years. The great impulse was given to house-building by the Labour Government in 1924, largely through the efforts of Mr. John Wheatley, who was then Health Minister. He it was who called the representatives of the building industry—the building employers, the manufacturers of building materials, and the building trade workers—together. He it was who discussed plans with them, who came to agreements with them, and laid the basis for the carrying through of a vast programme, involving the building of 2,500,000 houses. The master builders extended their plants and made provision for the extra work. So also did the materials manufacturers. The building operatives arranged through their Trade Unions to increase the personnel of the industry as far as labour was concerned. The Tory Government simply inherited the results of those conferences of the representatives of the building industry with the Labour Government, and has profited, despite itself, by the fruits of that work. Of the 796,253 houses built during the four years—1925 to 1928—no less than 257,361 were built without State subsidy, and owe nothing whatever to Tory stimulus. Then 220,000 houses of the remaining 538,293 were built under the Wheatley Housing Act. If the Tories claimed to have built a little over 300,000 houses for sale, that is for those able to purchase their own houses, it would be a little nearer the truth. But such a claim would be ridiculous in the face of the pressing present needs of the people, hence the resort to the brazen mendacity of the claim they have made.

It is remarkable that the Tories have ventured to mention housing at all. It is so evident that they are trading on the ignorance of the general public in the matter of housing facts. Actually the Tory Government has put barriers and difficulties in the way of house-building progress. It is the active personnel in the building industry which has built the houses, and the dynamic force behind them have been the local authorities, who in response to the clamant demand in their respective communities have insistently pressed for houses from the Government. The houses that have been built during the past four years have been built despite the Tory Government.

THE SLUMS.

And now the Tories are asking the country "to entrust them with the task of dealing vigorously and effectively with the slums."

They have had their chance. The slums are not something new. They are not a recently discovered evil. They have been with us, glaringly and menacingly with us, during the whole period of Tory administration. They have, indeed, been made worse by Tory administration. The constant attacks of the Tories on the wage rates and standards of living of the workers, their aggravation of the poverty of the people, have encouraged the growth of slums where none previously existed and made the slums worse generally. Slums are a direct outcome of the tragic poverty of the people. Wherever there are people endeavouring to live on unemployment pay or low wages there the conditions are created for the development of slums. Slums, like poverty, are everywhere. And the cruel irony of the position is that the set purpose of Tory housing policy has been to cater for everybody but the unfortunate slum dweller.

By reducing the subsidy under the Wheatley Act and eliminating entirely the subsidy under the Chamberlain Act of 1923, Mr. Neville Chamberlain has brought about a collapse in house-building. How serious that collapse is is made apparent by a comparison of the figures of houses built in 1927 with those of 1928. Less than half the subsidy houses were built in 1928 as compared with 1927. The Tory Government has cruelly betrayed the people. As I have stated elsewhere, by the end of this year a quarter of a million families would be in new dwellings, who will be condemned to live overcrowded in old, dilapidated, fever-infested, vermin-ridden hovels because of the neglect of housing by the Tories. And then they have the audacity to

ask the country to entrust them with dealing with the slums.

THE BETRAYAL OF THE BUILDING INDUSTRY.

Not only have the Tories betrayed the people, they have gone back on their promises to the building industry. They have betrayed the master builders and the manufacturers of building materials. Plants are idle. Vast quantities of materials remain unused. They have betrayed the building workers—those, indeed, who have given body and substance to any claim they may make in regard to house-building. The official figures given in the *Ministry of Labour Gazette* for March state that there are 202,784 building workers unemployed, or 24.8 per cent. On the basis of those figures at least £250,000 weekly is being spent on unemployment pay by the State to those building workers. What folly is all this! *A million pounds a month to keep building workers idle who could be building houses and eliminating the slums. All that the Tory Ministry of Health has done by cutting down housing has been to transfer over 200,000 building workers to the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Labour, and prevent them being of service or value to the community.* They have turned a deaf ear to the cry of the slums. They have broken the continuity of house-building. They have tried to fasten on the community shoddy and substitute houses. They have reduced the amenities of the house to bedrock. They have transferred building trade workers from the Ministry of Health to the Ministry of Labour by the thousands. Then they talk of safeguarding industry. They should be known as the Wreckers—the wreckers of housing.

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Tory Futility at Geneva

By

"OBSERVER"

FOR two days, March 11 and 12, I have "assisted," as the French say, at a pitiable exhibition of Tory feebleness and duplicity, with Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland as the chief exhibit, in the handsome and dignified Governing Body Room of the International Labour Office at Geneva. To paraphrase the remark of Mr. A. A. Milne's delightful Eeyore: Pathetic; that's what it was; pathetic!

It is common knowledge that Mr. Baldwin's Government has a keen antipathy to the International Labour Office because it insists on doing its job, which is to improve the working and living conditions of the masses by means of international agreements. Moreover, the present British Labour Minister has an intense dislike to the way in which the Office constantly reminds the world of the existence of the Hours Convention adopted at the Washington Labour Conference in 1919 with the support of the British Government of the day. Mr. Lloyd George's Government refused to honour its bond; the Labour Government of 1924 was overturned when it was arranging to ratify the Convention; Mr. Baldwin's Government has expressed its "sympathy," in the usual hypocritical phrases, with the "principle" of the Convention, but continually offers excuses for not ratifying. In 1926, at the invitation of Mr. Baldwin, a Conference of the Labour Members of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Belgium was held in London in order to arrive at an understanding concerning the interpretation and the ratification of the Convention. We were told that all difficulties had been surmounted at the Conference. Belgium promptly ratified without conditions; France and Italy ratified with the proviso that Great Britain and certain other countries did likewise; Germany prepared legislation to enable her to ratify, and the necessary bills are ready to come before the Reichstag. Great Britain did nothing but raise further vague difficulties, which Mr. Baldwin's Government studiously refused to define.

But the General Election is drawing near, and it is likely to be a critical event for the Tory Party. It therefore becomes necessary for Mr. Baldwin to undertake a certain

amount of window-dressing. The British Labour Minister, Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, decided to go to Geneva for the first time since he took office. His mission was to explain as plausibly as possible after nine years unaccountable delay, why the British Government cannot, after all, ratify the Hours Convention.

It was really a work of supererogation. Everyone who knows anything about the British Labour Minister is aware that he is the humble and obedient servant of the most reactionary group of British employers, and that neither he nor his colleagues in the Cabinet dare offend their masters by agreeing to an Hours Convention embodying an eight-hour working day. This was made plain by the speech at Geneva of Mr. Forbes Watson, the representative of the British employers, who bluntly declared that he was wholeheartedly opposed to "State interference" in industry, which indicates that if he could have his way he would scrap all Labour legislation for safeguarding the health and general welfare of the workers. Naturally, Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland could not be as brutally frank and outspoken as the mouthpiece of his capitalist mentors. He expressed in customary Baldwinese his belief in the "principle" of the Hours Convention, but followed up this obvious insincerity by a long rigmarole, which demonstrated quite plainly that it would never be possible to draw up a Convention on working hours which would satisfy Mr. Baldwin's Cabinet. Hence Sir Arthur's laboured recital of "difficulties" in the way of ratification was not taken seriously by anyone except the representatives of the employers.

Mr. Poulton, the British workers' representative, who has never missed an opportunity of pressing for ratification, not only by Great Britain, but by all countries, gave expression in a vigorous and comprehensive speech to the opinions of the majority of the Governing Body. Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland had mentioned fifteen points of difficulty which required solution before Great Britain could ratify. "If," said Mr. Poulton, "these fifteen points were settled satisfactorily Sir Arthur would most likely bring up fifteen more, and again fifteen after these had been

cleared away." No one genuinely desirous of arriving at an international agreement on the subject of working hours would insist on nothing being done until an absolutely perfect agreement had been drawn up. Perfection was impossible; progress could only be made by experiment carried out with goodwill. Belgium had found no difficulty in administering the Convention, nor had other countries who had ratified it.

These arguments were hammered home with telling force by other workers' representatives until Sir Arthur's hollow and artificial case was completely smashed.

The Government representatives from France, Germany, Belgium, and Italy took much the same view as that stated by the workers' representatives, but in order not to utterly crush the badly battered British Labour Minister, they proposed various compromises between total refusal to consider revision and the proposals of the British Government. But although three efforts of this kind were made they, together with Sir Arthur's propositions, were all rejected and the Washington Hours Convention remains for the time being in its original state as far as the International Labour Office is concerned.

It was a humiliating experience for the Tory Labour Minister; but if he possessed the mental capacity commensurate with his job he would have known that his attempt to sabotage the Hours Convention while pretending to support and improve it was too obvious and silly to have any chance of success at Geneva. He will now perhaps understand that it requires brains to play a Machievellian game—and win.

POINTS FROM THE DEBATE.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR ARTHUR STEEL-MAITLAND, in opening his case for revision, stated that both he and his Government were in favour of the principle laid down in the Hours Convention. That being so, why did Great Britain hesitate to ratify? Because of certain ambiguities which his Government considered should be cleared up, which meant that the Convention would require reconsideration. He paid compliments to the framers of the present Convention, and stated that it would be surprising if there were not a want of clearness in certain particulars. He wished to know the actual meaning of such phrases as "hours of work," "intermittent work," and the "limits of overtime." With regard to the London Conference, he said that agreement had been arrived at on points of

substance which was a great advance and a great advantage; but though this was a step towards finality it could not produce finality itself. There was a further question as to whether a working week of 47 hours, which is not uncommon in England, could be worked in five days so as to have a whole holiday on the Saturday.

The British Government had not hitherto stated in definite terms the points on which it wished to have revision, because it did not think that the time was appropriate. He then went through the articles one by one and raised various questions, mostly of a subtle and fine-spun character. He concluded by saying that if the Convention were amended by the Conference on the lines he had suggested he would recommend the Government to ratify it, and he was sure that they would consent.

Mr. POULTON, British workers' representative, rose immediately and made a vigorous onslaught on the statement made by Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland. Mr. Poulton said it was a very great pity that it had taken nine years and five months for the British Government to place before the Governing Body a series of questions, especially after the very clear and expressive instructions given by the British Government in 1919 to the British representative to vote for the Hours Convention as at present drafted. Even if the present series of points raised by the British Government were settled, he was not sure that another series would not be raised, and the discussion continued into another chapter. He pointed out that the British Government had not ratified the Convention, and therefore they had no experience as to whether it would work smoothly or otherwise. It was certainly a somewhat novel doctrine to say that the Convention needed altering when for nine years and five months the British Government had consistently refused to put the Convention into operation. Sir Arthur had stated that the law officers of Great Britain had now assured him and his colleagues that it was impossible to work the Convention in Great Britain. It was interesting to note that the British Government had manoeuvred and finessed until the time had almost arrived when the Governing Body itself would have to make a report to the Conference on the working of the Convention. He ventured to say that the conclusions of the law officers of Great Britain would have had more validity if they had been presented some years back. He had had the opportunity

of meeting Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland and his colleagues on various occasions in connection with the question as to what constituted hours of work and on how many days those hours could be spread over; and he had consistently told Sir Arthur that Articles 2 and 7 of the Hours Convention were sufficiently elastic to permit of the solution of any difficulties that might exist in Great Britain or other countries. As to the distribution of the hours of work he pointed out that one of the parties to the Convention at Washington was Mr. Tom Shaw, who had been Minister of Labour for Great Britain. Mr. Shaw had assured him that he had the point in mind when they were discussing the particular clauses at Washington, and that he had no doubt and no difficulty in his mind as to the feasibility of working the Hours Convention as far as Great Britain was concerned. As to the London Conference, it was generally understood that after the discussions and arguments that had taken place there, the British Government representatives were satisfied and that ratification would proceed forthwith. So much was this understood that the representative of the Belgian Government reported favourably to his Government, which then ratified the Convention. Not only did the Belgian Government ratify the Convention but they put it into operation, and the Government representative of Belgium in that very room had stated that they had found no difficulties in the way of working the Hours Convention. He referred to the reports from other countries which had ratified, from which it could be concluded that the Convention was a workable instrument. It might be said that there were evasions. He would, however, ask Sir Arthur how many thousands of cases the Ministry of Labour under the Trades Boards Acts, and the Home Office under the Factory Acts, have to deal with concerning the breaking of our laws during any twelve months. Employers, of course, broke laws, but it did not follow that there was not a general application of and agreement with the laws.

He wished to remind the Governing Body that five months before the Hours Convention was adopted at Washington the representatives of the employers and workers of Great Britain, called together at the express wish of the then Prime Minister, signed a document that declared for an eight-hour day or a 48-hour week. That should be clearly understood. But while they were in conference at Geneva, he believed in 1927, the employers sent round a document denouncing the Hours Convention,

stating that it was an unworkable instrument, and it could not be, and ought not to be placed upon the Statute Book of the Realm. He could not help feeling that that particular attitude had had considerable influence with the Government, and had inspired the decisions announced by Sir Arthur that morning. Finally, he wished to impress upon Sir Arthur and his colleagues that the deplorable attitude of Great Britain was acting as a break upon the progress in European and other countries. The workers wanted the regulation of hours of work by law, not merely in order to place all employers on a similar level, but because they hoped that the Convention, by carrying out the spirit and intention of Part XIII. of the Peace Treaty, would help to sooth the unrest which was so great that "the peace and harmony of the world were imperilled."

Mr. WISSELL, German Minister of Labour, stated that nearly all the points which Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland had mentioned were discussed at the Conference of the Ministers of Labour, which was held in London, and at which the Ministers of Labour of Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, and Italy were present. At that meeting agreement had been reached on all points of difficulty. In Germany it was considered that the London Conference provided an assurance of a uniform interpretation of the Convention and provided a secure basis for ratification. German legislation had now been brought more and more closely in accordance with the Convention. There was at that moment before the Reichstag the great Workers' Protection Bill, which would remove the last divergencies between German law and the Convention. A Bill for the ratification of the Convention was before the Cabinet, and the only reason for the delay in submitting it to the Reichstag arose from the discussions then taking place at Geneva. If procedure for revision were undertaken, Germany would be placed in a difficult position because that would shake the whole foundation of the legislative structure which was being built up. One thing was quite certain and that was that procedure for revision would delay ratification. What they wanted was not so much to obtain a theoretically perfect Convention as to obtain a Convention which might be applied everywhere. He did not think that any difficulties would be likely to arise, such as those Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland appeared to fear.

Mr. VOGEL, German employers' representative, then rose and stated briefly that the employers, after having heard the statement

of the British Government representative, were prepared to accept the proposal made by the British Government.

Mr. MAHAIM, Belgian Government representative, stated that as far as his Government was concerned it did not require any revision. It had ratified the Convention unconditionally. There had been some questions of interpretation, but in point of fact the Belgian Act of June 4th, 1921, was more strict in its terms than the Convention itself. He could not agree to any revision of the Washington Convention.

Mr. FORBES WATSON, British employers' representative, stated that he had opposed the Washington Convention, and he should continue to oppose the Washington Convention, together with the results of the London Conference, as strongly as ever. He supported the action of the British Government, and went on to say that he did not believe in the State interfering in industrial matters. His general argument appeared to be that it would never be possible to get any Convention on any subject that would work satisfactorily internationally.

Mr. LOUCHEUR, French Minister of Labour, said he was extremely sorry to hear the speech of Mr. Forbes Watson, because it was not the attitude which he had expected from a representative on the Governing Body. It showed no enthusiasm for the Washington Convention or any other International Labour Conventions. He pointed out that if the Governing Body decided to send the points raised by the British Government to other Governments they would be taking a heavy responsibility, because whether the Governing Body liked it or not they would to some extent be accepting those points. He himself made the most forcible reservations on some of them. He had been an employer, and if he were an employer still he would be very much alarmed at any proposal for the revision of the Washington Convention. It must be remembered that Governments do not last forever, and the proposal for revision which had been put forward in one sense might result in something very different from the intention with which it had been begun. It had been said that a clear distinction must be made between agriculture and industry. For hundreds of years people had been trying to

do that. They had never succeeded, and they never would. If all the revisions of the British Government were introduced he was sure that some time later they would have a speech from Mr. Forbes Watson, in which he would say that it was too precise, too detailed, and they could not apply it.

Mr. JOUHAUX, on behalf of the Workers' Group, made a declaration to the effect that the Group was opposed to revision in any form and would vote against any proposal having that object.

On a vote being taken by a show of hands on four proposals for dealing with the methods of proceeding with revision, including the motion of the British Government, all four were defeated.

* * *

The present situation therefore is that the Governing Body of the International Labour Office has refused to consider the question of revision, and the Washington Hours Convention in its present form is still open to ratification by the British Government and any other Governments who desire to do so. If any of the revision proposals had been carried the position would have been very uncertain, and no more ratifications would have been made for a number of years. This was undoubtedly the situation the British Government desired to create by its ill-starred action.

* * *

There was an interesting interlude, in which the Governing Body took part, during this important and at times exciting discussion—the unveiling of the bust of Robert Owen, presented to the International Labour Office by the League of Nations Union of Wales. It was a memorable ceremony, and, moreover, one which gave encouragement to the belief that after all progress, in spite of carefully organised obstruction, does take place. It was gratifying to reflect that Great Britain produces great-souled men such as Robert Owen, who devote their lives to improving the conditions of the workers, to counter-balance such ephemeral triflers as Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, who, subservient to a soulless capitalism, do their utmost not only to prevent improvement in the lot of the workers, but even to make it worse than it actually is to-day.

A Speech for a Consistent Conservative on the Abolition of State Aid

By

R. B. SUTHERS

IF I were asked by a young Conservative candidate for Parliament in the ordinary course of my trade to write for him a speech on the subject of nationalisation I should assume that he was a consistent Conservative, a real, true blue (if that is the colour), and one, being young, who would want to go the whole hog, the whole Worcestershire hog. Thus putting myself in his place (*pro tem.*) I imagine that something like the following, in fact exactly the following, might prove satisfactory:—

“Ladies and gentlemen, I take it that you have all read our great leader’s wonderful and crushing speeches on the subject of nationalisation. Everywhere this system has been tried, he has told us, it has proved a ghastly failure. Of course it has. It cannot be denied. But the facts, the ghastly facts, make no impression on the minds, if you can call them minds, of the Socialist Party. It is their intention, should they be returned to power, to nationalise everything. This attack on the ancient methods which have made this country what it is has to be repelled. Be sure it will be, and, although I am too young to have had military experience, I understand that the best way of defending a position is to attack the enemy. As I see it what we, what the Conservative Party have to do, is not only to prevent the Socialist Party from nationalising everything, it is our duty also, and good strategy too, to inform the electors that when we are returned to power again we shall at once begin to root out all the stealthy forms of nationalisation which have grown up like, like anything that grows up stealthily, like a mushroom that springs up in a night, or a night club that springs up in the early morning. Nationalisation, State aid, and State enterprise must be utterly destroyed. What will this policy involve?

“It will involve, in the first place, the abolition of the Navy, the Army, and the Air Force as national services. Of course, I know that the Socialists want to abolish these services; they want us to disarm. But while there is need for defence forces we as apostles

of private enterprise must insist on them being entirely under the control of private profit-making firms or combines. At present these forces cost in peace time about £110,000,000 a year. I am aware that armament and equipment firms make a profit, and a good profit now, but nothing like the profits that would accrue to, say a big combine, which contracted with the Government for the whole of the defence forces, and more efficient forces than we get now. Think of it, ladies and gentlemen. Our defence forces under private enterprise might be as profitable as slum dwellings or tobacco. I cannot imagine why our party has been so blind to the possibilities of increasing the profits and buttressing the principle of private property in this way.

“The Post Office, of course, will have to be handed over to private enterprise. It is simply scandalous that this purely industrial and commercial service should be yielding profits of £6,000,000 or £7,000,000 a year, which go into the pockets of the taxpayers at large. No business man can doubt that by more effective management much larger profits would accrue to a private company. As it is this State Post Office practically gives service to millions of people at less than cost price. This is not commonsense. I was glad to see that our leaders were sharp enough to get back for private enterprise the Beam Wireless Service, which proved so profitable to the State in its initial stages. I am sure they will do the same with the British Broadcasting Service when we come back to power. The possibilities of profit in wireless and television and all the other developments foreshadowed make my mouth water.

“I do not remember for the moment any other national services involving large capital and large profits when transferred to private enterprise, but I must say a word or two about our local national services, I mean our municipal services and undertakings. It is really criminal that these should have been allowed to attain such vast proportions. I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, if private enterprise railways, with which we all agree,

why not private enterprise roads with toll bars, as our forefathers had? Think of the profits in this era of motor vehicles. They would be simply stupendous. Yet all our roads and streets, worth £1,000,000,000, are the property of the ratepayers. And that is only one item. There are a thousand publicly-owned water-works, about 250 gas works, about 360 electricity undertakings, and 167 tramways, all making profits for the ratepayers. I marvel at the complacency in our ranks which allowed earlier generations to permit this insidious invasion of the rights of private property. However, we are waking up. We have made a beginning of what will be known as the restoration period. We, that is our private enterprise friends, have got their fingers on the London County Council tramway system, and very shortly that undertaking, which has put millions into the pockets of poor fare-paying passengers, will be putting millions into the pockets of private property owners.

"I do not wish to weary you with details, but I must mention in this connection the immense municipal property in schools. Why should education be supplied at cost price? I know no reason. It is entirely against Conservative principles. Of course, I allow for a few charitable foundations. Charity is one of our principles, and this fair flower flourishes best in the rich soil of enormous private profits. Then, why free libraries, free parks, free museums, and so on? They are all microbes of nationalisation, and unless we destroy them they will spread right through the fabric of private property and destroy it. No. We must go on with the good work. We as Conservatives, having put our hands to the plough, having recaptured Beam Wireless and the L.C.C. trams, must not rest until we have abolished every vestige of nationalisation and municipalisation in the country.

"Of course, the war was a terrible time for the institution of private property, which is the fundamental principle of Conservatism. The nation was in danger, but what is the nation to us? So long as private property rules the nation, and is able to use the nation as an instrument for conserving and increasing the wealth of private owners, so long can we admire and eulogise the nation. But when the nation nationalises nearly all the private industries, as it did in the war period, our very existence is in peril. Certainly our Party stuck out against nationalisation as long as it could. In fact, we nearly lost the war by defending our principle of private property too long. We

were between the devil and the deep sea. Still, we came out of it all fairly well. But it was a near thing. It looked at the end of the war as if the nationalisers were going to retain all the national factories, the shipping, the land, and go on to nationalise the mines and everything else. But we put up a fight, and we won it. As I have told you, we have actually gained ground, and when we come back to power in June we shall make an end of national and municipal property.

"Although, as I have stated, the microbe of nationalisation has penetrated deeply in many services and industries it is amusing to notice how some of our Party (and our friends the Liberals, too) have dipped their hands into the taxpayers' pockets and have wangled State assistance for private undertakings. Mind you, I hardly think it a good policy, because if you let the nation get into your concerns with the thin edge of the wedge there is no knowing how far it may go. However, perhaps they may be forgiven under the circumstances. For example, during the war I believe the railway companies, in return for giving up private control, received about £50,000,000 from the Governments, which tided them over the worst period after the war very nicely. The coal industry, under control, took over £40,000,000, but they did not give the nation any interest in the coal mines as a *quid pro quo*. Then, think of the shipping industry, which made over £350,000,000 profit in the first three years of the war, enough to buy their ships twice over. Most of this was disguised subsidy. Coal had another dip into the taxpayers' pockets three years ago, this time to the tune of £23,000,000, but, again, there are no shares in coal mines for the Government. The British dye companies received £426,000 in grants and loans, and the Government invested £1,700,000, which later it sacrificed for shares worth £600,000. The farmers, who made £200,000,000 extra profits in the war, got £20,000,000 from the Coalition Government, but the farmers and the landlords together are great wangers. The flour industry, too, must have done pretty well. The bread subsidy was £56,500,000, and two-sevenths of the flour was used in making cakes and pastries, the prices of which were not controlled, and, as you may imagine, the profits were high. Of course, there were no shares allotted to the Government for all this assistance to poor private enterprise!

"Yes, the farmers and the landlords are great wangers of State assistance. You know the new De-rating Act relieves the

farmers of all their rates. They were relieved of half in 1906, and of a quarter in 1923. They have also just got what the Minister of Agriculture will not call a 'subsidy' but 'special assistance,' in the form of State credits. (What's in a word?) The Government is to underwrite debentures up to £5,000,000 and invest £1,250,000. Talk about the bribery of electors! Again, the rural landlord, under the Act of 1926, can get a free grant of £100 from the County Council towards the £150 he may need for reconditioning a labourer's cottage, and he can borrow the £150, too, at 3 per cent., and put the interest on the rent. Then, there is agricultural research; it costs the taxpayers over £250,000 a year, and it all helps private profit by making the industry more efficient. Altogether the farmers must have taken several hundreds of millions in State assistance during the last 30 years.

"You know, it is rather clever, this wangling of public money. As Sir David Milne Watson said when the Gas Light and Coke Company got £100,000 from the Government for experiments, he 'did not think it right to risk the Company's money' for research, which benefits private industry. Last year the taxpayers paid £739,506 for scientific and industrial research. This was in addition to the agricultural item I mentioned. Then there were £72,000 for fisheries, £15,000 for forestry research, and we have spent under the Development Fund about £4,750,000. The taxpayers have made grants to cotton-growing amounting to £978,700. They have contributed huge sums in aid of the export credit scheme and the trade facilities scheme. It is just announced that two firms have dissipated entirely loans amounting to £275,000! Last year the taxpayers contributed £51,000 to the British Industries Fair. There is no end to their benefactions to private enterprises.

"Some of our friends have done well indeed out of the taxpayers. I have noticed that the new industry of aviation is following in their footsteps. You may remember that the Burney scheme was stopped by the Labour Government. I believe the Government commitments and guarantees under that scheme would have amounted to nearly £5,000,000. What a pity. However, Imperial Airways is doing very well with State assistance. They started in 1924, and for the first four years the taxpayers paid them a subsidy of £137,000

a year. Under the new agreement they will be able to earn in subsidy almost £2,500,000, as compared with under £600,000 remaining to be earned under the old agreement. They paid a dividend, the first one, of 5 per cent. last year. When they pay 10 per cent. they begin to pay the Government one-third of any surplus towards repayment of subsidy. Isn't it a lark?

"I told you I do not agree with this policy, because of its dangers. At the same time I cannot help admiring the cool cheek of our friends. I think the funniest example of this is to be found in the municipal aerodrome scheme now being wangled by the Government. You know how Conservatives at the bottom of their hearts dislike and detest municipal enterprise. You must then have been rather astonished when last October the Air Ministry issued a letter to the municipalities begging them to acquire land for municipal aerodromes. Why not private enterprise aerodromes? Why permit the municipalities to come into this promising industry? Well, a new industry is a risky venture. Land for aerodromes is costly. There may be no profits for years and years. Why not let the ratepayers buy the land? That's the idea. Then if civil aviation flourishes, as beam wireless did, a Conservative Government will 'take over' the aerodromes and hand them to a private firm. It's a great scheme, and this month Sir Alan Cobham, a director of the new company, National Flying Services Limited, to which the Government proposes to grant subsidies amounting to nearly £100,000, is flying to 1,000 municipalities giving the mayors and the kiddies joy rides, and—well, I think it will come off.

"As I have said, I admire the cleverness of our friends, but as a young Conservative, and I hope a wide awake one, I see its dangers perhaps more clearly than some of my elders. The taxpayers are getting suspicious. They are asking where they come in. They are not intended to come in. But suppose they insist on coming in? It may mean the beginning of the end of private enterprise and private profit. So this is my advice. Cut out all this State aid and State enterprise. All of it. It may hurt some of our friends, but it will save private property and private enterprise. It is the only way."

I think the young Conservative candidate ought to pay me quite a decent fee for this.

Iron and Steel—The Facts

By
TOM MYERS

IN 1924 the United Kingdom imported 459,000 metric tons of scrap metal, more than any other country in the world except Italy. The whole of the expansion of steel production in Italy since the war has been due to the use of scrap metal. Italy consumed nearly 1,000,000 tons more scrap metal in 1925 than in 1913. Both France and Belgium had the scrap metal on the ground. The scrap metal consumption in the steel works of France has been—

	Tons.
1913.....	1,474,000
1924.....	2,848,000
1925.....	2,617,000

This procedure has seriously affected the production of ores and pig-iron in Europe, and as stocks of scrap become exhausted there is likely to be a stimulus to ore and pig-iron production.

COKE AND ORES.

The facilities for coke and ores to iron and steel producing countries vary to a considerable extent. Italy has to import 10,000,000 tons of coal per year, including all the fuel necessary for coking purposes. Practically all the ores required have to be imported.

In Belgium 70 per cent. of the coke required is extracted from foreign coal, and nearly the whole of the ores are imported. Germany has abundance of good coking coal, but since the war comparatively little ore, and what ores Germany possess are low in iron content.

Germany has entered into long dated contracts with Sweden for large quantities of high grade ores.

With the Alsace Lorraine area linked to France, extensive ore deposits were available to the French iron and steel industry. The unsuitability of French coking coal to Lorraine ores, brought together the big interests in the heavy industries in France and Germany in the mutual interest of Rhur coal and Lorraine ores.

India has sufficient coking coal in reasonable proximity to the iron and steel production to meet all requirements within the next few years.

But with an extensive area of high grade ore available, development is likely to be fairly rapid. In that case the coking coal is available in

India, but will have to be carried a considerable distance.

The United States and Great Britain have both coke and ores available, but the ores in this country are of an average low iron content. Comparatively low grade ores are hauled from Northamptonshire to Middlesbrough, and large quantities of Durham coke have to be dragged over the fells to West coast ores.

WORLD IRON ORE RESERVES.

The appended table from the *Engineering and Mining Journal* of New York, and taken from the Balfour Committee's Report, will convey the effect upon the iron and steel trade by the volume, location, and metal value of world ore reserves.

Estimated Iron Ore Reserves in Millions of Tons.		Average Percentage of Iron Content. Per Cent.
United Kingdom	12,168 ...	30-35
France	12,254 ...	40
Belgium.....	136 ...	35
Germany	4,160 ...	40
Russia	2,674 ...	45-55
Spain	1,388 ...	50-60
Sweden.....	2,877 ...	60-70
India	23,826 ...	55-70
United States	94,324 ...	50-60
Canada	20,244 ...	35-45
Newfoundland.....	8,000 ...	48-57
Central America and West Indies.	12,075 ...	35-45
Chile	400 ...	60-70
Brazil	7,000 ...	60-70
Union of South Africa.....	3,095 ...	50
British West Africa.....	2,000 ...	50
Rhodesia	6,000 ...	25

The Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Trade to consider the position of the Iron and Steel trades after the war issued their report in 1918, and said: "The fundamental thing is to gain control of large deposits of iron ore as far as possible within the Empire."

But the whole of the British Empire only holds 25 per cent. of the world's ore reserves of which India holds 10 per cent. and the United Kingdom 5 per cent. With the exception of India it has a low average of iron content. The American

Continent has 65 per cent. of the world's ore reserves of which 41 per cent. is in the United States. During recent years the United States has secured over 1,000,000 tons per year of high-grade ores from Chile. Ores with less than 45 per cent. iron content are not considered worth extracting in the United States, while the United Kingdom is endeavouring to sustain the Iron and Steel industry by the smelting of 6,000,000 to 10,000,000 tons per year of home-produced ores with an average iron content of 31 per cent.

ROYALTIES.

Further, the Board of Trade Committee indicated how the home industry was being hampered by royalties, rail, and freight charges, and lack of efficiency in plants and management. A sliding scale of royalty charges then in operation based upon the selling price of ore was set forth in this report.

When the value of ore delivered into trucks at the nearest railway station is :—

Price of Ore. Per Ton.	Royalty.
s. d.	s. d.
9 0	1 1
12 0	1 8
14 0	2 4
16 0	3 0
19 0	4 2
21 0	4 11
23 6	6 2

For every 6d. or proportion of 6d. in value beyond 24s. per ton an additional royalty of 3d. per ton over and above the 6s. 2d. had to be paid. Ore royalties on the West Coast reached as high as 10s. per ton, and in one case reached 15s. per ton. For Grain ore sold at 43s. 6d. per ton a royalty of 15s. 11d. was paid. The Iron and Steel industry is also affected indirectly by royalties upon coal.

FREIGHT AND RAIL CHARGES.

In respect of transport by rail and sea the Committee Report stated :—

"Evidence has been given to show that foreign material imported into the United Kingdom has been carried both by land and sea by British transport companies at rates lower than those charged to British manufacturers for similar service."

"A comparison of railway rates upon iron and steel products and the materials used in their manufacture proves that British railways charge much more heavily than railways in the U.S.A. and Germany."

"Evidence has been given that British railways are prepared in many cases to carry

imported iron and steel goods over given distances at a cheaper rate than they will quote for British goods of the same class to be carried over equal distance by similar routes."

"Evidence laid before the Committee demonstrates that British industry has, in the past, been severely handicapped by the unfavourable shipping rates charged upon material dispatched for export from United Kingdom ports. These rates are in many cases far in excess of those charged upon similar goods from continental ports. Indeed, there is evidence that differences in freight charges alone determined the success of the foreign and the failure of British manufacturers on overseas competition."

The interests of the community in relation to the Iron and Steel industry make it necessary that the facts should be known as the extent to which these burdens of freights and royalties are still being carried by the industry.

OVER-CAPITALISATION.

Since that report was issued there has been the era of inflated capitalisation. Firms in the Iron and Steel industry have increased their capital 50 to 300 per cent., for the most part by the issue of bonus shares. "An examination of 25 of the largest heavy-industry firms shows two and a-half times as much money in the industry in 1923 as in 1913."

There has not been any corresponding increase in the output of these undertakings. More capital requiring dividends, and in some instances less output on which to provide it. Either lower wages to the worker or higher prices to the producer, or both, is the inevitable outcome of that procedure. The Balfour Committee's Report on "Industry and Trade" gives a list of nine iron and steel companies with profits in the financial year ending 1914 of £2,010,343. For the six years ending with the financial year 1925 these same nine undertakings showed profit of £18,795,770.

COMBINATIONS.

A feature of the Iron and Steel trade before the war was the International Railmakers' Association, which rationed the trade in rails between the countries who were members. In 1926 this association was re-established under the title of "European Railmakers' Association," and comprises the manufacturers of rail in Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, and Luxemburg. The British quota is understood

43 per cent. of the rail trade available to the association. The International Steel Combine, the terms of constitution of which is set forth in the report of the League of Nations Economic Conference, does not appear to include British concerns except in so far as they may be interested in or associated with continental undertakings. The combination includes the principal iron and steel producing countries in Europe and its procedure is governed by regulation of a most exacting type, including fines and penalties for any production in excess of the quota allocated by the terms of the agreement enforced by the association.

CONCLUSION.

These are some of the considerations which affect British Iron and Steel industry. Belgium and Italy without coke and ore resources are going ahead. Germany with coke available, but lacking good native ores, is again a factor that counts. India, with its Iron and Steel industry under the tropical sun of an Eastern sky, is challenging markets in that part of the world. The United States, with its vast, natural resources, able to dominate the world market.

Whatever home industry may have it has one tangible advantage.

The Balfour Committee Report states :—

"The skill of the British iron and steel workpeople is not exceeded by that of the iron and steel workpeople in any other country. In some branches commercial success is regarded as attributable to an important extent to the high degree of skill required by the workpeople."

On the other hand, the Committee state that, "Blastfurnace practice in this country lags a good deal behind Continental and American practice," and that the average practice in this country in steel-making and rolling mills is behind the average practice on the Continent.

The Departmental Committee of the Board of Trade in 1918 said : "The efficiency of the iron and steel plants of Great Britain is very far behind that of their competitors in U.S.A. and Germany. The Committee, further, declared their conviction, "To organise, upon modern lines, the iron and steel production of Great Britain and demands a radical reconstruction of the commercial and industrial system. The problem is one of great national importance. The maintenance and expansion of the iron and steel industries is, in the opinion of the Committee, an imperative function of national policy."

Thus does the pressure of economic tendencies continue to bring support to Labour's viewpoint for all quarters.

The royalties upon coal and ore, the limited supply and low iron content of home-produced ores, necessitating the security for overseas supply of high-grade ores preferential freight-rates by rail and sea, for the raw materials and finished products of the Iron and Steel trade from other countries, and the profits demanded by the over-capitalised home industry, present a combination of circumstances requiring drastic reorganisation on national lines if the British Iron and Steel industry is to keep its place in the economic structure of world development.

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In the "Eight-fifteen"

THE TORIES—REMEMBERED BY THOSE THEY HAVE DONE

By

T. S. DICKSON

"YES," Mr. Hardphace was saying to the Young Man with the Purple Socks: "yes, it puts rather a different face on it, doesn't it?"

He smiled complacently as he looked through the carriage window on the brave poster of gigantic dimensions telling the world what the Tories have done for the people.

"Bucks a chap up no end," added the Young Man with the Purple Socks, "when he's got something definite and practical to put up against the hot air of these Socialists. Seems to me, the Government has been too modest up till now—that's been the trouble."

And just then the Man with the L. M. S. Badge in his Cap tumbled into the compartment, followed hard by Mr. Hesitant, the Liberal, and the Man with the Briar Pipe, as the guard of "The Eight-Fifteen" gave the all-clear whistle.

"Don't worry about me," commented the Badge, for silence had fallen in the compartment as he entered. "Been talking about daisies, I guessed."

The Young Man with the Purple Socks looked up in bewilderment.

"You were saying," explained the Badge, "that something or other was too modest—thought perhaps you'd been quoting Burns—'wee, modest, crimson-tippit flo'er'—you know." And he smiled a disarming, and much too innocent smile.

Purple Socks went just a shade more purple; but Mr. Hardphace came in with: "No, sir; no, sir, we were not talking about daisies, or any other flower, but of governments, and the present Government in particular."

"I beg the daisy's pardon for makin' rude comparisons," returned the Badge, unabashed.

"My young friend was suggesting," proceeded Hardphace, ignoring the flippancy of the Man with the Badge in his Cap, "that the posters which the Government have just put out, telling the country in plain terms exactly what has been done, puts a rather different face on matters than Socialists usually present."

"Hear they're goin' to issue a book, too—about as big as the London telephone directory," added the Badge.

Hardphace paused and looked up, suspecting a snare; but the Young Man with the Purple Socks tumbled in: "What's that for?"

"Oh," replied the Badge, grinning, that he had drawn the badger, "just to tell the country *who* they've done. And that would take some space, that would!"

"Facts are facts, and jokes don't change them," pronounced Hardphace, weightily and evenly.

"And 'alf-truths are generally damned lies."

"Order, order," interposed Mr. Hesitant, the Liberal, who disliked both strong language and strong legislation.

Mr. Hardphace was determined to try the poster out, despite interruption. "There is, undoubtedly, the great increase in houses provided."

"Thanks to the Wheatley Act and the Labour Government," said the Badge in speedy response.

"And then—" said Hardphace, who was for sailing on.

"A moment, a moment," cut in the Man with the Briar, quietly, "is that admitted?"

"Certainly not," fumed Hardphace, indignantly.

"I'm afraid you'll have to admit it," suggested Mr. Hesitant. "As you know, I've no use for wild Socialist schemes, but—well, *The Nation*, Liberal magazine, you know, admitted on March 2, that that was so."

"Mmmmm," hummed Hardphace, through pursed lips.

"Yes," continued Mr. Hesitant, helpfully, "the exact words were: 'The big figures of houses completed in 1926 and 1927, of which the Tory Party boasts, were the fruits of the policy of 1924.'"

"I wasn't aware of that," replied Hardphace, as if he had a bigger grievance against the truth than anyone could possibly have against a falsehood. "But," with a brave attempt to rally, "there are the low figures of 1924, when the Socialist Government was in office: that is admitted, surely."

"It is," agreed the Man with the Briar. "But you cannot pass a new Act in a day, and, if you could, you cannot build houses

in a week. And the houses built in 1924 had to be built under the Tory and Coalition Acts—hence the small number of 1924.”

“Nice Government, yours is, ain’t it? Takes credit for our Act, and blames us for theirs!” And the Badge spat viciously through the open window.

“Well, well,” said Hardphace, aiming at a plausible recovery. “That’s only one item.”

“And the first one on your poster,” snorted the Badge. “I suppose they thought if the Mutts swallowed that ’un to begin with, the rest would go down like cream.”

“Take what the Government has done in pensions for the widow, the orphan, the aged, surely that’s something,” demanded Hardphace, confidently. “In whatever direction you may condemn the Government, in that, at least, it has given us a model measure.”

“A model bein’ a small imitation of the real thing,” said the Badge, as if in helpful explanation. Mr. Hesitant laughed, and a flicker of a smile passed even over the face of Purple Socks, and Mr. Hardphace looked like getting annoyed. “Is it impossible for you to be serious?” he demanded.

“There is justification for the description,” interposed the Man with the Briar Pipe, quietly. “If you have examined that pensions scheme at all, you must have been struck with the amazing limitations and anomalies it contains. And, in the first place, it is not a pensions scheme at all, but an insurance scheme, with the payment of insurance as the necessary qualification for pensions. But for limitations, a woman of 65 may not get a pension because her husband was too old when the scheme came into operation: and, on the other hand, she cannot get a pension if her husband is too young.”

“That is a bit confusing,” commented Hardphace, with a perplexed brow.

“It is,” agreed the Briar, “but it is about the simplest of a score of confusions in the measure.”

“In any case,” added Hardphace, “nothing is perfect, and while many may not be as well-off as they might, there is nobody any worse. So that’s something.”

“Wrong again, mister,” snapped the Badge. “Thousands and thousands are worse off, see.”

“Impossible!” Hardphace dismissed the suggestion airily.

“Is it?” challenged the Badge. “Don’t ye even know what’s ’appened to the man of 65?”

“He gets a pension, of course.”

“Of course, he does,” nodded the Badge; “and, of course, again, he don’t get what he had before. Don’t ye know that if a man of 65, with a wife younger than ’imself, was unemployed before this blessed Act came in he got eighteen bob a week for ’imself and five bob for his missus. And now when ’e is unemployed he gets ten bob for ’imself, and sweet nowt for his missus. Thirteen bob worse than he was before, because he don’t come under the Unemployment Insurance any more.”

“Is that a fact?” inquired Hardphace from Mr. Hesitant, as presumably the most impartial judge between them.

“It most certainly is,” agreed Hesitant.

“Of course,” retorted Hardphace, still determined to keep his end up, “time always discloses need for amendment in all Acts, even if they were passed by a Labour Government.”

“Come off it,” scornfully answered the Badge. “All these things were pointed out to your precious Government when the Bill was goin’ through, so they knew perfectly well what they were doin’.”

“And there is one thing that must not be forgotten,” supplemented the Man with the Briar. “When the Government floated the scheme, it actually made a profit on it.”

“What?” gasped Hardphace.

“Yes,” confirmed the Briar, searching out a cutting from his pocket book. “In the first year, the Government cost was estimated at £8,250,000. And at the same time Winston Churchill took £2,750,000 from the Health Insurance Grant; £5,000,000 from the Unemployment Insurance Grant; and £1,100,000 from the ex-soldiers’ Health Insurance, so that the Tory Government was £600,000 in pocket over the deal, in the first year at any rate.”

“Of course, the average man isn’t supposed to carry all these figures in his head,” commented Purple Socks, rather ineptly.

“Naw, the average man ain’t supposed to carry very much in ’is head at all, or the Tory Government wouldn’t stick out them posters. They’re banking on what the people don’t know, but should,” growled the Badge. “There’s another of ’em,” he snapped, as the “Eight-Fifteen” rattled past one more poster: “What the Unionists Have Done.”

“Taxation, too!”—his eye having caught the line boasting of reduced taxation. “Who for?” he demanded. “Not for me, anyhow. Arf a mo’.” The Badge began to rummage amongst a bunch of crumpled and twisted

little sheets of dirty paper in his jacket pocket. "Yes," he muttered with satisfaction, as he picked out what he was looking for. "Reduced taxation for them that didn't need it. Every year since the Government went into power the man with a £500 a year income had £6 2s. 11d. less to pay in taxation; the man with £1,000 a year has had a reduction of £27 7s. 11d.; the man with £2,000 got £46 11s. 3d.; the man with £10,000 got a reduction of £577 16s. 3d.; the poor, poverty-stricken joker with only £20,000 a year, he has had his taxation reduced by £952 16s. 3d. Every year, mark you! That's how the Tories have reduced taxation—are the millions of working men and working women that have to keep a home and kiddies on two or three pounds a week, expected to thank the Tories for that? The fellows what put out that poster have some brass in their faces, they have."

"Do you know, sir," said the Man with the Briar, in a serious tone to Hardphace. "If I were a Conservative, I should feel very annoyed at my party issuing a poster like that."

"Yes?" murmured Hardphace, interrogatively.

"You see, whenever you or any of your party throw that stuff off, any ordinary Socialist will be able to make mince-meat of you—make you look silly. They'd been better to have sung dumb and relied on a last-day stunt, or last moment sensation at the General Election. At stunts we cannot compete with you, but when you enter the realm of debate, with time to verify statements by official facts and figures, you are going to cut a poor show."

"I don't think so, at all," said Hardphace, breezily.

"He's right," butted in the Badge, referring to the Briar's advice. "Take my tip and specialise in scarecrows and bogeys—Bolshies with blood-matted whiskers, and Socialists that are going to collect all children the morning they're born so as to prevent them growing up Tories. That's the stuff to give 'em. When you begin to invite arguments on facts, you're backin' a loser. You should avoid facts like poison."

"Thank God," muttered Hardphace, when he saw the Grubtown platform run alongside.

"Amen," intoned the Badge, as he hopped out.

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THE by-election results make sad reading for the Government. With unmistakable clearness they point to the fact that the Tories have got to go. The country is heartily tired of them. Seats which they won with majorities of thousands at the last election—on the strength of the Red Letter—have been wrested from them, and Labour Members have been returned by the electors to represent them instead. The polls also reveal all the opportunities and possibilities of a great victory for Labour at the General Election. Labour has more than doubled its representation in the seats where there have been by-elections. At the General Election it won ten of them. In the by-elections it has won 22. Moreover, for every one of the lost Tory seats which has gone over to the Liberals, four have gone over to Labour. The Tories have experienced a net loss of fifteen seats since the last General Election, and while the Liberals have a net gain of only three, Labour has a net gain of twelve. In the contests since the beginning of the present year, the Tories have lost five seats. Three of them have gone to Labour. Labour's poll was 92,828 in eight contests. The Tory poll was 78,331 in nine contests. The Liberal poll was only 58,068 in nine contests. Labour's average poll has been nearly twice as large as that of the Liberals, and well in excess of that of the Tories. The figures are: Labour, 11,603; Tories, 8,703; Liberals, 6,452. In the eight seats which have been contested by all three parties since the beginning of this year, Labour easily heads the number of votes polled. It has 92,828 to its credit, against the 69,400 of the Tories, and the 47,845 of the

Liberals. The Liberals are at the bottom, as usual. Labour is at the top—and it looks as though it will still be there after the General Election.

* * *

THE Government consider that no action on their part is called for at the present time." That is the decision of Mr. Baldwin and his Cabinet with regard to the recent increase of $2\frac{1}{4}$ d. a gallon in the case of petrol and $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. a gallon in the case of kerosene. Immediately the price increase was announced by the oil trusts, Mr. Baldwin was questioned from the Labour benches as to his intentions. He promised to call for a statement of facts from the companies, and after perusing this report, he has decided to take no further action. Meanwhile, the petrol companies are doing very nicely. Three of them alone, the Shell, the Burmah, and the Anglo-Persian, made between them nearly £12,000,000 profit in 1927, the last year for which the complete figures are available. The Shell, during the past nine years, have made profits of £45,500,000, and their yearly dividends have ranged from $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 35 per cent., along with a share bonus of 60 per cent. The Burmah Oil Company Limited, during the same period, have made profits of £23,000,000, and their yearly dividends have ranged from 20 per cent. to 50 per cent. tax free; in addition they have distributed share bonuses of 50 per cent., 80 per cent., and $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. respectively. The Anglo-Persian Oil Company in the ten years from 1919 to 1928, have made profits of over £31,000,000, and their yearly dividends have ranged from $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. (in one year) to 20 per cent. (in three years), whilst in addition they have distributed a share bonus of 50 per cent.

* * *

WHEN Mr. Lloyd George announced that his unemployment scheme had the united support of his Party, he was evidently mistaken. Mr. W. Runciman, a Liberal ex-Cabinet Minister, has denounced his leader's proposal to borrow money for road-making. "I am against trying to work on borrowed money in times of peace," he says; and as the scheme cannot be put into operation until the money is obtained, that is rather a fundamental objection. Another leading

Liberal, Mr. Vivian Phillips, has roundly criticised Mr. Lloyd George and his scheme. Furthermore, some of the Liberal M.P.s in Parliament seem unable to make up their minds with regard to that portion of the scheme which provides for the saving of money on armaments, so that it can be spent on development work, while others have definitely given their votes against it. Since Mr. Lloyd George's proposal was announced a few weeks ago, there have been three opportunities before the Liberals in the House to cast their votes in favour of the reduction of armaments. Labour amendments have been moved to the Navy, the Army and the Air Force Estimates, urging the Government to take steps to initiate negotiations with a view to the conclusion of international disarmament agreements, and in the three divisions the Liberals only cast 21 votes for Disarmament, and 8 against, while 103 of their votes they did not use at all. This is not a very convincing indication of any thorough-going support on the part of the Parliamentary Liberal Party for one of the most important provisions of their leader's scheme.

* * *

THE real trouble in regard to the matter, of course, is that Mr. Lloyd George cannot be trusted. In regard to nearly all the main promises that he now makes to the electorate, he has already been tried in the balance and found wanting. A few of them may be indicated. He now promises to reduce unemployment. *Yet when he was Prime Minister, unemployment went up to over 2,000,000, the highest number ever recorded either before or since.* He now promises to make the landlords pay part of the cost of his development schemes by taxing their improved land values. *But when he was Prime Minister he abolished the land increment value that had been running for some years, and actually handed back to the landlords the money that had been collected from them.* He now promises to set up a National Development Board to carry out schemes of work. *But when he was Prime Minister he opposed a Bill that the Labour Party introduced for the establishment of a somewhat similar body, and the Cabinet Minister whom he appointed to oppose the Bill said that the Labour proposals were "fantastic."* He now promises not to impose "increased financial

restriction" as this would mean "an increased all round cut in wages." *Yet when he was Prime Minister, this is precisely what he did do, and staggering wage cuts of £10,000,000 a week have since been put into effect at the expense of the workers.* His promises sound all right; many of them, of course, have been taken from Labour's own programme; but some of the most important of those in that programme have been omitted; and in any case Mr. Lloyd George cannot be trusted to carry his promises out. The only Party that can be trusted to embark without delay upon large and productive schemes of national development for dealing with unemployment is the Labour Party. Moreover, the Labour Party is the only Party that has the chance of forming a Government and putting its schemes into operation. A vote given to the Liberals is a vote for talk. A vote given to Labour is a vote for action.

* * *

A FURTHER indication of the half-hearted attitude of the Liberals towards the unemployment question came to notice two days before the House adjourned for the Easter recess. Labour had moved a motion condemning the Government for its failure to take the necessary action to deal with the problem, and indicating the lines along which such action ought to be taken without delay. Three such lines were indicated—but here it is only necessary to mention specially the first one, because of its close resemblance to the very proposals that Mr. Lloyd George is himself adumbrating. It called for "active measures for stimulating industry by well considered schemes of national improvement and development." One would have expected the Liberals to fall over one another in their haste to support such a proposal, so dear as they pretend it is to their own hearts. But what happened? Mr. Lloyd George himself stayed away from the debate and did not vote at all. Only ten out of the 44 Liberals voted; and even those ten could not mobilise the "unity" of which their leader is so fond of boasting. Eight of them supported the motion; two of them voted against it; and the other 34 Liberals did not vote at all. The Liberals may talk eloquently on the public platform about what they will do.

But what they actually do in the House of Commons is an entirely different story.

* * *

SINCE the last issue of this magazine appeared, the Parliamentary Labour Party has lost two of its most valued members—Stephen Walsh and Frank Varley. Both of them had been troubled with their health for many months past. It was on that account that Stephen Walsh had to decline the honour of serving as one of Labour's representatives on the Simon Commission, and it was for the same reason that he recently announced his intention of retiring from Parliament at the General Election. He had sat as member for the Ince Division for 22 years, and as Secretary for War in the Labour Government of 1924 he was one of those who showed that Labour was really "fit to govern." Frank Varley had devoted himself more to the industrial side of the movement than the political until he entered the House four years ago, but he quickly established a reputation not only for his sound sense, but for his courage and his eloquence as well. The workers have lost, by their deaths, two able champions of their cause.

* * *

UNEMPLOYMENT has been made by the impetuosity of Mr. Lloyd George an election issue. But it is not primarily as a political problem that unemployment is dealt with in the joint interim report adopted by the Conference on Industrial Reorganisation and Industrial Relations. It is recognised in this report (summarised elsewhere in these pages) that the real problem is how to restore industrial and commercial prosperity. Various expedients have been adopted with the object of alleviating the situation. National Unemployment Insurance, export credits, trade facilities, afforestation, road-making, acceleration of Government and other public contracts are all of them useful and beneficial; but they do not go to the root of the matter. They are in the main emergency measures. More must be done, even in the way of palliative action. And the palliatives that are applied must be of such a character as will facilitate the adoption of the

more fundamental changes which have to be brought about if national prosperity is to be restored.

* * *

IT is pointed out in the report that trade facilities, for example, which were intended to assist industries which found it difficult to obtain sufficient supplies of capital in the ordinary way of finance, have been administered on much too rigid and conservative lines. It is entirely in the national interest to stimulate industry. There are some basic industries which require, but find it almost impossible to obtain, the necessary capital for reconditioning and reorganisation. National credit must be placed behind depressed industries as it was placed behind the Government during the crisis of the war. A real stimulation of industry would be produced by the creation of a Development Fund. A beginning on these lines was made on a small scale in 1906, when a State Reserve Fund was created. The idea should be carried out on much larger lines, and a fund set up which would be large enough to be used for financing important national schemes.

* * *

ANOTHER obviously sensible measure proposed by the Joint Industrial Conference is the extension of the pensions system so as to enable older workers still in industry to retire and make room for the young people on the Unemployment Register. It is very desirable, says the report, that if a surplus of labour has to be supported for more than a short transition period, the funds necessary for such a purpose should be expended in pensioning older workers rather than in paying benefits to younger and more vigorous workers who are unemployed. A cognate proposal emphasised in the report is that the school-leaving age should also be raised. This would mean the withdrawal of 500,000 juvenile workers from the labour market, thus providing for the absorption into industry of probably 200,000 adults.

* * *

EMIGRATION, in the view of the Joint Industrial Conference, is not a remedy for unemployment. There is nevertheless a close connection between the greatly decreased rate of emigration during the war and the

enormous volume of unemployment that now exists. The connection is indeed direct and important. It is a mere matter of statistics that the number of possible emigrants who failed to leave this country during the war is practically equal to the number which has failed to find employment in home industries. British industry has expanded, but its expansion has not been sufficient to absorb both the natural increase of population and the residue of non-emigrated population accumulated in this country during the war. In dealing with this aspect of the general problem of unemployment the report points out that the amount of money allocated to the assistance of emigrants since the war has been quite inadequate, and it is recommended that funds for emigration should be provided by loan instead of out of revenue. The money should be utilised under the direction of a committee representative of industry, under the chairmanship of a Minister; and it is also proposed that steps should be taken to arrange with the Dominion Governments and the Dominion Trade Unions to set up a Joint Committee for the whole of the British Commonwealth, to co-ordinate policy as to the conditions of emigration and the employment of emigrants. Group settlements are recommended.

* * *

BUT the report of the Joint Industrial Conference finds its main justification in the proposals made for the reorganisation of industry. Monetary policy and other factors will contribute to the development of industry and trade, but the conscious planning of industrial activities, rational organisation into larger productive units, reorganisation of finance, and scientific improvements in technique and methods of production and distribution are all-important. The report recommends that employers in consultation with the Trade Unions in the various industries should forthwith confer as to the best means of placing their industries on the most efficient basis. General co-ordination of these efforts is the task of the proposed National Industrial Council. Whether this body will come into existence on the lines laid down in the joint interim report will, we suppose, be determined at the forthcoming conference

between the T.U.C. General Council, the Federation of British Industries, and the Confederation of Employers' Associations which will meet on April 23. A real responsibility rests upon these two employers' organisations.

* * *

THE series of conferences dealing with Social Insurance questions has now been completed. The conferences have been even more successful than was anticipated, and the interest shown in the various matters discussed has been considerable. So great indeed has been the interest aroused that many requests have been received by the General Council suggesting that further conferences should be held in different parts of the country, and arrangements are now being made to hold meetings during the month of April at Bristol, Leicester and Stockton-on-Tees. Trade Unionists are realising more and more the importance of adequate social insurance schemes, and the necessity of their taking an active part in the framing and working of these schemes. During the last few years there has been a great extension of schemes and in the next few years there should be a still greater extension, particularly if a Labour Government is returned to power at the next Election. Therefore it is essential that the workers should obtain all the information they can on these subjects, and should be in a position to press their claims and secure the reforms which are so urgently required and to which they are so justly entitled.

"The Labour Gazette"

MARCH, 1906

A copy of the above is urgently needed to complete the files in the library of the Trades Union Congress and Labour Party.

Will anyone able to supply a copy kindly write to :—The Library of the Trades Union Congress and Labour Party, Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W. 1.

Mr. Lloyd George and Unemployment

By

SIR OSWALD MOSLEY, M.P.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE has discovered unemployment. Unemployment began when he was Prime Minister, but he then overlooked it.

At that time Labour urged upon him in vain the very proposals which he has now adopted. He rejected them when he had the power to enforce them, but borrows them when he has no prospect of being asked to put them into effect.

When he was Prime Minister with one of the greatest majorities of history he had no policy, and rejected with scorn the policy of others. But that is by no means the whole story. Mr. Lloyd George does not only stand charged with having no unemployment policy when unemployment stood at the record figure of over 2,000,000 under his Government. He has to meet the graver indictment of having initiated the policy which first created unemployment. Mr. Lloyd George now attacks Mr. Churchill for carrying on that policy.

The policy in question is briefly known as deflation. Roughly stated, it operates in the following way: The supply of credit is restricted. As a result the amount of money of all kinds in circulation diminishes as against the amount of goods available for purchase. This involves a fall in the commodity price level, a rise in the purchasing power of the pound sterling, and also a rise in the value of the pound on the exchanges of the world. The object of the policy was to restore the pound to its pre-war value of parity at 4.86dols. The policy originated with the recommendations of the Cunliffe Committee, which reported in December, 1919, and were adopted by Mr. Lloyd George and his Government.

The process of credit restriction upon which a deflationist policy rests naturally produces great industrial depression. In the first place, credit is not available for the adequate financing of the ordinary processes of industry. In the second place, the continually falling price level means a continually falling market. Manufacturers have to buy their raw materials and labour in a higher price level than that in which they sell their finished products. The result is heavy industrial losses, and a long story of trading bankruptcies. By this process of deflation Mr. Lloyd George forced

down the price level of all articles by nearly 50 per cent. This was one of the greatest deflationist measures ever carried through, and the disastrous effects upon industry were in proportion to the magnitude of the operation. Unemployment mounted to the unparalleled figure of over 2,000,000. At the same time, industrialists were making heavy losses. The inevitable result was an all-round attack upon wages. Manufacturers desired to reduce their costs of production to accommodate themselves to the new price level. The surplus of unemployed and the consequently weak position of labour gave them a powerful weapon to achieve this end by the reduction of wages. This policy led directly to the coal lock-out of 1921, and the universal wage reductions for all workers which followed.

One class alone benefited from this policy. It is technically known as the Rentier class. These people live by owning. They own housing property, paying fixed rents, War Bonds paying fixed interest, debenture and other fixed interest bearing securities. They are the class, which, in their capacity as owners, are paid a stable annual tribute by the rest of the community. The fixed number of pounds which they are paid each year had their purchasing power doubled by Mr. Lloyd George through the deflationist policy which halved the price level of the goods they buy. The result was to double the dead weight burden which the nation and industry has to carry. The real burden of the war debt was approximately doubled. Every debenture charge and other capital debt which industry bears was also doubled as a real burden.

Germany by the opposite process of inflation, which no serious opinion in this country has every advocated, was able to wipe out her internal war debt, and all debt charges upon industry. Consequently, we started the industrial race after the war with a debt doubled in burden against nations which had altogether escaped the load such as Germany, or had greatly reduced its weight as France did by a policy of stabilisation on a debased currency.

All this great handicap on British industry was due to the policy of Mr. Lloyd George. He was urged in the mid-career of that policy to reconsider his position by responsible business interests. The Federation of British

Industries appealed to him to revise the Cunliffe policy. In a letter dated September 8, 1921, he refused to do so. He replied:—

"The idea that there is some short cut to the recovery of normal conditions is, in the nature of things, not unlikely to prove illusory."

The language is exactly similar in character to that which Mr. Baldwin uses to-day. There was not a hint of a bold constructive proposal when Mr. Lloyd George was all-powerful. Such suggestions are reserved for the wilderness of impotent opposition. He added in the same letter the following phrase: "Trade and industry are beginning to show the first faint symptoms of recovery." Like Mr. Baldwin to-day, he then saw the first faint symptoms of the dawn for which we are still waiting.

Every Prime Minister sees these first faint symptoms once a year. But we are still waiting.

Let us remember that while in power Mr. Lloyd George adopted the same position of lethargy, impotence, and unreasoning optimism for which he now denounces Mr. Baldwin.

But not only does he attack Mr. Baldwin for doing now precisely what he did then; he also assails Mr. Churchill for continuing the policy which he began. Speaking at the Connaught Rooms on March 1, 1929, he said:—

"Then there was the precipitate restoration of the gold standard at an artificial value. They were warned by the ablest economists against that at the time. It has been a tax on exports and a bonus on imports, and it was directly responsible for the coal stoppage of 1926."

All this is quite true, but it is also true that Mr. Lloyd George started the policy and that he was equally responsible for the coal stoppage of 1921, which was brought about by the same policy. When Mr. Churchill came into office the pound stood at a value of 4.40dols. after a steady rise through deflation under the Cunliffe policy from a value of 3.498dols. in 1920, when it stood at its lowest value. Mr. Churchill determined to complete the process, and to raise the value of the pound to the pre-war parity with the dollar at 4.86dols. to the pound. He was able to argue with force that only a 10 per cent. rise was then necessary to complete the process, and that having struggled so far it would be a mistake to stop within sight of the goal. The result of the renewal of Mr. Lloyd George's policy in the hands of Mr. Churchill was a

further depression of industry and a further attack on wages, which led to the great struggle of 1926.

Mr. Lloyd George is quite right in saying that this policy, and substantially this policy alone, was responsible for the mining lock-out and the general strike. How else can we account for the facts? During a temporary period of monetary stabilisation under the Labour Government in 1924, the mines were paying the wage agreements of the period, and were showing considerable profits to the owners. In 1926, the owners came forward with their books exposed, which showed, in many cases, heavy losses. They demanded wage reductions as the only means of carrying on the industry. How can we account for the difference between relative prosperity in 1924, despite all the defects of the system, and the ruin which descended under Toryism in 1926? There is only one explanation, and that is the presence of Mr. Churchill at the Exchequer, and the renewal of the deflation policy. That policy again raised the value of the pound. As a result we exported coal and other commodities to foreign markets, and received the same competitive prices as before in foreign currency. But when we translated that foreign currency into pounds sterling the price we received purchased a lesser sum than previously in sterling, owing to the rise in the value of the pound. As a result, manufacturers received a lesser sum for their goods in terms of our own currency than they had previously received.

This led to the demand for reductions in the cost of production and to another attack on wages. Mr. Keynes estimates that the loss per ton on export coal occasioned by this policy at as high a figure as 1s. 9d. per ton. Mr. Lee, the secretary of the Mineowners' Association, puts it at 1s. per ton. We have other testimony concerning the effects of this policy from Conservative sources:—

Sir Alfred Mond, in a letter to the *Times*, 25 April, 1928:—

"The coal dispute of 1926 was, in my opinion, definitely attributable to the manner in which the return to the gold standard was brought about."

Sir Peter Rylands' letter to the *Times*, 28 April, 1928:—

"The effect of deflation and a rising value of the pound must be gravely detrimental to industry. . . . As Sir Alfred Mond rightly says: 'The great coal strike is one of the penalties which the nation has had to suffer.'"

Times Annual Financial and Commercial Review, 7 February, 1928:—

"Since the restoration of the gold standard in 1925, the purchasing power of the pound has risen about 5 per cent. in terms of gold, and 10 per cent. in terms of purchasing power over other commodities. This improvement in the purchasing power of the pound due to the return to gold has given a bonus to all holders of fixed incomes, but all fluctuating incomes have had to be reduced, or are being reduced to conform with the rise in the pound. This applies with particular force to the great export industries which automatically had to reduce their prices by the amount of the rise in the pound."

In face of these facts and this evidence, how can the Government ever again pretend that Labour was responsible for the industrial struggle? As the *Times* points out in an unguarded moment, the Rentier class again benefited from that policy. Mr. Keynes estimates that the last phase of the deflationist policy under Mr. Churchill was responsible for the transfer of £1,000 millions in purchasing power from those who live by earning to those who live by owning. This transfer resulted from a mere 10 per cent. rise in the value of the pound. How much greater must have been the transfer of purchasing power in the 50 per cent. achieved by Mr. Lloyd George?

It is sometimes said fallaciously that at the end of the process labour is in the same position as before, because prices fall to the same extent as wages. This is not so because the rentier holding is not correspondingly reduced. If this class suffered a proportionate reduction to the wage earner, the relative purchasing power of the classes would, in the end, remain the same. This does not happen, so that the nett effect of the transaction is a transfer of purchasing power from the earner to the owner. In fact, the greatest financial wangle in history was carried through under a cloud of manufactured obscurity by a policy which Mr. Lloyd George initiated, and for the last small effort of which he now denounces Mr. Churchill. That is his record, and it should never be forgotten.

He now hopes to conceal the past by appropriating the unemployment policy of the Labour Party, but he only appropriates a part, not the whole of the programme. We may well ask what the whole Labour programme would do if Mr. Lloyd George states that part

of it would reduce unemployment to the normal within the year. That every proposal of Mr. Lloyd George is taken from Labour Policy is shown in the appended comparison of the two policies. Actually, nearly all Mr. Lloyd George's suggestions were covered in Mr. Snowden's speech in the House of Commons on July 30th, 1924, which outlined the measures which the Labour Party were actually setting in motion during their brief spell of Minority Office. The House then adjourned for a brief recess, and immediately after Mr. Lloyd George combined with the Tories to throw out the Labour Government on a trumped up charge after eight months of office. He would not leave them in office the year he now specifies, in case the measures he now advocates were proved to be workable.

The only addition which Mr. Lloyd George now adduces to Labour proposals is a suggestion for the supply of 900,000 new telephones. Presumably these telephones are to be supplied to working class homes. What an amenity! Every worker's wife will be able to ring up the butcher and order just the cut off the joint she fancies. Most of them are at present more concerned with finding the money to pay for the small supply of meat with which they struggle so hard to supply their families. How remote is Liberal policy from reality! Here is the real crux of the difference between Labour and Mr. Lloyd George. *He and his schemes leave untouched the greatest problems of the day.* It is true that these great constructive works should be undertaken. Labour has long advocated them, *but in themselves they are not enough.*

Mr. Lloyd George only claims to reduce unemployment to "normal." We should ask him what he means by "normal." We understand he means the same proportion of unemployment which prevailed before the war, and which would now amount to about 500,000. *But are we content to leave 500,000 permanently unemployed in this country? This means that we are still to have ever with us the surplus of unemployment upon which the present system depends. We are still to leave in existence the great lever by which wages are forced down, conditions are depressed, and the purchasing power of the population is reduced.*

Unemployment is not only a problem which affects the unemployed. It affects every worker who is in a job as well. He knows that if he will not work for low wages and in bad conditions, that some poor devil out of a job is only too glad to step into his job at any wages and in any conditions. By this surplus of unemployment the Trade Union struggle is

paralysed. By this instrument wages are kept down. Even if unemployment is reduced by constructive works to 500,000 the fear that he may be one of the unfortunate half-million will be the lash that keeps the worker down.

We cannot rid ourselves surely and entirely of the evils inherent in capitalism without the final establishment of Socialism, but we can do more than Mr. Lloyd George suggests to overcome its horrors before the complete achievement of the Socialist commonwealth.

This leads me to the main policy of Labour which Mr. Lloyd George does not suggest, and which strictly differentiates our proposals from the Liberal plan. Let us add to constructive work for the permanent enrichment of the nation—the removal of the aged from industry by the provision of adequate pensions of which the aged worker can retire, if he so desires, to the repose and leisure which his past labours have earned him. Let us add to this the raising of the school age, with maintenance allowances to mothers to make good the loss of the wage pittance, and thus remove the young at the other end of industry. If we save the old from the terrible prospect of grinding toil to the end of their days and preserve the young for better education and a finer chance in life, we are, at the

same time, really coming to grips with the unemployment problem. The places of the old and the young can be taken by the able-bodied unemployed. The surplus still remaining can largely be absorbed in useful constructive work. Those temporarily thrown out of work through the inevitable transitions of our industrial system will be maintained in decent conditions until the Labour market or public work can absorb them.

Here we have a really comprehensive unemployment policy. Pensions for the old, education and training for the young, great constructive works of slum clearance, and the rest for the unabsorbed and able-bodied unemployed, maintenance, and, if necessary, retraining for craftsmen whose trades are dislocated by shifting conditions. In the combination of such measures we have a great policy suited to the great requirements of our time. No partial measures can meet this situation. We need a big, bold policy driven through with unflinching determination. In the Labour proposals we have such a policy. Where can we find men to entrust with this great task outside the Labour Party? The new Party of a new age produces a great policy, and the nation will entrust them with its execution.

APPENDIX

LIBERALS

"We can conquer unemployment."—*March, 1929.*

Roads

"We consider that work in connection with our roads, being of great economic value, capable of being rapidly organised, absorbing a large proportion of labour, and of a character which cannot be undertaken by private enterprise, should be in the forefront of a programme of national development."

Housing

"The standard of 200,000 houses could be taken as our standard for each of the two years in question."

Electrical Development

"The proposal is that the present anticipated development over the next eleven years should be concentrated

LABOUR

"Unemployment. A Labour Policy."—*January, 1921.*

Roads

"The making and repair of roads should be carried on at the present time on a much larger scale than heretofore. So far the schemes which have been put into operation fall far short of the nation's needs."

"A large amount of work could be provided by the development of the road system of the country in view of the growth of motor transport."

Housing

"No one . . . can doubt that a Government which was really concerned with housing the workers of this country could with confidence guarantee not five, but ten or fifteen years' employment to the members of the building trade. . . . So far as we can gather the Government . . . is actually taking steps to limit the amount of building which is obtaining financial aid from the Government."

Electrical Development

Statement in the House of Commons by Mr. Philip Snowden, 30th July, 1924.

LIBERALS.

into a shorter period of five years. For the first two years an even greater speeding up in order to spend £12,000,000 in each of the first two years in addition to the present average expenditure of £6,000,000."

Land Drainage, Waterways, and Reclamation

"50,000 men could be working on necessary schemes of arterial drainage within six months, rising within a limited period in conjunction with labour indirectly employed to a much higher total."

"476,000 acres of land for the clearance of main ditches and several watercourses."

Russia

Discouraging over measures which might produce a trade revival, they say:—

"The first is the restoration of full trade relations with Russia."

LABOUR.

"If electrical development is to be accelerated, cables should be laid down well in advance of immediate requirements, and this is a field suitable for State enterprise. . . . We are convinced it will not be done in this country unless the State shoulders at least a great part of the financial burden."

Land Drainage, Waterways, and Reclamation

"Moreover, the waterways of the country—one of the essential means of transport—stand in sore need of extensive repairs to make good their deterioration due to neglect during the past few years. The repair of and canal banks, grating, and general repairs would absorb a considerable number of workers in the aggregate."

"Further, we would refer to schemes which have been contemplated or actually prepared for the improvement and extension of existing harbour and the provision of new harbours. Work of this description . . . should be pressed forward as a means of employment during the present emergency."

Russia

"There must be an immediate resumption of trade with Russia, and of normal political relations with the Soviet Republic. . . . Russia needs railway equipment, means of transport, agricultural machinery and implements of all kinds . . . which could be supplied by British labour. The effects of placing orders for these requirements would be cumulative."

New General Election Pamphlets

WEALTH OR COMMONWEALTH. Labour's Financial Policy. By Rt. Hon. PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.

"All wealth," says Mr. Snowden, "is produced by the Labour of hand and brain, and the wealth, which is appropriated by the idle rich, is a deduction from the just share which should go to the remuneration of industry in all its forms."

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LABOUR PUBLICATIONS DEPARTMENT, TRANSPORT HOUSE (SOUTH BLOCK), SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1.

A Diary of Parliament

February 28.

On the Army Estimates Mr. Dunnico (Labour) moved the following amendment: "The House considers that national security, and therefore international peace, can only be assured by international agreement for a substantial all-round reduction in military forces, and accordingly urges His Majesty's Government to put forward and support proposals at the preparatory commission for the Disarmament Conference at Geneva for the drastic reduction of personnel, and for the limitation both of military expenditure and of material." The amendment was defeated. One Liberal voted against the Disarmament amendment, eight supported it, and 35 did not vote at all.

March 6.

In reply to a Labour question, Mr. Neville Chamberlain admitted that on January 12 this year, there were 1,141,997 people in receipt of Poor Relief, excluding casuals and those in asylums, medical institutions, etc.

March 7.

Questioned with regard to the increased prices of petrol, Mr. Baldwin said that he had asked the petrol companies to submit a statement giving the reasons for the increase, but added that "by taking this action, the Government in no way prejudice the question whether the recent increase is justified or not."

On the Air Estimates, Mr. W. Bellamy, on behalf of the Labour Party, moved the following amendment: "In view of the growing menace to civil communities in the development of methods of air warfare, this House regrets that His Majesty's Government have failed to make any proposals for securing international agreement on the question of aerial disarmament, and urges them to take the initiative in proposing a programme for the abolition of military and naval air forces and the establishment of international control of civil aviation." The Disarmament amendment was defeated. Two Liberals voted against it. Four voted for it. Thirty-eight did not vote at all.

March 12

Asked by Mr. Tom Shaw how many unemployed workers would be deprived of benefit if the new benefit qualification under the Government's 1927 Unemployment Insurance Act were put into operation in April as provided in the Bill, the Minister of Labour said the number was about 120,000. (NOTE.—At the time the Act was passed, Labour Members pointed out that more than 100,000 workers would be affected, but the Minister of Labour refused to put the figure at more than 30,000.)

March 13.

In reply to a Labour question, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour said that on February 25 this year there were 199,330 building trade workers registered as unemployed.

On the Government's Supplementary Estimate to grant a further £600,000 from the Exchequer to the Lord Mayor's fund for the relief of distress, Mrs. Dalton, in an admirable maiden speech, said: "The miners want work, but they do not want to compete for existing jobs which the unemployed in other areas require. What they want is work on big national schemes of productive development which will make our country richer."

March 14

In reply to Mr. Taylor (Lab., Lincoln), Mr. Neville Chamberlain said that up to March 7 this year 62,416 claims for widows' pensions had been rejected, and that

pensions had been refused to 45,000 wives between 65 and 70 years of age on the ground that their husbands were over 70 at the beginning of last year. To grant pensions to these old women, he said, would cost £1,000,000 in the first year. Asked by Mr. Taylor whether he would promote a short Bill to remedy this injustice before the end of the present session, Mr. Chamberlain replied: "I do not admit that there is any injustice."

On the Navy Estimates, Sir Oswald Mosley moved the following amendment:—"With a view to translating the expressed desire for permanent peace into effective action, this House urges upon His Majesty's Government to adopt a more determined and well-considered policy to secure international agreement for an all-round reduction in naval armaments." The amendment was defeated. Two Liberals voted against the Disarmament motion. Nine voted for it. Thirty did not vote at all.

March 18

Unemployment Insurance (Transitional Provisions Amendment) Bill, introduced by Minister of Labour and read a second time. The Bill postpones from April this year to April next year the new benefit qualification (30 stamps during the preceding two years), referred to in Mr. Tom Shaw's question of March 12. Labour did not oppose this amending Bill, but Mr. Tom Shaw urged that it did not go anywhere near far enough.

March 20

The Financial Secretary to the Treasury, in reply to Mr. Harry Day (Labour, Southwark), said that the present value of the Government's holding of shares in the Anglo-Persian Oil Company is approximately £32,773,500. The amount received in dividends in the period since November, 1923, was £4,019,507.

March 21

On the Consolidated Fund Bill, Mr. Tom Shaw, on behalf of the Labour Party, called attention to the Government's action in sending the Minister of Labour to the recent meeting of the I.L.O. at Geneva to secure a further postponement of the ratification of the Washington Forty-eight Hour Week Convention.

Commander Kenworthy asked the Prime Minister what action he proposed to take regarding the reply of the oil companies concerning the price of petrol.

The President of the Board of Trade replied that the statement was under consideration, but that, subject to the fact that the Government consider that undertakings dominating the supply and distribution of articles of common use have a duty to supply on reasonable terms and to satisfy the public that these terms are reasonable, "it is not the intention of the Government to attempt to interfere with the commercial policy of the oil companies."

March 25.

Labour motion, condemning the Government's failure to deal with unemployment, defeated. Although the motion dealt specially with the need for instituting schemes of development work, the Liberals showed up very badly. Two of them voted against the motion, only eight voted for, and 34 did not vote at all.

March 26.

Petrol prices. The Prime Minister, in reply to a question, said that "the Government consider that no action is called for on their part at the present time."

March 27.

Parliament adjourned for Easter.

Nationalisation IS a Success

WHEN Mr. Baldwin, in a speech at Dundee a few weeks ago, said that "there was not a single successful instance of nationalisation in any country," presumably he was speaking honestly. At least, the Tory Press tells us that this is his custom. But if he was honest, he was grossly inaccurate, and the inaccuracies were far too glaring to be put down to mere carelessness alone.

Anyhow, there is no need for the country to be deceived any longer by Mr. Baldwin's "honest" misrepresentations in regard to this question, for on 27 March this year, in the House of Commons, Mr. Tom Johnston, the Labour M.P. for Dundee, gave the real facts about nationalisation in one of the most powerful speeches that Parliament has heard for many a year.

The first case he dealt with was that of the Australian railways, which appear to be a source from which the Prime Minister obtains much of his election oratory.

The Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia, the leader of the anti-Socialist Party there, came to London and addressed the London bankers on 16 November, 1926. He said:—

"Australia's railways as Government institutions have enabled development to precede and pave the way for settlement, instead of the slow, wasteful, and often socially unfortunate method of allowing settlement to precede development. The railways have proved to be tremendously effective agencies for developing our latent national assets and for opening up avenues for private investment and enterprise, thus making a very great indirect as well as a direct contribution to the national wealth."

Nor has the amount of capital expended upon railway development been in any way excessive. Though Australia has a greater railway mileage than Great Britain, the capital cost of the Australian railways is £293,000,000, while the capital represented by the four great British systems is £1,060,000,000. A further advantage of Government-owned railways is that they rendered possible from the very beginning that co-ordinated control which the recent great amalgamations in Britain showed

to be recognised as necessary. Mr. Bruce added:—

"Although as a matter of national policy some railways have been built in Australia which it was clearly foreseen could not operate on a commercial basis, the financial position of the railways as a whole is thoroughly satisfactory. Our railways return revenue sufficient to pay all working expenses, to keep the lines in excellent repair, and to meet nearly the whole of the interest on their capital cost. In 1924 the earnings of the State railways, after covering all expenses, provided a sum for interest equal to 4½ per cent. on capital, and a fractional increase in freights and fares would have covered the present slight deficiency of interest and created surpluses for the relief of taxation."

Then there is the further fact that it has been the deliberate policy of every Government in Australia to spend money in developing its railways in order to develop its back blocks. In years of drought, in bad seasons, the Government railways have deliberately, as a matter of national policy, reduced the freights in order to save the farmers from ruin. That has been a matter of deliberate policy acquiesced in by all parties in the State.

Take the case of the South African railways. There can be no question about the financial result. The Secretary of State for the Dominions himself, at Mr. Johnston's request, had the figures put in the library of the House of Commons recently. They show that the State railways in South Africa since 1922 have produced a net profit every year, varying from £1,433,000 down to £311,000 last year. Those are the official figures. Not only so, but here again there is the fact that in times of drought owners of stock who wish to transfer stock to fresh pasturage may simply give promissory notes to the State railways. Goods are carried at half price in bad seasons. In parts of the Cape provinces and Namaqualand in time of prolonged drought there is free conveyance and also gifts of free water by the State railways. In addition there is a continual reduction in fares and freights, until now the State railways of South Africa carry goods at about 50 per cent. less than the ordinary rates.

The State railways of Nigeria last year made a profit of £925,000 odd. Freights

were reduced simultaneously by from 1s. to 33s. 9d. per ton, according to the class of goods and distances, and, in addition to that, labour rates have generally increased.

Then there are the Canadian National Railways, also a fruitful source of Tory oratory. In connection with these, a leading Conservative newspaper in Canada, the *Toronto Daily Star*, after Mr. Baldwin's speech at Newcastle, referred to—

“the surprising statement in the course of a speech by Mr. Baldwin that Canada's experiment in nationalising her railways was causing her a loss of 50,000,000dols. a year.”

It went on to say:—

“The nationalised railways are operating in Canada with a success that has silenced every critical voice in the country. They are operating not at a loss, but at a net profit of 50,000,000dols. This net profit more than pays all interest charges except on an accumulated railway debt piled up in the hands of the Government in the course of 70 or 80 years of subsidised private railway operation and management. This piled up debt the railway in private hands would never have attempted to pay. No private company would have accepted the railway as a gift with this debt to pay.”

The railways were taken over by the Canadian Government and nationalised in order to rescue them from bankruptcy.

The same Tory newspaper went on to say:—

“Since the nationalisation and consolidation of several railways took place, a miracle has been witnessed—new life surges through the entire system, and failure has been replaced by success.”

The balance sheets for the National Railways in Canada, Mr. Johnston pointed out, show that a few years ago the privately-owned railways in Canada were in ruin. They were bound to be given up. They were offered to the Government. They could no longer be continued. The owners could not pay the wages, and they served notice on the Government that they required to close the railways. The Government took over these railways really as a bankrupt concern. What has been the financial result? In 1926, there was a net operating profit of 47,000,000dols. odd; in 1927, a net operating profit of 42,000,000dols. odd; and in 1928 a net operating profit of 55,000,000dols. From that there has to be

deducted interest due and paid upon the publicly held bonds and other securities, and after paying interest on the publicly held portion of the bonds and securities, there was still a profit on the last three years to hand over to the State Treasury. All parties in Canada are satisfied that the Canadian National Railways under the valuable direction of Sir Henry Thornton have become an unqualified success. In the recent Parliamentary delegation to Canada, there were two members of the Government—the Under-Secretary of State for India, who headed the deputation, and the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, both of whom signed a report, which was signed by all parties, in which these words appeared:—

“Another important fact was the advance of the Canadian National Railways from their old position of insolvency to the profit-making stage. . . . Members of the delegation were impressed throughout their westward tour by the vigour and capacity shown by the management of the National lines under Sir Henry Thornton.”

The Hon. Charles Stewart, Minister for the Interior, in the Canadian House of Commons, used these words:—

“After the demonstration of public administration of our National Railways and public administration by the Hydro Electric of Ontario, you will not have any difficulty in persuading the various provinces to join hand in hand in bringing about public ownership of our water power and coal mines.”

So satisfied are they with the success of the nationalisation of the railways in Canada that leading statesmen, not Socialists at all, stand up publicly in the Canadian House of Commons and declare that they are prepared to extend it.

In regard to the Indian State Railways the accounts placed in the House of Commons Library by the Under-Secretary for India, Lord Winterton, show that the net profits on the Indian State railways, including both commercial and strategic lines—upon which latter there will never be a profit, but which are run away up to the Afghan border for military purposes—for 1927-8 were £8,205,000, and of that sum £4,731,000 was handed to the Indian Treasury in relief of taxation.

“How can the Prime Minister,” remarked Mr. Johnston; “possibly go about this country saying there is not a solitary instance

of the success of nationalisation when we can quote four Members from his own front bench who are compelled, in answer to questions in this House, to give results from their own Departments showing the success of nationalisation in one form or another? "

In regard to the Australian Commonwealth Shipping Line, proceeded Mr. Johnston, the Tory Party's speakers' notes, and the Prime Minister, who evidently gets his inspiration from the same source, all agree that the losses on the Commonwealth Shipping Line were £14,000,000, but the Commonwealth Auditor-General, who is supposed to know something more about it, says, in his annual report, published in the Australian Press on the February 8, this year: "The net loss on the Commonwealth Shipping Line to March 31, 1928, was £7,967,236."

But that is only half of the lie that is being told about it. The financial advantages which have accrued to Australia as a result of the Commonwealth shipping venture have to be taken into account. An official report which was placed in the library of this House of Commons by the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, dated November 11, 1927, contained a statement that the Commonwealth Line—

"was instrumental in bringing about a general reduction of approximately 10 per cent. on freight rates on commodities exported from Australia to the United Kingdom and the Continent. Confidential documents placed before the Committee prove that this all round reduction was not a spontaneous action by the other shipowners, but was forced by the determined action of the members of the Shipping Board in Sydney. The annual saving to Australian primary producers and exporters by reason of this reduction alone amounts to far more than the greatest annual loss made by the Line, even including all interest and debenture charges, and it must be remembered that the greater portion of voyage losses was incurred owing to the unsuitable tonnage transferred to the Board."

In October, 1926, another attempt was made to raise freights by 15 per cent. on cargo from the United Kingdom to Australia, but that was frustrated by the Commonwealth Line. The Board refused to agree. Their earnings would therefore have gone up

materially, but in the interests of Australia they declined. The report also states:—

"The annual saving to Australia in this instance again more than covers the annual loss by the Line after including all charges, such as interest and depreciation."

Following the handing over of the Line to Lord Kylsant and his friends, a 10 per cent. rise in freight rates between this country and Australia was announced in 1929.

Next there are the South African State Steamships. They show a profit last year, according to the Controller and Auditor-General, of £29,678 net. The Canadian Merchant Marine is another fruitful source of Tory sneers and jeers. Every party in Canada stands by that Merchant Marine, which is an attempt to develop trade between Canada and the West Indies, and to prevent the West Indies falling economically into the orbit of the United States.

"One might have expected," remarked Mr. Johnston, "that a party which pretends on the hustings to have some sympathy and friendship for the British Empire, would not spend their time running down a State service which has the support of all political parties in Canada, and which is justified by Liberals, Socialist, and Tories alike in Canada on the ground that it is bringing a big developing trade between the West Indies and Canada, which would otherwise be lost entirely to the United States."

With regard to Nigerian shipping, Mr. Johnston asked the Secretary of State for the Dominions whether he was aware that the State shipping service of the Government of Nigeria, after allowing for depreciation, overhead charges, etc., can transport coal from Port Harcourt to Lagos at 6s. 9d. per ton, whereas the Elder Dempster Company is charging 19s. 6d. for the same service. The Dominions Secretary admitted it.

"I am aware," he said, "that the Nigerian Marine Department is able to carry coal at the figure stated."

Mr. Johnston then cited the case of one of the greatest enterprises in the world, the Hydro-Electric undertaking operating at Niagara Falls. This is publicly-owned, and the Tory Prime Minister of Ontario, Sir James Whitney, addressing the Parliamentary Association in London, said:—

"We have the cheapest electric current anywhere in the world."

"I remember him," said Mr. Johnston, "pointing to the international bridge at Niagara and saying that half of the bridge was lit by publicly-owned electricity, and the other half was lit by privately-owned electricity from a corporation in the United States, and the publicly-owned current was one-third of the price of the privately-owned undertaking. Investigators were sent by the Government of the United States, and they all came back with the same story, that the Canadian electric current, owned by the Hydro Corporation with Government capital administered by the municipality, is at least one-third of the price of private enterprise electricity on the other side of the water."

Next there is the Commonwealth Bank of Australia, which had a net profit in 1927 of £6,031,000. These profits are apart from the profits on the note issue, which for the half-year ending June 30, 1928, amounted to over £500,000. No Government in Australia would think of stopping the Commonwealth Bank. It was started, certainly, by the Labour Party, but it has been adopted and taken over by the Conservatives. It is run as part of the machinery of State in the Commonwealth, and it has been a huge success. Not only has it earned these profits, but it has kept down the rate of interest which would otherwise have been exceeded by private banks. There are any number of other enterprises in the Commonwealth where financial success has been secured. There are butcher shops, fish shops, produce agencies, railway refreshment rooms, and so on. The profits upon all these enterprises can be seen by any Tory M.P. who cares to turn them up in the Annual Report of the Auditor-General on Public Accounts for 1927-28, Document A. 52, lying in the library of the House of Commons.

Next there is State insurance, which has been such a success in Queensland. It has raised the benefits paid to workmen who suffer injury from £1 per week to £3 10s. per week, has reduced the premiums paid by the employers, and has handed over profits to the State. Since its inception, there has been an average annual profit of £50,000 handed over in relief of taxation, and premiums have been reduced by from 25 per cent. to 33 per cent. Its working expenses have been reduced by as much as 13 per cent. compared with those of the companies.

There are also the State coal mines of Victoria. There was a net profit last year

of £74,000, according to the *Financial Times* of February 4 this year.

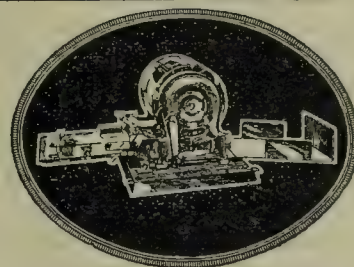
We do not require to go to other parts of the British Empire, however; for examples, proceeded Mr. Johnston, because we have here some successful results of nationalisation.

The official reports on the public ownership of the liquor trade in Carlisle show that the Treasury has received £1,107,676 since the inception of this experiment.

There is also the Post Office. The Post Office, Telegraph and Telephone Departments taken together, according to the commercial accounts issued by the Postmaster-General for last year, show a profit of £7,500,000.

"With all these facts and figures before the Government," concluded Mr. Johnston, "taken from official documents relating to the British Dominions and this country, how the Prime Minister can stand up before a public audience and say that there has been no instance of successful nationalisation either in this country or in the Dominions, I cannot imagine."

Mr. Baldwin seems able to imagine it, however. And "imagination" is certainly the right word.



POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND ENTERPRISE

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Mussolini's Megalomania*

THIS well got up, 292-paged book, written by Mussolini, is a book full of the personal ego of the Dictator of Italy. The Italy of Mazzini, the philosopher, and of Garibaldi; the patriot. It is boastful and bouncing, but interesting. Every page is full of the personal "I," and, whilst it must be admitted that he is a big "I," it detracts from its value as a story of Fascism by its continued protests as to how good a man I, Benito Mussolini, the Duce, am.

The nicest bit about the book is its charming get-up and illustrations, and the more modest account of his parentage and childhood. It is disfigured by his deep hatred of the Socialists and the workers with whom he used to be associated. He seems incapable of a good word at all for his former comrades, and one feels as one reads the book through that he and his black shirts have won through by violence and by upsetting every tradition of justice and fairplay.

Violence seems to have been his watchword from the moment he got power and a military black shirt backing. There is no doubt about his personal bravery. If his own account is to be taken as gospel he was, and is, undoubtedly a brave man. He stood for Italy entering into the war, and he fought in the war with the same ferocity as he and his black shirts have fought to gain and to keep power. Any Pacifists he knew before, during, and after the war are to him, judged by this book, anathema. He hasn't a decent word to say for any of them. He was a fiercer writer and a formidable orator, judged by the many quotations he gives us in his book, which, after all, is a defence of himself, and which in its way proves he needs a defender for the change over from Socialist to Fascism.

There is one generous tribute he harps upon, namely, his admiration for Gabriel D'Annunzio, the poet and writer. The book contains his own records of the fights to get into Parliament, his defeat, and, later on, his success, and he recounts with lack of any modesty, his own Parliamentary career. He has no good word for Nitti or any of the statesmen of Italy from the day he began to work for power to the day he attained it. He displays no gratitude except to his beloved black shirts, nor does there seem to be any streak of moral love for any who disagreed with him, or who opposed

or still oppose him. As one expelled in his younger days from several cantons in Switzerland, he has become poacher, turned game-keeper, and as such he has been and prides himself on his ruthlessness in his power and in his pride. He explains his deep hatred of the Masonic institutions and movements, and one wonders what Fascism is but another Masonic movement, but of a more astute and cruel character than any movement I have read about.

He describes the change from defence of his black shirts against Socialists, etc., to his determination to use violence against them. I have known of hates and loves in men and women, but I have never read of any deeper hatred than that written down in cold blood of Benito Mussolini himself. I do not deny him the love and respect for his father and mother, his wife and his children—it is the one redeeming feature in this well-written book. As for it being a book with any history of Italy or its movement, it is so biased and so "Mussolinist" that in after years I think it will be put down as "braggadocio," but with courage behind it. His editorship of the Socialist journal before he became a Fascist is piquant; it reveals his swelled-headedness, whilst his love for the Fascist paper he began during the great war is an evidence of his personal strength and faith in himself. He is a virulent writer. Dealing with his stride to power in 1924, after the murder of the patriot Labour man Matteotti, he writes of his opponents:—

"The swelled frogs waited for their triumph. The corrupt Press gave the maximum publicity to the calumny, to incitation to commit crimes, and to spread defamation. The Crown, supreme element of equilibrium, was violently menaced with blackmail and worse. As ever there were adventurers who wanted to speculate on any turn in the tide of events to create for themselves a political re-birth. This base and pernicious crew I, for my part, have always eliminated from the sphere of activity and position controlled by me."

He makes himself a fine hero after the attempts upon his life. He declares "A policy of force was absolutely necessary. I took the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and I launched the laws for the defence of the régime, laws which must constitute one essential basis of the new Unified National life." He further says, "I abolished the subversive Press, whose

* *An Autobiography.* By Benito Mussolini. (Hutchinson, 21s.)

only function was to inflame men's minds. Provincial Commoners sent to confinement, Professional Subverters."

That is Mussolini all over. Any newspaper not speaking his mind is subversive. Any person not to his liking is sent to prison (he terms it confinement) as "Professional Subverters!"

In his later chapters he portrays his attempts to lay down Labour laws and regulations, and in his concluding chapters he fits the Church

into his sphere of life, and for the time being entrenches himself behind a phrase in which he works both oracles, for he writes, "Fascism gives impulse and vigour to the religion of the country, but it will never be able, for any reason, to renounce the sovereign right of the State and the functions of the State." Mussolini is like Lenin, one of the big men of this century, but a world ruled by Mussolini would be a tragedy.

BEN TURNER.

Book Reviews

Wirtschafts Demokratie. German Federation of Trade Unions. (A.D.G.B., Berlin.)

The recent meetings of the German T.U.C. at Hamburg were largely taken up with the subject of "Industrial Democracy," and there were earnest discussions on a high level, covering the entire range of the problems of "workers' control." The A.D.G.B. (the German T.U.C.) has recently published this most interesting and informative book on the same topic. It contains a full discussion of the situation in Germany and of the problems with which the Trade Unions are faced in their struggle for economic democracy.

Every aspect of the important new changes that are taking place in industry is examined, and the policy of the Trade Union Movement on the new developments, and on the necessary safeguards for Labour, is outlined. The German movement has certainly thought out with characteristic thoroughness the problems of democratising the economic sphere, and the workers' organisations in every other country would benefit greatly by a study of the results as set out in this book.

The Power of the Purse. H. J. Robinson. (Murray. 6s.)

It is not easy to appraise a work of this kind, for while it contains much interesting information, presented in a manner that should appeal to the casual reader, it is quite unsystematic and disconnected. It is hardly so much a study of constitutional history as a collection of extracts from the writings of historians, together with a connecting narrative dealing with the supremacy of the House of Commons in matters of national finance, and its growth through the centuries. It is difficult to see what value there can be in the inclusion, in a work of this kind, of long lists of the members of the first three English Parliaments. Of more general interest and

value is the Appendix giving the names of constituencies and the number of members, county by county, for nine selected Parliaments between 1295 and 1868.

The British Constitution. By Sir Sidney Low. (Benn. 6d.)

The marvellous sixpenny series that Benn's enterprise has placed before the public continues to add to itself worthy newcomers. Sir Sidney Low's practised pen gives us an admirable introduction to the study of the constitution. The author of a well known text book on the subject, he is able to present in a nutshell the salient features of the development and present position of constitutional practice. It is indeed a wonderful feat of compression, and the reader who has worked through it (a process that will be accompanied with pleasure as well as profit) should be stimulated to turn to Dicey and the other authorities mentioned in the brief bibliography that is given at the end of the book. We can recommend this as a very good six-pennyworth.

The Final Buyer. A. H. Abbati. (King. 8s. 6d.)

Mr. Abbati cannot quite be classed with the "currency cranks," for there is a good deal of sound reasoning in his book. Yet his thesis will find little acceptance at the hands of the economists, for the velocity of final buying, to which he attaches such fundamental importance, becomes itself an insubstantial concept when analysed. Investigation has to be carried much farther before a satisfactory theory can be framed.

In one of the detached essays illustrating his general line of argument the author deals ruthlessly with Sir Oswald Mosley's monetary notions. We are left with the comforting belief that currency theory must be as much of a puzzle to the experts as it is to the plain man, for they all seem to cancel each other out.

Unemployment and Its Remedies

THE certainty that the General Election will be fought on the issue of unemployment has brought about a fresh concentration of public opinion, which was beginning to show too many of the symptoms of despair, on that most urgent of economic problems, and the publication of the report of the Melchett-Turner Conference has had a considerable effect in stimulating discussion on constructive lines. The report "is not designed to be and does not pretend to be anything more than a Joint Interim Report" (to use the words of its authors), and therefore does not by any means represent the last word on the topic of the Conference itself. But its analysis of the causes and effects of the long drawn out crisis of post-war unemployment, and the remedial proposals it advocates, indicate a grasp of the realities of the situation, which is itself one of the most hopeful of omens.

The competence of the Conference, composed as it is of men accustomed to observe the troubles of British industry from the not unimportant angle of the men whose job it is to keep the wheels turning, is generally conceded. The *Financial Times* admits that the statement of the facts of unemployment and the recital of its causes are admirable. The *Manchester Guardian* characterises the report as a "suggestive and practical document," while the *Morning Post* also finds it "severely practical and thorough." The *New Statesman* congratulates the Conference as much on the frame of mind which produced the report as on the report itself; the proposals, says this observer, are more definitely constructive than might have been expected from a joint conference of employers and workers' representatives. Everywhere there is a disposition to regard this document as the pre-eminent contribution to one of the most momentous deliberations in which the nation has ever been called upon to engage.

In the introduction the report sounds a timely note of encouragement. There is no attempt to minimise the distresses of the situation, but it is declared that if a serious national effort is made there is no ground for despair.

"While the facts of unemployment still present an unsatisfactory picture, we have already expressed the view that the general industrial indications appear to show an upward

tendency. Taking into account the difficult times through which Britain has had to pass during the last ten years a tribute should be paid to the courage and tenacity which, in many cases, has been shown by those responsible for the conduct of British industry. The picture has been a depressing one, but as a result of the efforts of those who have exhibited that courage and tenacity it is felt that if the immediate position can be aided, and those fundamental causes of unemployment which are indicated later can be eradicated, the future of British industry is one of progress, prosperity, and development."

The analysis of the causes of unemployment presents the problem as being of a threefold character: (1) the basic factor of the short and long term cycles of activity and depression such as were familiar in pre-war times; (2) the lessening dependence of some countries upon others for their raw materials or manufactured goods; (3) temporary displacement due to the rapid adoption of labour-saving methods. Monetary policy is regarded as one of the most important factors in connection with (1). Changes due to the war, among them the growth during the post-war period of "customs regulations and other barriers to world trade," are cited as the chief causes with regard to (2). As far as (3) is concerned, the view is taken that a bold and intelligent policy of rationalisation would rapidly bring about the re-absorption in industry of workers temporarily displaced during the initial stages of the rationalising process.

The report divides its proposals for remedial measures into two obvious categories: those which it suggests should be applied in order to palliate the distress of the moment (though even in those circumstances with an eye to the future), and those which would finally exorcise the spectre of unemployment from the industrial scene. The former include trade facilities, a national development fund, the demobilisation of workers at both ends of the "age scale," and a rational policy for emigration and agriculture. In the latter category the report deals with monetary policy and the reorganisation of industry; throughout the whole of the proposals consideration has been given solely to the most effective means of dealing with the facts of the existing situation, all questions of a political or theoretical nature having been excluded from the discussions.

The following is a summary of the proposals put forward :—

SPECIAL MEASURES FOR IMMEDIATE ADOPTION.

TRADE FACILITIES.—These are among the most important of the immediately applicable and potent instruments the nation possesses, through the Government, of placing national credit behind trade depression in a moment of crisis, just as national credit placed behind the Government was the stay and support during the crisis of the war.

DEVELOPMENT FUND.—The Government should create and maintain a fund large enough to be used for financing important national schemes.

Such a Development Fund was started in Britain in 1906 on a small scale for the purpose of having a State reserve fund to stimulate industry and to provide employment, particularly during times of depression.

PENSIONS.—Briefly, the Report suggests that workers should not enter industry too soon nor remain in it too long.

“The unemployment returns bring out very clearly the fact that whereas there are a large number of older people still in industry whose productive powers have passed their best and are diminishing, there is a large number of young persons on the unemployed register wishing to secure employment. Nothing is more certain than that in order to speed up industrial production younger and more vigorous forces are required, and that for the more advanced technical developments the more adaptable labour of youth can give the best results. However, it is not contended that the practical knowledge, the experience and steadiness of the older people have not an economic value in themselves. No one would wish to inflict any kind of hardship on the veterans of labour, but if by some liberal retiring allowance than the present old age pension affords a greater inducement could be given to those above the age of 65 to take a well-earned rest from their work to allow the younger men, who are waiting for a job, to come into their place, then a step forward would be taken both in industrial efficiency and in diminishing the number of those who to-day are on the unemployment register.

“It is, therefore, very desirable that if a surplus of labour has to be supported for more than a short transition period, the funds necessary for such support should be expended in pensioning older workers rather than in paying benefits to young and vigorous workers

who are unemployed. It is surely much better to keep the younger workers in employment, and offer inducements which will assist in retiring the surplus labour at an upper age limit, for instance, 65.”

An extension of the Health and Unemployment schemes to industries not yet included, and the raising of the income limit are suggested, and the establishment of a composite fund to embrace all these social services is strongly advocated.

With regard to the raising of the school-leaving age, it is estimated that by this means 500,000 juveniles might be withdrawn from the labour market, and the consequent absorption of 200,000 adults.

EMIGRATION.—The Report points out that thousands have been prevented from emigrating by the difficulties put in their way, and particularly by the lack of financial assistance. It is recommended that the Government should arrange its funds for emigration out of loan instead of out of revenue, that arrangements for the settlement of emigrants should be more permanent in character, that a scheme of community emigration should be adopted, and that settlers should be financially assisted over the difficulties of the first two or three years.

Attention is also called to the necessity of remodelling the industry of agriculture.

MAIN REMEDIES.

MONETARY POLICY.—The Conference reiterates its view, expressed in the “Joint Statement on the Gold Reserve and its Relations with Industry,” in favour of an inquiry by the Government, with the participation of representatives of workers and employers, as well as of financial houses and banks, into currency and banking policy. The Treasury and Bank of England are urged to have the recommendations of the Genoa Conference, 1922, put into operation.

REORGANISATION OF INDUSTRY.—The Report points out that reorganisation and re-equipment have contributed very largely to the progress made in other countries in reviving depressed industries, and goes on to say :—

“It is felt very strongly that whatever the monetary policy may be in the future, and whatever other measures may be taken by Governments or industries, such rationalisation in the widest sense of the term as previously defined in our Interim Joint Report is essential here, too. Without it it is considered that Britain cannot permanently improve its industrial position or raise substantially the standard

of living of its population. With such a policy, vigorously applied, and, as is pointed out later, with adequate safeguards for the interests of the worker, it is believed that this country, given also a sound monetary policy, will be restored to a higher level of prosperity than has been known in the past.

"That the process will take time is realised, but this is an additional reason why immediate action should be taken to hasten that permanent improvement which all desire to see achieved. Reference is made later to proposals for bridging over the period of time—the lag—which must elapse before the full results are obtained, and for facilitating the process of change. But the importance and urgency of the necessary steps to ensure the main remedy being taken in hand immediately can hardly be over-emphasised.

"A strong recommendation is therefore made, subject to general co-ordination by the National Industrial Council, as recommended in the previous report of the Conference, that employers (in consultation with the Trade Unions in the various industries) should forthwith confer as to the best means of placing their industries on the most efficient basis.

"The problem of the immediate displacement of labour by the rapid adoption of labour-saving devices and methods is a very pressing one. In most cases there is no doubt that an expansion of the market will enable displaced labour to be ultimately re-absorbed provided measures are taken at the same time to increase the purchasing power of the population, but in some cases such an increase in production in the industry will be slower, and indeed, in some few cases, may not occur at all. The coal industry is a special case, and is, fortunately for this country, without parallel. Rationalisation of the coal industry, though unquestionably producing in time a greater measure of prosperity than would otherwise be possible, is unlikely to lead rapidly to the re-absorption of all the mineworkers now unemployed, who total nearly 250,000.

"Over and above the measures suggested for safeguarding workers displaced by rationalisation and for easing the general situation, there must therefore be special provision for the surplus labour in the coal industry.

"Considering for the moment rationalisation alone, the view is taken that normally the changes involved should be introduced as gradually as possible, consistently with the ultimate revival of the industries, in order to lessen the possible displacement, and that the Trade Unions should be consulted as to the

best method of dealing with the labour supply in the industry. It may be possible to restrict the recruitment of new labour in certain cases, and in any event methods should be evolved whereby the changes are effected with smoothness and with consideration for the workers.

"The rate of progress, however, which is considered advisable in the interests of the workers and of the whole community in normal times, would now be too slow. Care should be taken to put the changes into operation in such a way that the smallest possible disturbance is caused to the labour employed, and that the steps taken to safeguard the workers should proceed simultaneously with the changes leading to displacement.

"As a provision for 'normal' times also it is recommended that all firms, or in appropriate cases the industries to which such considerations are applicable, should set up a reserve fund to be set aside from profits for the purpose of assisting displaced workers, such funds to be invested outside the business and vested in independent trustees. It is now considered necessary by progressive firms to create a special reserve fund, apart from reserves for depreciation, for the purpose of enabling plant to be replaced before it is worn out, so that it can be substituted by the most modern type. It is even more necessary that technical progress should not involve hardship to the human element concerned, and industry should take every financial responsibility possible for the alleviation of the hardships caused by the replacement of human labour by machinery. It is realised that this proposal cannot in many cases be carried into effect in the present emergency. It is clear that such a scheme can be started most conveniently when an industry is in a more prosperous state, but in certain cases steps should be taken to establish such a fund immediately where conditions allow, and should be undertaken in all businesses as soon as 'normal' conditions are restored.

"In all cases efforts should be made to find employment for displaced workers in other positions, under at least equal conditions as those formerly enjoyed, or to transfer them to positions in other establishments controlled by the same firm. If rationalisation is introduced in easy stages, if every effort is made to give displaced workers alternative employment, if it becomes the rule, as is strongly recommended, for labour reserve funds to be set up throughout industry, and if these steps are taken in consultation with the Trade

Unions, the problem of displacement should not be very serious."

In the concluding section of the Report the Conference express the view that improved trade with Russia would have a very beneficial effect upon unemployment in this country.

The conclusions reached are summarised at the end of the Report as follows:—

1. A comprehensive inquiry into the consolidation of existing pensions and insurance funds should be immediately set up by the Government.

2. Funds for assisting emigration should be largely increased, and found by loan instead of out of revenue. These funds should be under the control of a committee of representatives of industry, under the chairmanship of a Minister, and similar committees should be set up in the Dominions. A programme extending over a period of 20 years should be aimed at in the scheme of settlement. Emigration by groups or community should be undertaken. Emigration policy should be co-ordinated by a Joint Committee for the British Commonwealth, with representatives of employers and Trade Unions upon it.

3. Unemployment in the mining industry should be considered as a special case and relief measures and schemes should be continued at an accelerated pace.

4. Orders for Government and municipal departments should be placed in this country under properly regulated and co-ordinated conditions.

5. Trade facilities should be reinstituted under more liberal conditions.

6. A Crown Colonies Development Committee should be formed for purposes of development and the placing of orders for plant in Britain.

7. Export credits should be extended in reasonable cases in order to achieve the greater stimulation of immediate purchasing power.

8. Augmented pensions out of national insurance and pensions fund should be made available to workers of 65 and over who cease work, such pensions to be supplemented by employers when conditions permit.

9. The Government should create and maintain a Development Fund capable of financing important national schemes.

10. Further extension of constructional schemes of a permanent character should be undertaken, and existing schemes hastened in their application.

11. Rationalisation in the widest sense of the term should be pressed forward as rapidly as possible involving consultation with Trade Unions. The changes involved in rationalisation should be introduced gradually, and the Trade Unions should be consulted as to the best method of dealing with displacement. Firms or industries, where possible, should set up a Labour Reserve Fund out of profits to assist displaced workers.

12. Means should be explored for establishing a more authoritative contact between agriculture and industry.

13. Serious consideration should be given to the question of raising the school-leaving age.

14. A Government inquiry into currency and banking policy, to be participated in by representatives of industry and finance, should be undertaken immediately.

15. Every effort should be made by the Treasury and the Bank of England to have the recommendations of the Genoa Conference put into operation.

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Industrial Developments

Wage Movements in February

In the industries for which statistics are regularly compiled by the Ministry of Labour the changes in rates of wages reported to have come into operation during February resulted in a reduction of about £6,000 in the weekly full-time wages of 100,000 workpeople, and in an increase of £1,615 in those of 29,000 workpeople, according to figures quoted in the "Ministry of Labour Gazette."

During the first two months of 1929 the changes reported to the Ministry in the industries for which statistics are compiled have resulted in net increases of £3,700 in the weekly full-time wages of 138,000 workpeople, and net reductions of £11,550 in those of 185,000 workpeople. In the corresponding period of 1928 there were net increases of £11,900 in the weekly full-time wages of 205,000 workpeople, and net reductions of £62,600 in those of 768,000 workpeople.

* * *

Statistics of Trade Disputes

The number of trade disputes, involving stoppages of work, reported to the Ministry as beginning in February, was 15. In addition, 9 disputes which began before February were still in progress at the beginning of the month. The number of workpeople involved in all disputes in February—including workpeople thrown out of work at the establishments where the disputes occurred, but not themselves parties to the disputes—was about 9,100, and the aggregate duration of all disputes during February was about 78,000 working days. These figures compare with totals of 9,700 workpeople involved and 97,000 working days lost in the previous month, and with 13,200 workpeople involved and 107,000 days lost in February, 1928.

* * *

T.U.C. Social Insurance Campaign

Owing to the marked success of the recent series of Social Insurance Conferences held in London and a number of provincial centres, and to the numerous requests which have been received from various parts of the country, the General Council of the Trades Union Congress have agreed to arrange three further conferences to be held during April at Bristol, Leicester, and Stockton-on-Tees.

* * *

T.U.C. General Council Scholarships

Six scholarships have been offered by the Trades Union Congress General Council for the college year 1929-30, three of which are tenable at Ruskin College, Oxford, and three at the Labour College, London. These scholarships are open to men and women members of unions affiliated to Congress, and will be awarded by the General Council on the result of an examination, but evidence must also be submitted of attendance at evening classes, and of activity in local Trade Union affairs. Forms of application for scholarships can be obtained from the Trades Union Congress General Council, Transport House, Smith Square, S.W. 1, and the completed forms should be returned not later than June 15.

Workmen's Compensation and Companies in Liquidation

An important decision has just been given in a case concerning Workmen's Compensation. The Bebside Coal Company Limited went into liquidation, and certain workmen employed by the company, who had sustained injuries in the course of their employment, in respect of which awards had been made under the Workmen's Compensation Acts, made application to be treated as preferential creditors of the company. This claim was rejected by the liquidators on the ground that they had entered into a contract of insurance with a colliery owner's mutual protection association in respect of their liability under the Acts, and that, therefore, according to the provisions of the Act of 1925, any debts due from the company in respect of compensation under the Acts were not payable in priority to all other debts.

The workmen decided to contest this decision, and a case was brought before Mr. Justice Romer, who gave his decision in favour of the workmen, on the ground that the provisions of the Act would not bear the interpretation put forward by the company.

* * *

Dispute in Scottish Wrought Iron Industry

Reports have been received that a settlement has been reached in the dispute in the Scottish wrought iron industry. After two days' discussion between representatives of the employers and workers and the Ministry of Labour, it has been agreed that the employers' claim to have applied generally in the works concerned a two-shift system with a 47½ hour effective week, working five shifts per week, shall be referred to arbitration, the hearing to take place at the earliest possible date.

Any adjustments of base rates consequent upon the decision on hours are to be the subject of negotiation by a joint committee representative of the works concerned.

* * *

Four-Point Charter for Women Clerical Workers

At the annual conference of the Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries, held on March 14, a four-point charter for women clerical workers was adopted as the Association's Parliamentary programme. The points are as follows:—

1. The passing of a Bill laying down minimum "healthy" standards of space, air, sanitation, lighting, and cleanliness in offices.
2. The guarantee of establishment for all temporary women clerks and typists in the Civil Service who have rendered seven years' efficient service.
3. The introduction of a Bill to provide for adequate length of notice and gratuities on discharge to clerical workers discharged through no fault of their own.
4. The abolition of profit-making clerical employment agencies subsisting on high placing fees paid by the unemployed.

International Trade Union Notes and Labour Abroad

(Specially contributed to the LABOUR MAGAZINE by the International Federation of Trade Unions.)

Tobacco Workers' International Bulletin

In future the Tobacco Workers' International will join the ranks of those International Trade Secretariats which issue news letters. The International Tobacco Workers' Bulletin will be issued quarterly in German, French, English, Danish, and Dutch. The first number, which has just appeared, contains information and comments on working conditions in the tobacco and cigar industry in various countries. It is to be hoped that the new journal will create friendly relations between the unions affiliated with the Secretariat, and will contribute to the affiliation of new unions,

* * *

Good News From Denmark

The recent congress of the Union of General Workers of Denmark (Dansk Arbejdsmandsforbund) which has a membership of 84,000, decided by a bare majority to re-affiliate with the national Trade Union centre. This ends the rupture between the national centre and the union which has kept them apart for two years, and was mainly due to the great labour conflict of the year 1925.

The decision has given great satisfaction in Danish labour circles, as it is hoped that it will facilitate the affiliation with the national centre of many other unions which are at present outside it.

* * *

Death Insurance in France

The new social insurance legislation of France contains the following regulations for the payment of non-recurrent benefit to the surviving dependants of a worker whose death occurs before his eligibility for an old age pension (i.e., before he is 60). The total benefit is to amount to 20 per cent. of the average annual wage of the deceased; it may not fall below 1,000 francs, nor exceed two-thirds of the annual earnings. Eligibility is conditional upon the insured persons having paid at least one year's contributions since the Act came into force. The persons eligible to receive benefit are the surviving wife (or husband, as the case may be) and the children or grandchildren of the deceased, or, failing these, any parents or grandparents who were being supported by the deceased at the time of his death.

Widows with at least three children under thirteen years of age are entitled to a temporary orphans' pension for the children, exclusive of the two eldest. For children with a written apprenticeship contract, children who are continuing their studies in either a public or a private school, or children who are suffering from an incurable disease, or are incapable of earning their living, this temporary pension may be continued up to sixteen years of age. The temporary pension for orphans must not be less than 90 frs. per child per year.

* * *

Arbitration and Collective Agreement

M. Loucheur, the French Minister of Labour, has recently set forth to the Government Commission the reasons why, in view of the big strikes of recent times, he has fathered a Bill for compulsory recourse to arbitration. Both the Commission and the Minister have expressed their agreement with the condition insisted on

by Comrade Lafaye in the interests of the workers that all provisions which might arouse the slightest suspicion of imperilling the right to strike shall be deleted.

The Bill is to embody only the principle of compulsory resort to arbitration procedure in Labour disputes. Lafaye also managed to obtain from Loucheur and the Commission an assurance that the members of the Arbitration Commissions, who are to be nominated by the prefects, shall be elected from the labour inspectorate, the members of the Departmental Labour Commissions, and the workers' and employers' organisations (in the latter case equal numbers of each). Lafaye also urged the importance of codifying in a Collective Agreement Act all the decrees concerning relations between workers and employers.

* * *

Rising Wages in Germany

Statistical information given in the "Gerwerkschafts Zeitung" (Trade Union Gazette) of Germany show that the rise of wages which began in 1926 and continued through the first half of 1928 has been maintained, also during the second half of 1928. Reports received concerning the wage per hour fixed by collective agreement for 42 trades and 48 towns do not give a single instance of a fall in wages. In many trades wages have remained stationary, in others there has been a rise in a few towns only. A general, or almost general, rise has, however, taken place in the building trades and the furniture and leather industries. The national average wage per hour has risen for full-time male workers from 99.9pf. per hour to 102.2pf. per hour, thus exceeding 1 mark.

But the cost of living has also risen, the figures since 1926 being as follows:—

Dec., 1926.	June, 1927.	Dec., 1927.	June, 1928.	Dec., 1928.
144.3	147.7	151.3	151.4	152.7

Taking this fall in the purchasing power of wages into account, we find the real increase in wages to be as follows:—

Dec., 1926.	June, 1927.	Dec., 1927.	June, 1928.	Dec., 1928.
100	102.3	103.6	109.3	110.8

There has, therefore, been an increase in "real" wages in the first half-year of 1928 of 5.6 per cent. against 1.4 per cent. in the second half-year.

* * *

German Accident Prevention Week

During the week February 24 to March 3 there was held in Germany a National Accident Prevention Week, which was so successful that it attracted much attention and appreciation beyond the German frontiers. Articles have appeared in the press of all lands concerning the institution and its objects. The German Trade Union and Labour papers especially have done much to send out into the world the message, "Help to prevent accidents!" The German Ministry of Labour issued a special number of the German "National Labour Gazette," which contains many varied articles, with a wealth of illustrations, dealing with the part played by the State in the prevention of accidents and vocational diseases, and with the duties and work of the Trade Unions, the works' councils, and the schools in preventing accidents.

International Labour Office Notes

Labour Ministers at Geneva

The meeting of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office of the League of Nations at Geneva on March 11 was noteworthy because three Ministers of Labour were present. Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, M.P., British Minister of Labour, attended to state the difficulties in the way of ratification of the Washington Hours Convention, while M. Loucheur, France, and Herr Wissell, Germany, took part in the subsequent debate.

After a long discussion, a resolution, put forward by Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, that a Sub-Committee should consider all the relevant documents and report to the May meeting of the Governing Body, was not adopted, and the meeting adjourned without any decision being reached.

* * *

The "I.L.O." Budget

The British Government representative and the employers' group abstained from voting on the "I.L.O." Budget for 1930, the other Governments present and the workers' group voting in its favour.

* * *

The 1930 Conference

The Governing Body decided to add no new questions to the agenda of the 1930 session of the International Labour Conference. That session will, therefore, be devoted to the final discussion of the questions of "forced labour" and hours of work of employees, both of which will be discussed for the first time at the coming meeting of the Conference at Geneva opening on May 30. In 1930 the Conference may also have to examine the Governing Body reports on the application of certain conventions adopted at Washington in 1919.

* * *

The Language Problem

A special committee, set up by the Governing Body at its meeting in Warsaw in October to study the language problem in its different aspects submitted a number of proposals which were accepted by the recent meeting of the Governing Body. The International Labour Office was asked to prepare a detailed report on the general question, and in particular to see what practical measures could be adopted as regards the Conference and its committees (possibly by further use of the telephonic translation system, the throwing of texts on to a screen and the like), the Governing Body and Office publications.

The committee also recommended that it should meet again during the next meeting of the Governing Body, which is to be held immediately before the opening of the Conference, and make suggestions which, if accepted, could be put into operation at the Conference meeting.

* * *

France and Seamen

The French Government has ratified the Convention concerning the repatriation of seamen, adopted by the Conference in 1926. Under its terms States which ratify undertake that any seaman who is landed during the term of his engagement or on its expiration, shall be entitled to be taken back to his own country or to the port at which he was engaged, or to the port at which the voyage began, according to national law, which shall contain provisions for dealing with the matter.

This Convention has already been ratified by Belgium, Cuba, Esthonia and Luxemburg.

Other French Action

The French Senate has approved a Bill passed by the Chamber of Deputies for the ratification of the convention concerning the rights of association of agricultural workers, adopted by the conference at Geneva in 1921. The French Government has introduced into the Chamber of Deputies a Bill authorising the ratification of the convention concerning the simplification of the inspection of emigrants on board ship, adopted at Geneva in 1926.

* * *

Permanent Migration Committee

The Governing Body decided to accept proposals put forward by the Director, M. Albert Thomas, and replace its present Migration Committee by a new permanent Migration Committee consisting of four members of each group and four specially designated experts as technical advisers.

* * *

Scientific Management

Dealing with the report of its representatives on the managing committee of the International Management Institute, and in view of resolutions passed by the Economic Conference of the League, the Governing Body expressed the hope that the Economic Organisation would consider the desirability of collaborating with and providing the means for furthering the work of the Institute.

* * *

Spanish Ratification

The Spanish Government has ratified the Washington Hours Convention on the condition that it only takes effect when the Convention has also been ratified by France, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy.

The Spanish Government has also ratified unconditionally the Convention concerning workmen's compensation for accidents and the Convention concerning equality of treatment for national and foreign workers as regards accident compensation, both of which were adopted by the International Labour Conference at Geneva in 1925.

* * *

The Coal Situation

At the beginning of March, nine experts belonging to the world of labour and chosen by the Economic Committee of the League on the advice of the International Labour Office, were consulted on the subject of the world coal problem by the Committee. It will be recalled that in January a similar consultation was held with experts belonging to employers' circles.

In the course of the discussion, the workers' experts took the view that the world coal crisis could be cured only by concerted international action.

* * *

Hours of Salaried Employees

The Office has now published the "grey" report on the hours of work of salaried employees for the use of delegates attending the coming Conference.

The report surveys the origin and development of regulations, the various ways of defining the scope of existing systems of regulations, the methods of regulation of hours normally in force, exceptions and special provisions, and the principal methods of enforcement, together with the collective agreements on the subject.

Co-operative Activities

Inquiry Into C.W.S.

About twelve months ago a Special Committee was appointed to consider the functions and method of management in respect to the C.W.S. and the Society's relationship with other bodies, and to make such recommendations as may be deemed necessary. The committee has now issued its report of 42 pages, and this was to be dealt with at a special meeting of delegates on April 13 and 20.

The investigators seem to have dealt only with the duties and responsibility of directors, which they agree should continue as at present, to be divided into finance, grocery, and drapery committees (besides a wages sub-committee), but that these committees should have in future permanent sub-committees in order to provide for specialisation, visit factories, and interview managers. A policy of group management of factories is also recommended, with the appointment of one or two specialists in agriculture to advise the directors with regard to farming policy. It is proposed that the directorate should be reduced from 32 to 28, the reduction to be effected as vacancies occur through death or age retirement.

It is further suggested that the board should concentrate more at headquarters (Manchester), holding a meeting once every month in London, and once every eight weeks in Newcastle, and not in alternate weeks as at present. Provision is also to be made—if approved by the delegates—that in future no retail society be allowed to send more than three representatives to the quarterly meetings of the C.W.S. in order to make the meetings less unwieldy.

* * *

Other Representatives

Numerous other recommendations are scattered about the report, including suggestions for sales investigation departments, foreign deputations for the promotion of trade, workers' advisory councils, and the committee urges the principle of fixed maximum retail prices for suitable goods manufactured by the C.W.S. Regarding the nomination and election of directors, it is recommended that national nomination and national voting should replace the present method of district nomination and national voting, and that a director should reside, if required, in a place considered the most suitable for performing his duties efficiently. This widens the scope for nomination, but not more than one member of any society can be nominated or serve on the board.

The committee recommend greater restriction with respect to canvassing in connection with elections. All that a candidate can do—if the recommendation is adopted—will be to send not more than 300 words and a photograph to the Secretary of the C.W.S., which will be printed and issued to the societies with the voting papers. No other publicity will be permitted, and any person disqualified for canvassing will not be allowed to offer himself or herself for election for three years.

It is thought that elections should be for four years instead of two as at present, and that the retiring age should be 68 in place of 70 years.

* * *

New Committee Suggested

A new committee is suggested, to be known as the Reference Committee, with powers to control the election of directors, and, after the first voting, to make a selection of two or three candidates as being the most suitable

for the directorial vacancy. It will be interesting to see how this works. This committee will consist of representatives of retail societies, who may act as arbitrators in case of charges of canvassing by candidates for the board.

It is recommended that directors should not hold any other paid office, and should not be permitted to become Members of Parliament, but should not be debarred from acting on public bodies, such as town councils and boards of guardians. Concerning salary (now £722 10s. a year), the committee recommend that it should commence at £750, advancing to £1,000 at the rate of £50 increase yearly for five years. Pensions are to be payable on a basis of £20 for each year of service, with a maximum of £500 a year. We have summarised the main recommendations of the report, which, perhaps, has paid too little attention to the real managerial personnel of the C.W.S., upon whom the directors largely depend for the business success of the society.

* * *

Another Co-operative Knight

It now appears to be a recognised practice to create knighthoods among leading co-operators. The latest addition to the group is Sir Robert Stewart, the chairman of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society, whose name appeared in the recent New Year Honours List.

Sir Robert deserves this recognition for his work, not only in co-operation (national and international), but for his public work in Scotland. He was formerly a working joiner for the society of which he is now at the head. Singularly, his knighthood came at the time of the death of the veteran co-operator, Sir William Maxwell, the first knight in the movement, who had been also chairman of the S.C.W.S.

Other co-operative knights are Sir T. W. Allen and Sir W. E. Dudley, directors of the English C.W.S. These complete the list, except for the late Sir Thomas Brodrick, secretary and accountant of the English C.W.S., in whose employ he had been for over 50 years.

* * *

Politics

The Co-operative Party is preparing for the General Election. Demonstrations are being arranged in leading centres like London, Manchester and Glasgow, and plans of campaign are being arranged in a dozen or so constituencies where candidates are being placed. A new panel of speakers will be shortly issued. Whilst working in conjunction with the Labour Party, co-operative candidates will have a special message to deliver to consumers.

Co-operative M.P.'s already form a very useful body in the House of Commons, particularly when matters of household interest are under discussion.

* * *

Pensions in Scotland

Since last July, employees of the English C.W.S. have been paying into a pension scheme, and it has now been decided to provide pensions for employees of the Scottish C.W.S., numbering 10,000.

This has been approved on a basis of workpeople contributing 3½ per cent of salary, the society to contribute an equal sum. For servants below 50 years of age there will be a pension of half salary, and for those over 50, it has been agreed to pay a pension equal to 25 per cent. of salary. The retiring age has been fixed at 65 years, and the scheme will be applied within the next few months.

The Labour Library

(These notices do not preclude a fuller review in the pages of the LABOUR MAGAZINE or its allied publications.)

Sceptical Essays. Bertrand Russell. (Allen and Unwin. 7s. 6d.)

Never have the virtues of scepticism (in other words, of the scientific attitude towards the universe) been more cogently and more charmingly set forth than by Mr. Russell. Those who imagine that sceptics must be arid and cold, devoid of personality and humanity, will be astonished if they read these essays, so full of beauty and humour and wisdom are they. Whether he speaks of politics or philosophy, education or pure science, Mr. Russell is equally sane, equally convincing. Only by cultivating the inquiring mind, the attitude of true scepticism, can mankind progress. But the lesson will not easily be learned, for men's minds move slowly.

Yet true education will continue to aim at this one objective, to teach human beings the scientific attitude towards life. In this heroic campaign Mr. Russell has always been well to the fore, and this latest volume is both worthy of him and worthy of being gratefully assimilated by all who are not mentally flabby.

History of Local Rates in England. By Edward Cannan. (P. S. King and Son. 6s.)

Coming at a time when Parliament is discussing the Local Government Bill, this new edition just issued will be appreciated by the many who have occasion to look up the history of local finance.

The work is of long standing, as it was first published in 1898. It goes right back to the period of the non-statutory rates up to 1601, and deals with the varying statutory provisions authorising collection of rates since that year.

Chapters deal with the relationship of the local ratepayers and national taxpayers, and with questions connected with the equity and economy of local rates. With some of the economics, Socialists will disagree, but the book is a valuable historical review.

Allegiance in Church and State. By L. M. Hawkins. (Routledge. 6s.)

This very thoughtful and penetrating study of the ideas non-jurors in the English Revolution throws much light on the theories of some of the lesser figures of 17th Century politics. Its interest is not merely historical, however, for however wildly archaic the notions of Leslie and his less able colleagues may seem, the germ of their attitude finds a fruitful soil for growth in every age, and not least in our own time.

The new controversy over disestablishment and the place of the Church in the community recalls the controversies of the past, and those concerned will do very well to ponder over this essay in which Miss Hawkins shows both insight and judgment.

The Clothing Workers of Great Britain. By S. P. Dobbs. (Routledge. 10s. 6d.)

Mr. Dobbs has given us a most serviceable study of the British clothing trades, their organisation, development, and wage structure. It is a particularly interesting industry because it is fast being converted from a small scale to a large scale factory basis, and because it is governed very largely by the Trade Board Acts as far as wage regulation is concerned. To the wage structure and to the organisations of workers and employers special attention is given, while the earlier chapters on the growth and localisation of the industry are extremely interesting.

This should be a most useful book not only for all engaged in or connected with the clothing trades, but also for everyone interested in minimum wage problems.

Outlines of Central Government. By J. J. Clarke. (Pitman. 5s.)

The third edition of this well-known work needs neither introduction nor praise. It has already established itself as the handiest, most informative, and most encyclopædic little volume dealing with the Central Government of Britain. Its aim is to give the maximum of information, clearly and compactly, in the minimum of space, and it succeeds. It does not do away with the need for a philosophical treatment of the subject, and readers will find ample guidance for further reading the Bibliography provided, but as a summing up of the facts it is excellent.

Economic Advance of British Co-operation, 1913-26. By H. J. Twigg. (Co-operative Union, Holyoake House, Hanover Street, Manchester. 2s.)

This is a comprehensive summary account of the British Co-operative Movement since before the war. It is packed full of statistics, clearly arranged and easy of reference, and all the important aspects of co-operative enterprise, including banking and insurance, are succinctly described. Both by their source and content, these relatively few pages form the standard modern statistical work of reference on their subject, easily supplemented for subsequent years by reference to the annual *People's Year Book*.

THE LABOUR PARTY

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March, 1929.

General Election Notes for Speakers

DEAR SIR OR MADAM,

The Weekly Notes for Speakers, issued by the Labour Party Head Office, provide one of the most valuable services for M.P.s., Candidates, and Speakers generally. During the coming weeks these Notes will be specially devoted to issues connected with the General Election Campaign. If you are not already a subscriber you may arrange at once to receive the Speakers' Notes weekly for an annual subscription of 10s., post free.

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Yours very sincerely,

ARTHUR HENDERSON,

Secretary.

